

A COMPLEAT  
**HISTORY**  
 OF THE  
**Canon and Writers,**  
 OF THE *A. 9. 29*  
**BOOKS**  
 OF THE  
 OLD and NEW  
**TESTAMENT,**  
 By Way of DISSERTATION:  
 WITH  
 Useful Remarks on that Subject.

V O L. I.  
*On the Books of the Old Testament.*

By *L. E. DU PIN*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*,  
 and *Regius Professor* of Philosophy in *Paris*.

Done into English from the French Original.

L O N D O N,

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# T H E P R E F A C E.

SUCH a Spirit of Atheism, Scepticism and Infidelity, has of late prevail'd, that 'tis high time for every Honest Man and Good Christian to look about him. Some of the Gentlemen of that loose way, cavil at the Fundamentals of *Christianity*; Others go farther, and dispute against the Certainty and Authority of *Divine Revelation* in General; and from thence some others proceed to call in Question, even the first Principles of *Natural Religion*. But what they chiefly aim at, is, To strike at the Genuineness and Authority of the *Holy Scriptures*; very well knowing, That so long as *These* are look'd upon as the Word of God, and of Divine Inspiration, they will be a standing and lasting Testimony against their bold Assertions. Hence it is, That they have so industriously endeavour'd to raise Objections against the Truth and Authority of some One Book or Other of Holy Writ; thereby to open a Way for the Subverting of the Whole. This shews how necessary it is to set these things in a clear Light, and to evince the Truth and Authority of the Scriptures to the Unbelieving Part of Mankind; and this is what M. Du Pin proposes to do in his Learned Treatises on the Authors and Books of the *Old and New Testament*.

The Volume (we now give you) contains the History of the Writings of the *Old Testament* only; in which the Author discovers a great deal of solid Learning, fairly represents the Arguments on all sides, and very Modestly passes his own Judgment upon the Whole, as he goes along. It must be confess'd, That he has said something on this Subject in his Preliminary Dissertation before his *Ecclesiastical History*: But that was only a *Specimen* of what he Treats on more at large in this Work. 'Tis easie to see what a good Use he makes of those Authors who have writ before him on this Matter, and how much to his purpose the Places he cites out  
of

of 'em are. His Impartiality and Sincerity cannot be too much commended or admir'd ; and his Concession of having the Bible Translated into the Vulgar Language for the Use of all the Faithful, is what we could not have expected from any other Person of that Communion : But after all, it must be said, That he is not so clear as one could wish, in settling the *Canon* of Sacred Writ, and in distinguishing betwixt the *Canonical* and *Apocryphal* Books.

It is true, He owns such Books to be *Apocryphal*, as are esteem'd so by the *Protestants* ; and tells us, how, and when they came to be inserted into the *Romish* Canon ; which, for that Reason, he calls *Deutero-Canonical*. But then, though they were not in the *Jewish* Canon, nor receiv'd by the *Primitive Christians* into their Canon of Sacred Books ; yet since they were inserted first by the *African*, next by the *Roman* Church into their's, and afterwards Confirm'd by the Decree of the *Tridentine Council* : Our Author thinks that there is no Room left, after such a Decision, to call their Authority into Question. Now what a precarious way of Arguing is this ? Yet to such Shifts are the *Romanists* oblig'd to have Recourse, when press'd with such Objections as strike at the pretended Infallibility of their Church or Councils. 'Tis enough, they presume to say, *That the Church is of that Mind*, and its Determination must put an End to the Controversie. But we Appeal even to M. Du Pin's own private Judgment, Whether that be a Satisfactory Answer to the Objections, that he himself has taken notice of in treating of this Subject ; and 'tis to be believ'd, That if he were at liberty to speak his own Mind freely, he would Ingenuously confess, That 'tis not.

As to those Books of the *Old Testament*, which have always been own'd as *Canonical*, both by *Jews* and *Christians*, He vindicates their Authority by such Testimonies as cannot with any Colour of Reason be deny'd. He answers the Objections of M. Simon, Hobbes, Spinoza, Le Clerc, and others, with a great deal of Temper and Conviction. He lays down the several Divisions and Orders wherein the Books of the *Old Testament* were rang'd by the *Jewish* and *Christian* Church, and proposes a very Natural Division of his Own, by adding One Branch to St. Chrysostom's Three Parts. He gives us a fair Account of the several Degrees of Prophecy, and of the Inspiration of the Holy Pen-Men ; And very learnedly Discusses the Three Points concerning the Extent and Nature of *Divine Inspiration*.  
He



He has very justly vindicated the *Hebrew* Text from the Charge of having suffered any considerable Corruption, either by Accident or Design; but falls much short of his ordinary Acuteness and Sagacity in Treating of the *Points*, the Novelty of which he so zealously Defends, tho' at the same time he owns that the Sense in many Places depends upon them.

What Dr. *Broughton* Charges as a Piece of Inadvertency on some others\*, may without Breach of Charity be supposed a Design in Dignitaries

\* *Posit'ons touching the Hebrew Tongue,*  
Pag. 669.

of the *Romish Church*, to bring the Interpretation of the Scriptures to a Dependence on her pretended Infallibility; which we have the more Reason to Suspect, because as M. *Du Pin* himself makes it Evident, most of the Popish Writers are Fond of this Opinion of the Novelty of the *Points*; And they have now lately Printed a Dissertation at *Liege* from Dr. *Walton's Prologomena* to his *Polygott*, where that Opinion is asserted. But let that be how it will, it is plain, That M. *Du Pin* hath not giv'n any sufficient Reply to the Answers which the two *Buxtorfs* and others have return'd to those very Objections, which he makes use of from *Capellus* against the Antiquity of the *Points*.

We shall only take Notice of some of *Capel's* Objections, which M. *Du Pin* thinks of Weight, and shew how little Reason he had to conceive such an Opinion of 'em. We begin with the Third, which is thus, *That the Ancient Cabalists and Talmudists knew nothing of the Points, because they don't mention them, sought for no Mysteries in them, and do not (as the New Jewish Commentators) direct their Readers to read so, and not so.* This M. *Du Pin* thinks to be a very strong Objection, which certainly he would not have done had he duly consider'd that the *Points* in the Letters of the Law of *Moses* are compared to the Breath of Life in a Man's Body, by Rabbi *Nechoniah*, in his Book, Entituled, *Habbahir*, which was wrote Fifty years before *Christ*. Nor does he sufficiently Answer what the *Buxtorfs* in *Tiberias*, and *De Punctorum Origine* say, to prove the Antiquity of the *Points*, and the Integrity as well as Antiquity of the Books called *Zohar*, *Bahir*, and the Printed Copy of the *Hillel* against *Capellus*. In the same Manner he slightly passes over the Instances produced by them from the *Jerusalem* and *Babylonish Talmuds*, to prove the Antiquity and Necessity of the *Points*, and from several *Cabalistical* Books, where many of the Names of the *Points* are mention'd.

As to that part of the Argument, That *they did not know them because they sought for no Mysteries in them, and did not direct their Readers to read so, and not so*: He would never have advanc'd it, had he consider'd, That the Points hinder the Design of seeking for Mysteries, because they confine the Text to one certain Sense and Reading; or if he had considered, as *Rabbi S. Arcuvolti* Answers well in his *Arugath Habbosem*, Cap. 26. That the *Rabbies* in their Traditions alter the Letters as well as the Points, as in the Instance of *Simabe-Pyhem*; they say, read not *Sima*, but *Simanah*, so that we may as well say, The Letters were not in their time as the Points; for they say, *Read not so, but so*, of the Letters as well as of the Points.

In like manner, *M. Du Pin* urges *Capel's* Fifth Objection, from the *Keri* and *Ketib*, or different Readings, viz. That they are all about the Consonants, and none of 'em about the Vowels; and that doubtless, if the Points had been then in Use, they would have produc'd a great many more various Readings than about the Consonants: This he thinks an Evident Proof, but takes no Notice, That many of the *Jews* ascribe the *Keri* and *Ketib* to *Ezra*, as *Kimchi* in his Preface on *Joshua*, which is much for the Antiquity of the Points: For if *Ezra* fix'd the *Keri* and *Ketib*, so he must likewise have done the Points, which alone distinguish the *Keri* from the *Ketib*.

He likewise urges *Capel's* Sixth Objection, That the *Ancient Greek, Latin, and Chaldee* Versions, were all of them made from Unpointed Copies, which, let *Buxtorf* say what he will, No Man will believe the Interpreters would have done, had there been Pointed Copies then in Use; but at the same time he takes no notice of the great Uncertainty which we are at, as to the Version of the LXX. both as to the Authors, and Time, and what part of the Bible they did translate; all which is own'd by *M. Du Pin* himself. Nor is he certain, That the *Greek* Bible we have is the True LXX. but allowing it to be True, their Reading many Places otherwise than we do now by the Points, will no more infer the Novelty of the Punctuation, than their Reading Letters otherwise in a multitude of Places, as well as Vowels, will infer, That the *Hebrew* Copies we now have are not true Copies; nor can *M. Du Pin* be ignorant of the Thirteen Places, which the *Jews* own they did designedly corrupt.

Then

## The PREFACE.

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Then as to the *Chaldee* Paraphrase, it was compos'd by divers Persons in different Ages. That on the Law agrees best with the Letters and Vowels, but that on the Prophets differs equally from both. So that his Argument from that Topick, concludes as much against the Letters as the Points; and besides, being a Paraphrase, the Authors were not tied to the Rules of a Translation.

His Seventh Objection, that St. *Jerom* translated, from an Unpointed Copy, and that he never saw, nor any where mentions the Pointed Copies, is easily replied to, *viz.* That St. *Jerom's* Translation for the main has the Sound and Force of the Punctuation, that he himself quotes divers Places, wherein its suppos'd St. *Jerom* mentions the Points, to which his Solutions will not satisfy every Man; and he likewise knows, That St. *Jerom's* not mentioning the Points will no more infer, that he knew nothing of 'em, than the *Rabbinical* Commentaries of *Alshech*, *Abarbinel*, &c. which take no Notice of the Punctuation, will infer, That those *Rabbis* knew nothing of the Points, though they liv'd a long time since they were publickly known. This is sufficient to shew, That M. *Du Pin* hath not duly weigh'd and consider'd the Objections of his Author *Capellus*, when he thinks them so strong and conclusive.

We have Just Reason to think the same of him, as to the Arguments of those who have wrote for the Antiquity and Divine Authority of the Points: He Censures them in the very Threshold, as being mighty Weak, and takes notice only of Five of them, but altogether passes over their main Arguments without so much as once touching them, *viz.* the Unanimous Consent of all the *Jews*, *Elias Levita* Excepted, the Testimony of all Christian States and Churches, Ancient and Modern, whose Translations are from the *Hebrew* as now Pointed. . . . That the Vowels are often express'd in the Bible by the Punctuation only. . . And their Instances of such Places as would be unintelligible without the Points. . . . That the Points evidence their own Antiquity and Divine Authority in the same manner as the Scriptures do, and many other Arguments that M. *Du Pin* takes not the least Notice of. So much was thought fit to be said on this Head, not with any Design to derogate from M. *Du Pin*, of whose Learning and Worth the World hath had so many Proofs; but only to obviate that Objection, of the doubtful and uncertain Meaning  
of



of the Scripture, which the *Papists* and *Socinians* make use of; The *One* to make way for the Necessity of an Infallible Judge here on Earth; and the *Other* to set up Humane Reason to be the Chief Umpire and Judge both of Doctrine and Manners.

We shall not enlarge any farther, but leave the Learned to judge of the rest themselves: To whom we submit what we have said on this Subject, as well as our Author's Performance. But before we conclude, 'tis proper to take Notice, That M. *Du Pin* has promised some more Volumes of this Work: And that tho' his Design be of a vast Extent, and no less Intricate and Difficult, yet he hopes to handle it so Methodically, without omitting any thing that shall be necessary to his Undertaking, as to reduce the whole within the compass of a few Volumes, and to render it intelligible to all the World.

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**T H E**

# THE CONTENTS.

## CHAP. I.

**C**oncerning the Collection of the Books which Compose the Bible, the Canon of Sacred Writ, and the Canonical and Apocryphal Books in general. Page 1.

- SECT. I. Concerning the several Names by which the Holy Scriptures are call'd. Ibid.
- II. What is meant by the Canon of the Sacred Writings: Which are call'd Apocryphal: When the Canon of the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament was drawn up; and whether there were any more than One Canon. 2
- III. What Books were contain'd in the Canon of the Jews. 5
- IV. Of the Books of the Old Testament, acknowledged as Canonical by the Primitive Christians. 7
- V. Of the Deutero-Canonical Books in particular. 9
- VI. How the Deutero-Canonical Books came to be inserted into the Canon of Sacred Books, and to be own'd as such. 15
- VII. Of the Division of the Books of the Old Testament, and the Orders they were rank'd in both by Jews and Christians. 17
- VIII. Of those Books of the Old Testament, that are lost, Apocryphal and Forg'd by the Jews and Hereticks. Of several Passages of the Prophets cited by the Evangelists, which are not to be met with in the Books from whence they are quoted. 21

## CHAP. II.

**O**f the Authority of the Holy Scriptures; and herein, concerning the several Kinds of Revelations; with a particular Account of Prophecy, Divine Inspiration, and the Infallibility of the Sacred Writings. 29

- SECT. I. That the Authority of the Holy Scriptures is founded on this Principle or Maxim, viz. That God cannot deceive us. Ibid.
- II. Of the different Kinds of Revelations which God made to Men in the Old Testament. 32
- III. Of Prophecy in particular, and the several sorts of it; the way to distinguish the False Prophets from the True. 34
- IV. Of the Succession of the True Prophets among the Jews. The Hypothesis of M. Simon, concerning the Writers of the Registers, and the Publick Scribes, who were Divinely Inspired; Rejected. 41
- V. The Belief of the Jews and Christians concerning the Inspiration of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament. 47
- VI. Questions that may be rais'd about the Inspiration of the Sacred Books. The First, Whether the Words and Expressions of them be Inspir'd. 52
- VII. The Second Question, &c. After what manner God has Inspir'd the Sacred Penmen with the things they have written. 54
- VIII. The Third Question: Whether all that is contained in the Holy Scripture in general, even Matters of Fact, and such as have no Relation to Religion, but are only Points of Philosophy, are Divinely Inspir'd. 55

## CHAP. III.

**C**oncerning the Authors of the Books of the Old Testament. 61

- SECT. I. Of the Author of the Pentateuch: Arguments to prove Moses the Author of it: The Objections against it Answer'd: The Names of the Five Books of the Pentateuch: At what time they were Compos'd. Ibid.
- II. Of the Book of Joshua. Why so call'd. Whether he was the Author of it. Arguments for and against it. The Life of Joshua. 78

III. The

# The CONTENTS.

<p>III. <i>The different Opinions about the Author of the Book of Judges, false or uncertain. When it was Compos'd. The Authority of the Judges. The Chronology of this Book.</i> 82</p> <p>IV. <i>Of the Book of Ruth and its Author. When this History happen'd.</i> 84</p> <p>V. <i>Of the Books of Kings and Chronicles. Of the Authors of them; and the time when they were Compos'd. The Summary of the History which they contain.</i> Ibid.</p> <p>VI. <i>Of the Two Books of Ezra. Ezra the Author of the First, and Nehemiah of the Second. The Lives of Both. The Chronology of their Books.</i> 87</p> <p>VII. <i>The History of Tobit. When it happen'd. By whom written.</i> 89</p> <p>VIII. <i>The History of Judith. When it happen'd. Whether it be Genuine. By whom wrote.</i> 90</p> <p>IX. <i>The History of Esther. The Conjectures brought to discover who was this King Ahasuerus that Married Esther. This Matter very uncertain. Of the Author of this Book. Of the Additions that are not in the Original Text.</i> 93</p> <p>X. <i>Of the Book of Job. What is to be thought of this History, and of the manner wherein 'tis Penn'd. Who was the Author of it, and when Compos'd. That 'tis a Poetical Piece. The Scope and Abstract of it.</i> 98</p> <p>XI. <i>Of the Titles of the Psalms. Of their Authors. Of the Antiquity and Use of Psalms among the Hebrews. Of the Collection of the Psalms. Of the Poetry of the Hebrews. The Style and Argument of the Psalms.</i> 102</p> <p>XII. <i>Of the Book of Proverbs. Whether it be entirely Solomon's. When Compos'd. The Argument of this Book. The Usefulness of this Method for the Teaching of Morality.</i> 108</p> <p>XIII. <i>Of the Book of Ecclesiastes. What that Name signifies. That Solomon is the Author of this Book. A Reply to the Objections of those who believe it to be more Modern. When Solomon Compos'd it.</i> 109</p> <p>XIV. <i>Of the Song of Songs. That Solomon is the Author of it. The Argument of the Book clear'd up.</i> 111</p> <p>XV. <i>Of the Author of the Book of Wisdom. The Manner wherein 'tis Compos'd. Who That Philo is, whom they make to be the Author of it.</i> 113</p> <p>XVI. <i>Of the Author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. When it was Compos'd. The Subject-Matter of it.</i> 114</p> <p>XVII. <i>Of the Writings of the Prophets in general: And particularly of the Prophecy of Isaiah.</i> 115</p>	<p>XVIII. <i>Of the Prophet Jeremiah, his Prophecy, and Lamentations.</i> 116</p> <p>XIX. <i>Of the Prophet Baruch and his Prophecy.</i> 117</p> <p>XX. <i>Of the Prophet Ezekiel and his Prophecy.</i> Ibid.</p> <p>XXI. <i>Of the Prophet Daniel, and of the Truth of his Prophecy. Of the Chapters which are not in the Hebrew Text.</i> Ibid.</p> <p>XXII. <i>The Lives and Writings of the Twelve Lesser Prophets.</i> 119</p> <p>XXIII. <i>Of the Books of the Maccabees.</i> 121</p>
---	---

---

## CHAP. IV.

### *Of the Hebrew Text of the Books of the Old Testament.* 122

<p>SECT. I. <i>Of the Origin and Division of Languages: What was the first Language in the World. Whence the Name Hebrew is deriv'd.</i> Ibid.</p> <p>II. <i>Of the Origin and Invention of Characters; their Diversity. The Ancient Hebrew Characters; their Variation. The Vowel-Points: When they were invented and brought into use.</i> 133</p> <p>III. <i>That the Hebrew Text of the Sacred Scriptures was not lost during the Captivity: And that Ezra did not make it over again intirely, but only restored and Corrected it.</i> 144</p> <p>IV. <i>That the Hebrew Text of the Sacred Books was not Corrupted by the Malice of the Jews.</i> 145</p> <p>V. <i>That there are Corruptions in the Hebrew Text; How they came, and of what Nature they are: That they do not hinder the Hebrew Text's being Authentic; and that it ought ordinarily to be prefer'd to the Versions. General Rules to know when we are to follow the Hebrew Text, and when to follow the Versions.</i> 154</p> <p>VI. <i>Of the Massora, the Keri, and Ketib, and the Cabala.</i> 159</p>	
--	--

---

## CHAP. V.

### *Of the Samaritan Pentateuch.* 164

<p>SECT. I. <i>The History of the Samaritans.</i> Ibid.</p> <p>II. <i>Of whom the Samaritans received their Pentateuch.</i> 165</p> <p>III. <i>Whether the Samaritan Pentateuch that we have, be the same with that which the Samaritans had formerly, and was extant in St. Jerom's time.</i> 166</p> <p>IV. <i>Con-</i></p>	
---	--



# The CONTENTS.

- IV. Concerning the Authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch, wherein it differs from the Common Hebrew Text: And whether it ought to be preferr'd to it, or compar'd with it. Ibid.
- V. Of the Samaritan Tongue, and of the Versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, into that Language, and into Greek and Arabic. 168

## CHAP. VI.

Of the Greek Versions of the Old Testament, and chiefly that of the Septuagint. Ibid.

- SECT. I. Whether there was any Greek Version more Ancient than that of the LXX. Ibid.
- II. The Relation of the Manner, how they pretend the Version of the LXX was made according to Aristæus and other Historians. 169
- III. Reflections upon the History of the Version of the LXX. That Aristæus was a Jew. That his Narrative is a Romance; and that he was not a Contemporary Author. His Mistakes in Chronology. His Fable of the Cells refuted: Of the way how the Version of the LXX was made, and why it was so call'd. 171
- IV. What Books of the Old Testament were Translated by the LXX. 176
- V. Of the Greek Versions of the Old Testament made since Jesus Christ, by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, &c. 179
- VI. Of the Hexapla and Tetrapla of Origen. Of the several Editions of the Bible contain'd therein, and their Order. Of the Works of Origen in Reference to the Translation of the Septuagint, and of the several, both Ancient and Modern Editions, which have been since that time. 181
- VII. Of the Authority and Faithfulness of the Greek Version of the Septuagint. Whether it was done by Divine Inspiration. Whether the LXX Interpreters did make any Alterations in their Version. Whether the same has been corrupted in many Places, and whether it may pass for an Authentic Translation. 190

## CHAP. VII.

Of the Latin Versions of the Bible, and especially of the Vulgar Translation. 192

- SECT. I. Of the Ancient Latin Versions before St. Jerom's time, and more especially of the Ancient Vulgar, or the Italian Translation. Ibid.
- II. Of the several Works of St. Jerom upon the Bible; Of his New Translation from the Hebrew Text: Whether he did it by Divine Inspiration; Whether his Version be different from our Vulgar Translation, and when the same was receiv'd in the Latin Church. 193
- III. Of the Exactness and Authority of the Vulgar Version; in what Sense this Version was declar'd Authentic in the Council of Trent; Whether it ought to be preferr'd before the Hebrew Original or other Versions. 197
- IV. Of the New Latin Translations of the Bible. 204

## CHAP. VIII.

Of the Oriental Versions of the Bible. 206

- SECT. I. Of the Chaldea Paraphrasts. Ibid.
- II. Of the Syriac Versions of the Bible. 207
- III. Of the Arabic Versions of the Bible. 208
- IV. Of the other Oriental Versions of the Bible. 210

## CHAP. IX.

Of the Versions of the Bible into the Vulgar Tongues, and of the Reading of the Holy Scripture. 215

- SECT. I. The History of the Versions of the Bible into the Vulgar Tongues. Ibid.
- II. Whether the Holy Scripture was made to be Read by all the Faithful, or only by the Priests, or Persons enlightned in Matters of Religion. 222
- III. Of the Benefit that Believers may receive by Reading the Holy Scriptures. The Judgment of the Fathers upon that Subject. 229
- IV. Whether it be True, That the Church has prohibited the Translation of the Bible into Vulgar Tongues, and forbidden the Common People to read the Holy Scriptures, and what might be the Ground of such a Prohibition. Whether it be still in force. Rules for the Translation of the Holy Scripture into Vulgar Languages; and

# The CONTENTS.

*and Directions how to read it with Profit.* 249

*scurity in some places; and the Means of over-coming it.* 270

## C H A P. X.

*Of the Style, Sense, and different Ways of Interpreting the Holy Scripture.*

III. *Of the Sense of the Holy Scriptures.* 273

IV. *Of the different Ways of Interpreting the Holy Scripture, and the divers sorts of Commentaries on the Bible.* 280

V. *Of the Rules to be Observ'd for a Right Interpretation of the Holy Scripture.* 285

SECT. I. *Of the Eloquence of the Holy Scripture.* Ibid.

II. *Of the Perspicuity and Obscurity of the Holy Scripture; of the Causes of it: Ob-*

## C H A P. XI.

*Of the Division of the Bible into Chapters, Verses, and other Parts.* 290

## E R R A T A.

Page 103. Line 38. After the Words to *Feduthun*, insert, [*This Asaph was one of the chief Levites employ'd by David to sing the Praises of God.*]

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# Compleat History

OF THE

## CANON and WRITERS

OF THE

### OLD and NEW

# TESTAMENT, &c.

By Way of DISSERTATION.

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## VOL. I.

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### CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Collection of the Books which compose the Bible, the Canon of Sacred Writ, and the Canonical and Apocryphal Books in general.*

#### SECT. I.

*Concerning the several Names by which the Holy Scriptures are call'd.*

**T**HE Collection of those Books, which we look upon as the very Foundation of our Holy Religion, goes under different Names. They are styl'd *Sacred* or *Divine Books*, *Holy Writ*, *Holy Scripture*; or simply, *The Scriptures*, *The Old and New Testament*, *The Holy Bibliotheque*, and lastly, *The Bible*, which at present is become the more common Appellation. 'Tis needless to explain, why they are call'd *Divine* or *Sacred Books*, *Holy Scripture*, and *Scripture Divinely inspir'd*. The Reason of it is plain, They were penn'd by Persons Divinely inspir'd; They treat of Religion; They contain the Commandments of God himself: Nothing can be more Holy, nothing more Sacred. They are likewise styl'd the Scriptures by Way of Eminence (a), because no other Book is comparable to it. Under this Title *Jesus Christ* himself and the Apostles have often cited the Books of the Old Testament.

But 'tis not so ealie to define the proper Signification of the Word *Testament*, as 'tis apply'd to the Holy Scriptures. The *Latins* indeed have thus translated the *Greek Word Διαθηκη*, which answers to the *Hebrew Word Berith*, which is to be met with frequently in Scripture, and signifies *Covenant*. St. *Jerom* has in several places render'd it in this Sense, and observes, that *Aquila* (who herein was follow'd by *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*)

(a) Styl'd the Scriptures by way of Eminence. Under this Phrase does our Saviour often cite the Books of the Old Testament, *Mat.* 21. v. 42. *Did ye never read in the Scriptures?* 22. v. 29. *Ye do err, not knowing the Scriptures:* 26. v. 54. *How then shall the Scriptures be fulfill'd?* and *John* 5. v. 39. *Search the Scriptures.* In the same manner do the Apostles cite them, *Acts* 8. v. 32. *Rom.* 4. v. 3. 9. v. 17, &c.



has translated the Hebrew Word by *Συνθήκη*, which properly signifies *Covenant*. The *LXX*'s using the Word *Διαθήκη*, which commonly signifies *Testament*, has occasion'd the *Latin* Interpreter in several Passages to translate it by *Testamentum* (b). But this Phrase, as St. *Jerom* observes, must not be understood in its Ordinary Sense, as it signifies a Man's Last Will, which he would have executed after his Death: On the contrary, it must be taken in general, for the Agreement, Covenant, and Promise which God makes with, and to Men, and for the Testimony of his Divine Will declar'd by a Solemn Act. Perhaps the *LXX*. might use *Διαθήκη*, instead of *Συνθήκη*, because the latter signifies the Covenant which is spontaneously contracted between Equals; whereas the former may be taken in a greater Latitude to signify the Disposition, Will, and Institution of a Superiour towards an Inferiour. 'Tis in this Sense also we ought to take the Word *Testament* for a solemn Declaration of the Will of God towards Men, which contains his Laws, his Precepts, his Promises, and the Covenant which he contracts with them. The Books which comprehend what God manifested to the *Hebrews* are call'd the *Old*, and those which contain what has been declar'd by *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles, are styl'd *The New Testament*. The *Latins* likewise call them *Instrumentum*, which signifies an Authentic Deed, containing Solemn Ordinances, or Treaties and Compacts.

Some of the Ancients have styl'd them *Bibliotheca Sancta* (c); as is to be seen in St. *Jerom*, in St. *Isidorus*, and several other Authors: And it seems those sacred Books were so call'd by way of Eminence. *Alcuinus* observes that this Title was very common, but prefers before it that of *Pandect* (d), which *Cassiodorus* and *Bede* likewise us'd, and which signifies a Collection of all the Books which are written on one and the same Subject. Lastly, the most usual Name at present is that of *Bible*, taken from the *Greek* Word *Βιβλία*, which is in *Latin* *Biblia*, signifying Books. It does not appear that the Ancients ever made use of this Name, and it is not long ago since it became so common, as to be made a Proper Name, which is almost the only One in use in our Vulgar Languages, and which is set in the Front of the Old and New Testament under this Title, *The Bible*, or *The Holy Bible*.

(b) In several Passages to translate it by *Testamentum*.] This word is sometimes taken even by Prophane Authors for all manner of Agreements and Covenants, as St. *Jerom* observes on *Malach. 2. Testamentum non voluntatem defunctorum sonat, sed Pactum quicquid.*

(c) *Bibliotheca Sancta*.] St. *Jerom* makes use of it often: In his Book concerning Famous Men, he says, That *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* and *Pamphilus* searched the Holy *Bibliothèque* carefully. *Isidorus* in his Sixth Book de *Originibus*, ch. 3. and an Anonymous Author cited by *F. Martianay* in his *Prologomena* call the Books of the Bible, a Holy *Bibliothèque*. This Father observes farther, that in the Ancient Manuscripts, St. *Jerom*'s Translation of the Books of

Holy Writ is call'd *Bibliotheca*, the Title which he retains in the Edition he has given of it.

(d) *Alcuinus* observes that this Title was very Common, but prefers before it that of *Pandect*.] In the Verses which he has set in the Frontispiece of a Bible which he Revised by the Order of *Charlemain*, he has these words,

*Nomine Pandectem proprio vocitare memento  
Hoc Corpus Sacrum, Lector, in ore tuo:  
Quod nunc a multis constat Bibliotheca dicta,  
Nomine non proprio, ut Lingua Persæga docet.*

*Bede* at the end of his Book of the Six Ages, and *Cassiodorus* in his Book of Institutions, ch. 5. do likewise call them the *Pandect*.

## S E C T. II.

*What is meant by the Canon of the Sacred Writings: Which are call'd Apocryphal: When the Canon of the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament was drawn up; and whether there were any more than One Canon.*

THE Books of the Bible are call'd *Canonical Books*, because they are in the Catalogue of those Books which are look'd upon as Sacred, to which the Name of *Canon* is ascrib'd (a). They are oppos'd to such Books as are call'd *Apocryphal*

(a) To which the name of *Canon* is ascribed.] This word signifies not only a Law, a Rule, but also a Table, a Catalogue, a List, and is taken in this sense in Prophane Authors, and in the Body of the Civil Law. Some have thought that the Canonical Books were so called, because they are the Rule of Faith; but though that be true, yet 'tis not upon that Account that they are call'd Canonical, but only because

the Catalogue of the Sacred Books was styl'd the *Canon*, just as the Catalogue of the Clergy is call'd the *Canon* in the Council of *Laodicea*, ch. 24. as is likewise that of Bishops, and the Deceased Faithful, by Ecclesiastical Writers. Though this word be of *Greek* Extract, yet 'tis more in use among the *Latins* than the *Greeks*, who often make use of these Expressions *Κανὼν*, *ἐκδοξαι*, *ἀκριβῶς*. St. *Jerom* is one of the

phal (b), which either are not acknowledg'd as Divine Books, or are rejected as Heretical and Spurious (c).

The first Canon or Catalogue of the Sacred and Divine Books was made by the Jews. 'Tis certain they had one, but 'tis not so evident who made it. There is no Question but that the five Books of *Moses* were collected into one Body within a short time after his Death, since *Deuteronomy*, which is as 'twere the Abridgment and Recapitulation of the other Four, was laid in the Tabernacle near the Ark, according to the Order which

the first who absolutely us'd the Phrase of Canon to denote the Catalogue of the Sacred Books. In his general Preface is this passage: *Sapientia quæ vulgò Salomonis inscribitur, & Jesu Filii Sirach Liber, & Judith, & Tobias, & Pastor non sunt in Canone. L. contr. Jov. Nunc nobis de Canone omne certamen est. Epist. 28. à Luc. Canonem Hebraica veritatis describendum. Rufinus in his Exposition of the Creed, after he had set down the Catalogue of the Sacred Books, adds, Hæc sunt quæ Patres intra Canonem conclusurum. . . . Sciendum tamen quod sunt alii libri qui non sunt Canonici. St. Austin in his Second Book against Cresconius, ch. 33. says, 'Tis with great Care that the Ecclesiastical Canon was established, which contains the Books of the Prophets and Apostles, on which we dare not pass any Judgment, and according to which we judge of all the other Writings both of the Faithful and Infidels. In his Second Book, de Doctrina Christiana; The whole Canon of Scripture contains the following Books. The common name made use of to distinguish the Sacred Books from others, is that of Canonical Books, Canonical Scriptures: The Greeks us'd it in this Sense, and call'd 'em *ἐκκλησιαστικὰ βιβλία*. And in the Council of Laodicea, *κανονικά*. They were likewise styl'd *ἐνδοξίμα*, internal, i. e. which are within the Canon, to distinguish them from those which are *ἔξω*, without the Canon, which are also call'd in the same Council *ἀκανονικά*, Uncanonical. [Whether the Reason which Mr. Du Pin here assigns for the Canon of the Scripture be satisfactory or not, we leave the Judicious to determine.]*

(b) Call'd Apocryphal.] The Etymology of this Word is very evident, being derived from the Greek Verb *ἀποκρύπτειν*, which signifies to hide or conceal. The Books of the Phenicians are call'd in *Suidas* and *Eustatius*, Apocryphal Books, i. e. Secret and Mysterious. But we cannot well tell why those Books which are out of the Canon, and which some reckon as Sacred, are called Apocryphal. St. Austin in *B. 15. de Civit. Dei*, says that they are called so, because their Original was not known to the Fathers, by whom the Authority of the Genuine Scriptures has been handed down to us by a very clear and evident Tradition. If St. Austin here means the name of the Authors of them; this is not absolutely true, since the Authors of some of those Books are known: But if he speaks of their Authority it may be true; since the Authority of the Apocryphal Books was not acknowledged by the Ancients; whereas Ancient Tradition establishes that of the Canonical Books. 'Tis after this manner that St. Austin explains himself afterwards, *Though* (says he) *we find in those Apocryphal Writings some Truths, yet they have no Authority, by reason of those many Falsities therein contain'd. And again, They are not in the Canon of the Scriptures which was preserved in the Temple by the carefulness of the Priests who succeeded one another, because they were suspected by them, and not known whether they belonged to those whose names they bore. This they conjectur'd from their not being produced by such persons, of whom an assurance might be had, that they had been preserved by them in a Lineal Descent or Succession. This made them think that they belonged not to those, whose Names are inscribed on them, since Hereticks produce several Truths under the Name of the Prophets and Apostles, which are*

distinguished from those that have Canonical Authority, by the Term Apocryphal. Thus, according to St. Austin, a Book is Apocryphal, because its Authority is not established on a clear and credible Testimony. St. Jerom in his 7th Epistle to *Leta*, says, That the Apocryphal Books do not belong to those whose Names are in the Titles, and that they contain several dangerous Forgeries. In other places he seems to restrain the word Apocryphal to the Books of Hereticks; and 'tis in this sense Pope *Gelasius* takes it in his *Decretal*. Others pretend that the Apocryphal Books are so call'd, because they were concealed, and not Read commonly or publicly. In this sense *Origen* takes them, when he opposes them to common and publick Books, in *Tom. 1. upon Matt. 13.* and in his Letter to *Africanus* about the History of *Susanna*. The Author of the *Synopsis* ascribed to St. *Athanasius*, says, that they were so termed, because they deserved to be buried in oblivion rather than Read. St. *Epiphanius* seems to have had a peculiar Notion of the Original of this Title, when in his Treatise of Weights and Measures, he says, *That the Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus are not reckon'd among the Sacred Writings, because they were deposited in the Ark of the Covenant.* This he seems to illustrate in the Heresie of the *Ebionites*; where he takes notice that St. *John's* Gospel translated into *Hebrew* was lock'd up in the Jewish Archives with the Apocryphal Books; which makes us suppose, that by the *Ark*, in which he says the Apocryphal Books were, he did not mean the *Ark of the Covenant*, but the Common Archives. The Apocryphal were not in the *Ark*, though some pretend that the Sacred Records were, and prove it from *Deut. 31. v. 26.* Notwithstanding *Moses* in this place does not command the *Levites* to put that Book into the *Ark*, but in the side of the *Ark* without. For it appears from *1 King. 8. v. 9.* and *2 Chron. 5. v. 10.* *That there was nothing in the Ark but the two Tables of Stone:* And according to the Account of *Josephus*, there was no *Ark* at all in the Second Temple. However, the Sacred Writings were lock'd up in the Temple, in which place we read, that before the Captivity, *Hilkiah* the High Priest found the Book of the Law. The Apocryphal without doubt were deposited in a distinct Archive from that where the Canonical Books lay. *Tertullian* speaking of the Book of *Enoch* says, that some did not own it, *quia nec in Judaicum armarium admittitur.* And St. *Austin* in the Passage already cited, *Lib. 15. de Civit. Dei*, says, That the Canonical Books of the Old Testament were preserved in the Jewish Temple by the carefulness of the Priests who succeeded one another. So that there is some Probability that the Holy Books were lodged in the Temple in one Archive, and the Apocryphal in another place. Some persons have taken occasion to say, That the latter were so called, *ἀπόκρυφα*, because they were out of the *Ark* or Chest wherein the Sacred Writings lay. The Hebrews apply the term *Genufim*, which has the same signification with the Word *Apocryphal*, to the more Mysterious Books; from the Reading of which they would have the Younger and Weaker sort to abstain; such as the beginning of *Ezekiel*, *Ecclesiastes*, &c.

(c) Which are not acknowledged as Divine Books, or which are rejected as Heretical and Spurious.] Sometimes the Term, *Apocryphal*, is applied to all those Books



which he gave to the *Levites*, Ch. 31. v. 24. So that the first Canon of the Sacred Writings consisted only of the five Books of *Moses*: There were no more added to them till the Division of the *Ten Tribes*, seeing the *Samaritans* acknowledg'd none else. Notwithstanding, since *Moses*, there were several Prophets and other Writers Divinely inspir'd, who compos'd either the History of their Times, or Prophetical Books and Divine Writings, or Psalms to the Praise of God. But we cannot discover, that any time before the Captivity they were collected into one Body, and compriz'd under one and the same Canon. This was not done till after their Return from *Babylon*, about which time the *Jews* had a Sett Number of Books digested into a Canon. For it takes in none of those Books written since *Nehemiah's* time. In the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* we meet with a manifest Proof, That the Canon of the Sacred Books was already made, when that Tract was compos'd. For the Author making mention, Chap. 49. of the Famous Men and Sacred Writers, after he had spoken of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and *Ezekiel*, he adds the Twelve *Minor Prophets*, who follow those three in the *Jewish Canon*: Which demonstrates, That the Prophecies of all those Twelve were already collected, and digested into one Body. 'Tis evident, That in our Saviour's time the Canon of the Holy Writings was already drawn up, since he cites the Law of *Moses*, the Prophets, and the Psalms, which are the three Sorts of Books of which that Canon is compos'd, and which he often styles, *The Scripture*, or *The Holy Scripture*. This shews that they were then distinguish'd from others, and made a Body a-part. *Josephus* sets down in particular the Books acknowledg'd for *Canonical* by the *Jews*; and to this the *Primitive Christians* give their Attestation.

Having discover'd the Time in which this Canon was compos'd, we are next to enquire after its Author. *Esdra*s, in all Probability, has the fairest Pretence to it; who, according to the constant Tradition both of *Jews* and *Christians*, re-establish'd, corrected, and order'd the Sacred Books to be written in New Characters. However, *Nehemiah* must be own'd to have added his Book to that of *Esdra*s, making it the last Volume of the Canon. It may likewise be suppos'd, That *Nehemiah* had a great hand in Compiling this Canon (d); and the rather, because 'tis observ'd in the Letter of the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* written to the *Jews* of *Egypt*, mention'd in the Beginning of the Second

Books that are not in the Canon, of which there are two Classes, That of useful Books, which may be read for the Edification of the Faithful, though doubtful and oppos'd; And that of the Spurious Pieces, which are Heretical and full of Errors. Sometimes the Term is restrain'd to the latter of these. *Origen* calls all the Books, which are out of the Canon Apocryphal: *Tertullian* gives this Title to the *Pastor of Hermes*, which is a useful Book. *Eusebius* in his History B. 3. c. 25, and 31. distinguishes three or four Classes of Books: (1.) Those which are admitted by all the World, and are unquestionable: (2.) Those which are contested, and yet received by several. (3.) The supposititious and doubtful, which may be join'd to the foregoing Class: And (4.) Those which are absolutely false, opposite to the Faith of the Apostles, and compos'd by Hereticks under their Name. *Eusebius* seems to have taken this distinction from *Origen*, who in his 4th Tome on St. *John*, speaking, *De Prædicatione Petri*, says, That we should examine whether it be γνήσιον, Genuine, or ψευδές, Spurious, or μίχρον, a Mixture of both. But to return to *Eusebius*, He, in the above cited places, does not use the Term Apocryphal, but in the 22d. Chap. of the 4th Book, he takes it for those wicked Books compos'd by Hereticks, which he distinguishes from those which are cited by Ecclesiastical Writers. St. *Gregory Nazianzen* in the Poem to *Seleucus*, St. *Athanasius* in his Festival Epistle, the Author of the *Synopsis*, which goes under the same Saint's Name, St. *Epiphanius* in the Eighth Heresie, *Rufinus* in his Exposition of the Creed, and most of the Modern Greeks follow *Origen's* Distinction into three Classes, give the Name of Apocryphal to such Books only as are apparently Spurious and Wicked; and usually style those Books Ecclesiastical, which are good and useful, though not received by all the Churches as Canonical. On the other side St. *Cyril* in his 4th Catechetical Lecture, St. *Epiphanius* in his Book con-

cerning Weights and Measures, St. *Jerom* in his General Preface, the *African Fathers*, and most of the Latins, and *Amiobus* among the *Greeks*, do all attribute the Term Apocryphal in general to all the Books which are not in the Canon. St. *Austin* distinguishes two sorts of Canonical Books; those which are received by all the Churches, and those which are only received by some. *Sixtus* of *Sienna* distinguishes them likewise into two Classes; the Proto-Canonical, which have been always received, and were never question'd; and the Deutero-Canonical, of which they doubted formerly, but have been since admitted into the Canon. All the rest according to this Author are Apocryphal, though this Term sometimes had been applied only to Heretical Books.

(d) That *Nehemiah* had a great hand in compiling this Canon.] The Passage of the Letter from the *Jews* of *Jerusalem*, according to the *Greek Text*, is this, *These very things were in the Writings and Memoirs of Nehemiah, and as it were making them a Bibliothecque, he had collected the Books of Kings, of the Prophets, and the Letters concerning the Donatives*. These words seem to ascribe to *Nehemiah* the Collection of the Historical and Prophetical Books, and that of the Psalms, of which the Canon is compos'd. The Letters concerning the *Donatives*, of which mention is made in this passage, are perhaps the Letters of *Artaxerxes* for the rebuilding of the Temple, related in the Second of *Esdra*s; which would likewise make that last Piece as part of the Canon; but this Passage does not precisely denote a Collection of several Works under one and the same Title; but only proves that *Nehemiah* took care to digest the Ancient Records into one and the same Bibliothecque. The same is observ'd in the next verse, of *Judas Maccabeus*, who was careful in Collecting the Books which had been lost during the War of *Antiochus*. This is no proof that either one or other was the Author of the Canon.



## Chap. I. of the Old and New Testament.

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Book of *Maccabees*, That *Nehemiah* had collected the Books of the *Kings*, of the *Prophets*, and of *David*. Let this be as it will, 'tis said, That this Canon was then approv'd by the Grand *Sanhedrim*, the Great Synagogue or Council of Seventy, and publish'd by its Authority. What is most apparent is, That about that Time the Number of the Sacred Books was fix'd among the *Jews* by a Canon, which the whole *Jewish* Nation receiv'd and follow'd; so that they look'd upon them no longer as Books Sacred and Divinely inspir'd, but as such as were contain'd in this Canon.

There are some Authors who pretend that the *Jews* have since made One or more Canons (e); That they have added to the Former, the Books of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Wisdom*, and the *Maccabees*: But this is not founded on the Testimony of any creditable Author; and to me it seems plain, That the *Jews* had no other Canon besides that of *Esdra*s (f), nor acknowledg'd any other Books for Sacred, but what it contains. For what can be oppos'd to the Testimonies of *Josephus*, *St. Jerom*, and *St. Epiphanius*, who assert this in positive Terms? Supposing it then as a thing certain, That the Canon of the Books of the Old Testament, which was in Use among the *Jews*, was drawn up about the Time of *Esdra*s, and that they never had any other; Let us now enquire what Books are contain'd therein.

(e) One or more Canons.] *Serarius* admits of two Canons, the one made in the time of *Esdra*s by the Grand Synagogue; and another more Modern. *Genebrard* owns three of them, all drawn up by the Authority of the Grand Assemblies of the *Sanhedrim*: The first in an Assembly held in the time of *Esdra*s, which he says was of the fifth Synod: The second in the Assembly which he supposes was held when they enter'd into a Debate about sending Interpreters to *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, which he calls the Sixth Synod, wherein they added to the Books contained in the former Canon, the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith*, with *Ecclesiasticus* and *Wisdom*: The Third in another Assembly, which he pretends to have been held for condemning the *Sadducees*, calling it the seventh Synod, wherein he says they added the Book of the *Maccabees*.

(f) To me it seems plain that the *Jews* had no other Canon besides that of *Esdra*s.] Neither the *Jews* nor the *Christians* knew of any other. The Books pretended to have been inserted in the other Canons, were never own'd by the *Jews*. The two Assemblies of the Synagogue, which, as 'tis invented, were held for that purpose, are mere *Chimeras*; no Ancient Writer has said any thing of them: On the contrary, *Josephus* positively asserts, That the Books compos'd since the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, are not look'd upon as Sacred; that there are but

Twenty two own'd as such by the *Jews*. *St. Jerom* and *St. Epiphanius* testify the same thing, upon the Authority of other *Jewish* Writers. The only Objection which can, with any probability, be rais'd, is, that *Josephus*, in his Second Book against *Appion*, mentions, as Scripture, this Sentence; *Melior est Iniquitas Viri, quam Mulier benefaciens*, taken out of the twenty fourth Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*; and that the *Rabbies* in the *Talmud* mention other Sentences taken out of that Writing. However this is no Proof that they acknowledg'd it as Canonical. *Josephus*, the only Person whose Authority carries any Weight in it, does not in particular cite *Ecclesiasticus*, but only relates in that place several Maxims of *Moses*, not in the Terms of Scripture, but in his own; and among the rest has this, *The Woman is altogether inferiour to the Man*; which has reference to the Words of *Genesis*, *Thou shalt be Subject to thy Husband, or thy Husband shall be Lord over thee*, and to this some one or other, as *Mr. Pinhou* remarks, has added this Sentence of *Ecclesiasticus*, *The Churlishness of a Man is better than a Courteous Woman*, which is not in the original Text of *Josephus*. For besides that his design was only to relate the Laws of *Moses*, in order to shew the Usefulness of them, this Passage is not in the Ancient Version of *Rufinus*, which evinces that it was added since that Author's time.

### SECTION III.

*What Books were contain'd in the Canon of the Jews.*

*Josephus* is the first Writer who sets down distinctly the Books contain'd in the Canon of the *Jews*. What he says on this Point in his first Book against *Appion*, is as follows. "Our Books are written after such a Manner as none can find fault with, and as it were through a kind of Necessity. For to write, is not allow'd to all Mankind, and there is no Contradiction in our Books, because they were compos'd by Prophets, who wrote exactly what was deliver'd to them by Divine Inspiration, concerning things which had already happen'd in Ancient Times, or which were to come to pass hereafter. There is not therefore a great Number of Books among us, which clash one with another, or wherein any Contradictions are to be found. We have only Two and twenty, which comprehend the History of all Ages, and which merit our Belief. Five belong to *Moses*, which contain what relates to the Original of Man, and the Tradition of the Succession or Generations of Men down to his Death; which takes in the Compass of about 3000 Years. From the Death of *Moses* to the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, who was King of *Persia* after *Xerxes*, the Prophets who succeeded

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him,

him, have in Thirteen Books written what happen'd in their Time. The other four Books contain Hymns to the Praise of God, and Precepts for the Conduct of Human Life. There is likewise written what happen'd since *Artaxerxes*, down to our Times, but the Writers of them have not met with the same Credit, because there was no certain Succession of Prophets during that time. Now 'tis easie to perceive, why such a credit and respect is paid to our Books; since in so long a Tract of Time no Man has ever ventur'd to add any thing to them, or to diminish or alter any thing of them: For the Jews from their Infancy are accusom'd to call them Divine Instructions, to believe them, and to lay down their Lives, upon occasion, in Defence of them." Thus, you see, *Josephus* divides the Sacred or Canonical Books of the Jews into three Classes: The First contains the Five Books of *Moses*; the Second, Thirteen Historical and Prophectical Books, written from the time of his Death, to the Reign of *Artaxerxes*; and the last, Four Books of Hymns, or of Morality. Since he only names the Five Books of *Moses* which compose the first Class, there may arise some Difficulty about those of the other Classes, and particularly about the Thirteen which are in the Second. For as to the Four, which are in the Third, there is no need of questioning but that they are the Book of *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*. Lastly, among those which ought to be rank'd in the Second Class, there are but two of them which occasion any Difficulty, viz. those of *Job* and *Esther*. For there is no doubt but that therein are contain'd the Books of *Josuah*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Chronicles*, *Esdra*s, the Prophecies of *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah* with his *Lamentations*, *Ezekiel*, *Daniel*, and of the Twelve Minor Prophets. But whereas these Books alone make up the Number Thirteen, it may be suppos'd, that *Josephus* did not own the others, and by this means the Books of *Job* and *Esther* are excluded out of the Jewish Canon according to him. But, on the other side also, since 'tis known that the Jews, not to exceed the Number of their Letters, have join'd the Book of *Ruth* to that of *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* to the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, that so they might make Two instead of Four Volumes; the Books of *Job* and *Esther* might very well make one of the Thirteen Books which *Josephus* places in the Second Class of the Sacred Writings. But there are other Reasons to question whether *Josephus* acknowledg'd these two Books as Sacred: As first, Because he makes no mention of the History of *Job* in his Antiquities, which he would have done, if he had esteem'd it as a Sacred Book: To this it may be answer'd, That he omitted it only, because it had nothing to do with the History of the Jews, which was what he principally set himself upon Writing. And secondly, Because he in his Antiquities places the History of *Esther* under the Reign of *Artaxerxes*: and there asserts that all the sacred Books were pen'd between the time of *Moses* and the Reign of *Artaxerxes*: But this is to be understood of the Time exclusively, since he says, That the Books written under the Reign of that Prince, and since him, do not stand upon the same Authority.

*Origen* in the Exposition of the First Psalm, *St. Athanasius* in his Festival Epistle, and the Author of the *Synopsis* which goes under the same Father's Name, *St. Hilary* in his Preface to the Psalms, *St. Gregory Nazianzen* in the 33d Piece of Poetry, *St. Epiphanius* in the Eighth Heresie, and *St. Jerom* in his general Preface to the Scriptures, speaking of the Books which are acknowledg'd by the Jews as Sacred and Canonical, do all say, That they are the same in Number with the Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet, i. e. Two and Twenty, and reckon particularly those very Books which we have already mentioned; upon which they are all of a mind, except about the Book of *Esther*. For the Book of *Job* and the *Lamentations*, are plac'd by all of them among the Books contain'd in the Canon of the Jews: But *St. Athanasius* and *St. Gregory Nazianzen* do not reckon the Book of *Esther* among them, and distinguish *Ruth* from the Book of *Judges*; on the contrary *Origen*, *St. Hilary*, *St. Epiphanius*, and *St. Jerom* make but one Volume of *Ruth* and *Judges*, and so bring the Book of *Esther* into the Number of the two and twenty own'd by the Jews as Canonical. They who distinguish'd *Ruth* from the Book of *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* from the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, reckon'd up four and twenty of them as *St. Jerom* observes.

Be pleas'd now to take the Number and Division of the Canonical Writings own'd by the Jews, according to *St. Jerom's* Account. He distributes them into three Classes: The first takes in the five Books of *Moses*, which are call'd the Law. The second contains the Books of the Prophets, being eight in Number; viz. the Book of *Josua*; the Book of *Judges*, to which (says *St. Jerom*) they joyn the Book of *Ruth*; the Book of *Samuel*, otherwise call'd the first and second of *Kings*; the Book of *Kings*, which contains the two last Parts of that Volume; Next are the Books of the three Greater Prophets, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, which are three distinct Books; and that of the twelve Lesser Prophets, which make but one single Tome. The third Class comprehends those Books,

which



which they term *Agriographa*, or *holy Scriptures*, of which the first is the Book of *Job*; the second is the *Psalms of David*; the three next are the Books of *Solomon*, viz. the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*; the sixth *Daniel*; the seventh the *Chronicles*; the eighth *Esdras*, divided into two parts by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and the last is the Book of *Esther*. Thus, says St. *Jerom*, all the Books of the old Testament among the *Jews* are two and twenty; of which five belong to *Moses*, eight to the *Prophets*, and nine to the other *holy Penmen*. Some reckon four and twenty, by separating *Ruth* from *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* from the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, and placing them in the Number of *holy Writings*. This Preface, adds he, may serve as a Head or Preface to all the Books which we have translated from the *Hebrew*; and we are to take notice, that whatever is not contain'd in the Number of these Books is *Apocryphal*. From hence it follows that the Book of *Wisdom*, commonly ascribed to *Solomon*; *Ecclesiasticus*, said to be compos'd by *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*; *Judith*, *Tobit*, and the *Pastor*, do not belong to the Canon, no more than the two Books of the *Maccabees*, of which one was in *Hebrew*, and the other (as appears plainly from the Style) was written in *Greek*. Thus you see how accurately St. *Jerom* explains the Canon of the Scriptures which were received by the *Jews*. He agrees with *Josephus* as to the Number of the Books contain'd in the Canon, but places no more than Eight in the Second, and Nine in the Third Class. He likewise reckons among the Canonical Books that of *Esther*, which *Josephus* seems to have excluded out of that Number, as we have already observed.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Books of the Old Testament acknowledg'd as Canonical by the Primitive Christians.

There is no doubt but the Church acknowledg'd those Books to be Canonical, which were cited as Divine and Sacred by Christ and his Apostles. Now most of those which are in the *Jewish Canon* are frequently quoted in the New Testament, as Books of the Holy Scripture (a), and none other is therein cited after the same manner (b). *Jesus Christ* himself takes notice of three Sorts of Books contain'd in the Old Testament. when speaking of himself, *Luke* 24. v. 44. he says, *That all things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law of Moses, and in the Prophets, and in the Psalms concerning him.* Here you see the same Division of the Canonical Books among the *Jews*, as is explain'd by *Josephus* and St. *Jerom*, the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Psalms*.

(a) Most of those which are in the *Jewish Canon* are frequently quoted in the New Testament, as Books of the Holy Scripture. The Books therein cited are, The five Books of *Moses*, in many places; The Book of *Josuah*, in *Heb.* 13. 5. The Second Book of *Samuel*, *Heb.* 1. 5. The First of *Kings*, *Rom.* 11. 3. The Book of *Job*, 1 *Cor.* 3. 19. The *Psalms*, in an infinite Number of places; The *Proverbs*, *Isaiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Ezekiel*, very frequently; a Passage out of *Daniel*, in *Matth.* 24. *Mar.* 13. *Luke* 21. All the Lesser Prophets severally, except *Obadiab*. So that there are but six or seven Books of the *Jewish Canon*, which are not cited in the New Testament, viz. *Judges*, *Ruth*, *Ecclesiastes*, the *Canticles*, the *Chronicles*, *Esdras* and *Nehemiab*. [But by Mr. *Du Pin*'s good Leave, upon a nicer Enquiry, he might have discover'd, that the *Chronicles* are often refer'd to in the New Testament, and several Passages plainly are cited thence particularly by St. *Paul*. So *Rom.* 2. 11. is parallel to 2 *Chron.* 19. 77. *Heb.* 1. 5. to 1 *Chron.* 22. 10. and *Heb.* 11. 13. to 1 *Chron.* 29. 15.]

(b) None other is therein cited after the same Manner. There are indeed those who pretend, That there are some *Deutero-Canonical* Books cited in the New Testament, and particularly the Book of *Wisdom*, from whence it seems, that St. *Paul* has taken that Sentence which he relates in the Epistle to the *Romans*, *chap.* 11. v. 34. *Quis novit sensum Domini*,

aut quis consiliarius ejus? which place is exactly parallel to that in the Book of *Wisdom*, *chap.* 9. v. 31. *Quis enim hominum potest scire consilium Dei?* It may likewise be suppos'd that what the same Apostle says *Heb.* 11. concerning the Translation of *Enoch*, is taken out of *Ecclesi.* *Chap.* 44. and the comparison he makes between God and a Potter *Rom.* 9. is taken out of *Wisdom*, *Chap.* 15. without mentioning abundance of moral Maxims in the New Testament, so like to several Passages of the Book of *Wisdom*, that 'tis to be thought some Allusion was had thereto. Notwithstanding all this we do not perceive in any Part of the New Testament, *Wisdom* or any other *Deutero-Canonical* Book cited as Scripture; and it does not follow by any necessary deduction, that the Sentences so like to those in *Wisdom*, should have been taken thence. Several Authors have often hit upon the same Moral Maxims, without having read one another's Writings. Lastly some of those Sentences, said to be taken out of *Wisdom*, are to be met with in Books which are of the *Hebrew Canon*; as for instance that of St. *Paul* which has been Alleg'd, *Quis novit sensum Domini* &c. which is in the same terms in the Text of *Isaiab*. *Ch.* 40. v. 13. from which last Place, *Tertullian* 1. 5. *contr. Marc.* c. 14. St. *Basil* in his Book concerning the Holy Ghost, *ch.* 5, the Author of the Commentaries of St. *Paul* falsely ascrib'd to St. *Ambrose*, *Peter Lombard*, and others observe, that St. *Paul* took it.

The



The Ancient Catalogues of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament, which are to be met with in Christian Writers, whether *Greeks* or *Latins*, are conformable to the Canon of the *Jews*, and contain no other Books. It is also observ'd in some of them, that the other Books which have been since admitted into the Canon, are not comprehended in it; that they are Ecclesiastical Pieces, proper for the Edification of the Faithful, but have not Canonical Authority, tho' they be sometimes cited under the Name of holy Scripture, even by the most ancient Authors.

The first and most ancient Catalogue that we have of the Canonical Books drawn up by a Christian Author, is that of *Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, who flourished under the Empire of *Marcus Antoninus*. It is taken from a Preface which he had put at the head of several Extracts he had made of the Books of the Law and the Prophets, and mentioned by *Eusebius* in the fourth Book of his History, Ch. 26. He reckons only two and twenty Books of the Old Testament, among which he does not include *Esther*, dividing *Ruth* from that of *Judges*. *Origen* in a Passage extracted from his Commentary on the first Psalm, and mention'd by *Eusebius*, Book 6. Ch. 25. reckons also two and twenty, but he takes in *Esther*, joyning *Ruth* with *Judges*, and observes that the Books of the *Maccabees* are excluded out of the Canon. The Council of *Laodicea*, which is the first Synod, wherein the Number of Canonical Books was determin'd, assigns only two and twenty Books of the Old Testament, including *Esther*, and joyning *Baruch*, the *Lamentations* and the *Letters* with the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*. This Catalogue is followed by *St. Cyril* of *Jerusalem* in his fourth Catechetical Lecture; by *St. Athanasius* in his Festival Epistle, and by the Author of the *Synopsis* which goes under his Name. The two last do not include *Esther* in the Number of Canonical Books, but joyn *Baruch* with the *Lamentations*, and the Epistle of *Jeremiah*, with his Prophecy; and observe that the Books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Judith*, *Tobit* and the *Maccabees* are excluded the Canon, tho' they be useful Books and proper for Edification. The Author of the *Synopsis* does likewise take notice that the Book of *Esther* is placed by some among the Canonical Books. *Amphilochus* in the Epistle to *Seleucus*, mentioned by *Balsamon*, Author of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy; *Leontius* of *Byzantium* in his Treatise de *Sectis*; *Anastatius*, *St. John Damascene*, and the two *Nicephori*, do all follow the Catalogue of *Melito*. But *St. Hilary* follows that of *Origen*, and acknowledges the Book of *Esther* for Canonical. Of the same opinion are *St. Jerom* and *Ruffinus*, and observe that the forementioned Apocryphal Books are not of the Canon. *St. Epiphanius* in the Eighth Heresie reckons seven and twenty Canonical Books of the Old Testament, yet he admits of no more than are in the Catalogue of *Origen*, and takes notice in his Tract of *Weights and Measures*, that the *Jews* reduc'd it to two and twenty Books, and some of the *Latins* to four and twenty, which they say were denoted by the four and twenty Elders in the *Apocalypse*. This is likewise the Opinion of *Victorinus*, *Primasius*, *Berengandus*, of the Author of the Poem against *Marcian* bearing *Tertullian's* Name; of *Bede*, of the Author of the Sermons upon the *Apocalypse* ascrib'd to *St. Augustine*, and of several others who distinguish the Book of *Ruth* from that of *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* from the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*. In the Apostolical Canon the three Books of the *Maccabees* are added to those which are in *Origen's* Catalogue, tho' that of *Wisdom* be excluded the Canon. But 'tis to be question'd whether they are not added by some late Writer, since 'tis not in that Canon mention'd in the Collection of *John of Antioch*, Tit. 50. nor in any of the Canons of the *Greek* Authors.

The first Catalogue wherein the Books of *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, and the two *Maccabees* were admitted as Canonical, and as having the same Authority, is that of the third Council of *Carthage*, held in the Year 397; which confirms the Decree of the Council of *Hippo* of the Year 393. wherein these Books were received into the Canon; yet upon Condition that the Church beyond Sea should be consulted for its Confirmation, as 'tis implied in an Ancient Note on that Canon, which runs thus, *De Confirmando isto Canone Transmarina Ecclesia consulatur*. This very Canon is repeated in the Council of *Carthage*, held in the Year 419. with a Clause much like the former, *Ut Fratri & Consacerdoti Bonifacio, & earum partium Episcopis innotescat*; i. e. That it might be communicated to *Pope Boniface* and to the Bishops of *Italy*. *St. Augustine*, according to the Authority of the *African* Church, reckons all these Books as Canonical in the eighth Chapter of his second Book, de *Doctrina Christiana*; but withal he takes notice, that of the Canonical Books there are some which are receiv'd by all the Catholick Churches, and others which are not received every where as Canonical.

The Church of *Rome* has agreed herein with that of *Afric*. For *Innocent I.* in his Letter to *Exuperius*, places the same Books in the Canon of the Old Testament, as *Pope Gelasius*, in the Council held in the Year 494. However in the Canon of the latter mention

mention is only made of the Book of *Ezrah*, and one Book of the *Maccabees*, and in some Manuscripts, the Book of *Job* is omitted: In some others the two Books of the *Maccabees* are included; but all the MSS. reckon but one Book of *Ezrah*, which is a falsity since none has ever call'd the second Book of *Ezrah* into Question.

The Decree of Pope *Eugenius* and the Canon of the Council of *Trent* agree with the Canon of the Council of *Carthage*, and with the Decree of Pope *Innocent*, and therein are rank'd among the Sacred Books of the Old Testament, *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Esther*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the two Books of the *Maccabees*.

## S E C T. V.

*Of the Deutero-Canonical Books in particular.*

THE Catalogues which we have already mention'd, do inform us, in general, what Books of the Old Testament, were always receiv'd as Canonical without any Scruple, and what were call'd in Question by the Ancients. But of these Latter 'tis requisite we should be more particular. For tho' they were not receiv'd in the Primitive Times by all the Churches, nor inserted into the Canon of Sacred Books by all Authors, yet were they often cited by the Ancients, and sometimes as holy Scripture.

The Books of the Old Testament, which were always look'd upon as Canonical both by Jews and Christians, are the five Books of *Moses*, viz. *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, *Numbers* and *Deuteronomy*; the Book of *Josuah*; the Book of *Judges*; the Book of *Ruth*; the two Books of *Samuel*; the two Books of *Kings*; *Isaiah*; *Jeremiah* with the *Lamentations*; *Ezekiel*; *Daniel*, (excluding the History of *Susanna*, of *Bel*, and the Song of the three Children); the Twelve lesser Prophets; the Book of *Job*; the Book of *Psalms*; the three Books of *Solomon*, viz. *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*; the two Books of *Chronicles*, and the two Books of *Esdra*s or *Ezrah*. The Books which have been Question'd are, the Book of *Esther*, tho' many both Jews and Christians have own'd it; *Baruch*, which is in some of the Canons of the Ancient Christians; and the Books of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, with the two Books of the *Maccabees*, which were never introduc'd into any Canon before that of the Council of *Carthage*, tho' they have been cited by the Primitive Christians.

According to some, the Book of *Esther* was included in the Canon of the Jews, but according to others it was not: For 'tis very probable, as was hinted before, that *Josephus* did not look upon it as Canonical. However we find that *St. Jerom*, and other Ancient Christian Writers, did insert it among those which were of the Jewish Canon. 'Tis not in the Canons of *Melito*, *St. Athanasius*, or *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, the Author of the *Synopsis*, *Leontius*, and of the two *Nicephori*: But 'tis to be seen in those of *Origen*, the Council of *Laodicea*, *St. Cyril*, *St. Hilary*, *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Jerom*, and of *Ruffinus*. The Action of *Esther* is commended by *St. Clement Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and by *St. Clement Alexandrinus* in the third Book of his *Padagogue*, and in the first and fourth of his *Stromata*: Which is sufficient Evidence that this Book was known and had in esteem by the Primitive Christians. The six Last Chapters, beginning at the fourth Verse of the tenth Chapter, are not in the Hebrew Text. *Origen* believes that formerly they were in it, and afterwards were lost. But 'tis plain that they are a Composure of several Pieces collected by the *Hel-lenistical Jews*, and which were added by the Author of the Greek Version. *St. Jerom* throws this Part of *Esther* out of the Canon of the Sacred Books. *Sixtus* of Sienna was of the same Mind, even since the Council of *Trent*, and cites several Catholick Writers which had the same Sentiment, viz. *Hugh* the Cardinal, *Nicholas* of *Lyra*, and *Dionysius le Chartreux*. And he replies to the Decree of the Council of *Trent*, that the Canon of this Council is to be understood only of the Genuine Parts of the Books of which they are intirely compos'd, and not of those kinds of Collections clap'd at the End of them by some unknown and unauthentick Author. However, since, this Council admits these Books contain'd in its Catalogue as Canonical entirely, i. e. in all their parts, as 'tis Customary to read them in the Catholick Church; *Libros Integros* (as the Canon has it) *cum omnibus suis partibus*, prout in *Ecclesiâ Catholicâ legi consueverunt*; 'tis necessary in obedience to that Decree to include them within the Canon of Sacred Books of the Old Testament, as well as the rest of the Book of *Esther*, tho' not penn'd by the same Author, as we shall hereafter demonstrate.



10 *A Compleat History of the Canon, &c.* Book I.

The *Jews* did not acknowledge the Book of *Baruch*, because it is not written in *Hebrew*, as St. *Jerom* in his Preface to *Jeremiah* observes: His Words are, *Librum autem Baruch Notarii ejus, qui apud Hebraeos nec legitur, nec habetur, pretermisimus. Origen, Melito, St. Hilary, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Jerom and Rufinus* have it not in their List of the Sacred Writings of the Old Testament: But in the Council of *Laodicea*, in St. *Cyril*, in St. *Epiphanius*, and in St. *Athanasius*, it is joyned to *Jeremiah*. It is not particularly mention'd in the Lists of St. *Austin*, of the Councils of *Africa*, of *Innocent*, and of *Gelasius*; but 'tis very likely that those Latin Writers included it under the Name of *Jeremiah*, because *Baruch* being his Disciple, his Prophecy was joyn'd to *Jeremiah's*, and even cited under his Name by the Ancients. This St. *Austin* observes in the 18th. Book, *de Civ. Dei*, Cap. 33. where having cited under *Jeremiah's* Name, this Passage of *Baruch*, Chap. 3. v. 35, 37. *This is our God, and there shall none be accounted of in comparison of him . . . He did shew himself upon Earth and convers'd with men*, he then adds, that some ascribe not this saying to *Jeremiah* but to *Baruch*, his *Amanuensis* or Scribe; but that it is more known under the Name of *Jeremiah*. And indeed the Prophecy of *Baruch* is often cited by the Ancients under *Jeremiah's* Name; as for Instance, by St. *Clement Alexandrinus*, in his first Book of the *Padagogue* Ch. 10. and in the second Book Ch. 3. By St. *Cyprian* in the second Book *de Testimoniis ad Quirinum*; and in his Book concerning the Lord's Prayer; by *Eusebius* in his Tracts *de Demonstratione Evangelii*; by St. *Basil* in his fourth Book against *Eunomius*; by St. *Ambrose* in the first Book concerning Repentance, Ch. 8. in the fourth Book on the Creation Ch. 14. and in the first Book concerning Faith, Ch. 2. by the Author of the Queries on the Old and New Testament, which goes under St. *Austin's* Name, Q. 102. By the Author of a Homily concerning the Trinity, attributed to St. *Chrysostom*, and in another Homily of the same Author cited in the sixth General Council, Sess. 8. held under the Popes *Felix* and *Pelagius*, and lastly by *Cassiodorus* on the 81st. Psalm.

As for the other Books, viz. *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Wisdom*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and the two Books of the *Maccabees*, they were never in the *Jewish Canon*, and are not to be met with in the Ancient Canons of Sacred Books, drawn up by the Christian Writers, except in those of the Churches of *Rome* and *Africk*. But 'tis requisite to enquire more particularly, what we can discover about this matter in Ancient times.

*Origen* in the Epistle to *Africanus* observes that the Books of *Tobit* and *Judith* were not received by the *Jews*, and that they were not so much as plac'd among their *Apocryphal* Books, tho' the Churches did make use of them. In the twenty seventh Homily on the Book of *Numbers*, he says that those Books are rank'd among such as were read to the *Catechumens*, because they contain in them a plainer and less elevated Doctrine than the Rest. The same Judgment is pass'd on them in the Festival Epistle of St. *Athanasius*, and in the *Synopsis* attributed to him. St. *Hilary* says that some Christians added these two Books to the other two and twenty acknowledg'd by the *Jews*, and so made up their Canon, consisting of twenty four Books. St. *Jerom* in his General Preface, after mention made of the two and twenty Books that are in the Canon, excludes *Judith* and *Tobit*, as well as *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* out of the Canon, and places them in the number of *Apocryphal Writings*. His words are these: *Quidquid extra hos est, inter Apocrypha ponendum: Igitur Sapientia qua vulgo Salomonis inscribitur, & Jesu Filii Sirach Liber, & Judith, & Tobias non sunt in Canone*. And in the Preface of his Commentaries upon *Jonas*, he observes, that tho' the Book of *Tobit* be not in the Canon, yet it is made use of by Ecclesiastical Writers. 'Tis something strange, that after this Declaration, he should say in his Prefaces before those Books, that the *Hebrews* reckon'd them among their *Hagiographa*, or holy Writings: But the Reading in those two Places ought to be *Apocrypha* instead of *Hagiographa*, as Father *Martianay* has corrected it from an Ancient Manuscript. *Rufinus* likewise rejects these two Books as such as were not call'd *Canonical*, but *Ecclesiastical*, and which the Ancients permitted to be read in Churches for the Edification of the Faithful, tho' they did not believe them Authentic enough, whereon to ground any Articles of Faith. We might produce an Evidence out of *Irenaeus*, who in the thirty fourth Chapter of his first Book against Heresie, speaking of the Distribution which the *Gnosticks* made of the Prophets into several Classes which they attributed to their *Aeones*, says that they assign'd to *Elo* the Prophets *Haggai* and *Tobit*. This shews that in the time of *Irenaeus*, the Book of *Tobit* was then in Repute, and that *Tobit* was rank'd among the Prophets. St. *Cyprian* often cites the Book of *Tobit* as Scripture in his Tract concerning Works of Mercy and Alms-giving. It is likewise cited by St. *Hilary* on the 129th Psalm, who makes use of it to prove the Intercession of Angels: *There are* (says he) *according to Raphael's speech to Tobit, Angels in the Presence of the resplendent Light of God.* St. *Ambrose*



brose has explain'd this Book throughout, as a Piece of Scripture, and has cited it in his Commentary on the *Creation*, Book 6. Chap. 4. St. *Jerom*, who excludes it from the Canon, and puts it among the *Jewish Apocryphal Books*, yet took the pains to translate it, and speaks very favourably of it in the *Preface* of his Version; where he says, That he does not concern himself about the Reproaches of the *Jews*, who might find fault that this Book was turn'd into *Latin*, contrary to the Authority of their Canon; because he thought it better to displease the Pharisees; than disobey the orders of the Bishops. St. *Chrysostom* in the thirteenth Homily to the People of *Antioch*, and the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions*, Book 8. Chap. 45. do cite this Book: and 'tis, as we have already hinted in the Canons of the Councils of *Africk*, of *Innocent*, of *Gelasius*, of *Eugenius IV.* and of the Council of *Trent*.

The Book of *Judith* is not only rejected in all the ancient Catalogues of Sacred Writings, but it is likewise not so much as cited by the Ancient Fathers; tho' St. *Clement Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, St. *Clement Alexandrinus* in the fourth Book of his *Stromata*, *Tertullian* in his first Book concerning *Monogamy*, and in the first Book against *Marcian*, Chap. 7. do all commend the Heroical Action of *Judith*. This shews that the Book of *Judith* was then known and had in Repute by the Church. We have already related what St. *Athanasius*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Jerom*, and *Ruffinus* have said on this Point: But as for St. *Jerom* we must farther add, that this Father did not always speak of it as an Apocryphal Book (a). For in the 140th Epistle he styles it a Sacred Volume, and joyns it to the Books of *Ruth* and *Esther*: *Ruth, Esther & Judith tanta gloria sunt, ut sacris Voluminibus nomina indiderint*. And in the Preface of his Translation of this Book, after he had observ'd that the *Jews* place it among the *Apocryphal*, and that his own Authority is not sufficient to prove the things that are under Debate; he adds that the Council of *Nice* reckon'd it in the Number of Books of Sacred Scripture, and that this was the Reason why he comply'd with the request made to, or rather Command which was laid upon him to translate it: *Sed quia (says he) hunc Librum Synodus Nicena in numero Sanctarum Scripturarum legitur Computasse, acquievi postulationi vestra imo exactioni*. What St. *Jerom* seems to assert in this Passage, about the drawing up a Canon of Scripture by the *Nicene Council*, wherein the Book of *Judith* was inserted, has not the Least shew of Probability in it. For besides, that nothing like this is to be met with in the Creed, Canons and Letters of the Council, (and 'tis very Probable that this Council had no other Acts) is it credible that if any such Canon of Sacred Books had been made, it should not be taken notice of, by any one of those who assisted at it? Is it possible that St. *Athanasius*, St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Cyril*, who could not be ignorant of the Determinations of the *Nicene Council*, would have rejected the Book of *Judith* as *Apocryphal*, if it had been plac'd among the *Canonical Books* by the Authority of a Council, to which they paid so much Deference? In short would St. *Hilary* have been satisfied in saying that *some added this Book to the Canon*? Would he not in speaking of the *Canonical Books* rather have asserted confidently, that the Church did acknowledge it? Nay St. *Jerom* himself, if he had been assur'd of this matter of Fact, would he have rejected this Book so often, or would he not rather have produc'd this Catalogue of the *Nicene Council*, as an Infallible Rule which ought to be follow'd? Father *Martianay*, in his Note on this Passage of St. *Jerom*, acknowledges, That that Council made no Decree concerning the Sacred Writings; but pretends that St. *Jerom* said this, because he had discover'd that the Fathers of the *Nicene Council* had cited several Sentences out of *Judith*. St. *Jerom* however seems to speak of a Decree of the Council which contain'd the Number of *Canonical Books*: *In Numero (says he) Sanctarum Scripturarum legitur computasse*: And for as much as this may be look'd upon as a Citation, there must needs have been some Monuments of the Council of *Nice*, which are lost; but this is a thing not easily to be prov'd. 'Tis therefore more probable that he alleg'd this Fact upon the Credit of another, or from the common Opinion of his times. But tho' the *Nicene Council* did not reckon the Book of *Judith* as *Canonical*, yet the *Latin Church* has since acknowledg'd it as such, in the Council of *Carthage*, by *Innocent I.* in the Council of *Rome* under *Gelasius*, and in the Council of *Trent*, which has follow'd herein the Decree of *Eugenius IV.*

(a). As an Apocryphal Book.] St. *Jerom* did not keep always to the same Language, concerning the Books which are not in the *Jewish Canon*. When he treats expressly concerning the Number of *Canonical Books*, as in his Prefaces to the Book of *Kings*, the Books of *Solomon*, *Ezrah*, *Esther*; in his 7th and 103d Epistles to *Paulinus*, in his Commentary on *Ezekiel*, Book 17. Chap. 43. he always rejects the Books that are not in the *Jewish Canon*, as *Apocryphal*, and as being reckon'd as such. But in other places he often cites those very Books as Sacred Writ.

The Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* are put down in the Ancient Catalogues among the useful Books which are read in the Church with Edification, but are *Uncanonical*. Yet these Books are cited as Holy Scripture by a great many Ancient Writers (*b*.) by St. Barnabas, St. Clement Romanus, Tertullian Book 3. against Marcian, and in his Book of Prescriptions, by St. Clement Alexandrinus, St. Cyprian and Origen in a great many places of their Works, St. Hilary on the 140th Psalm, by St. Basil, (as some say), by St. Ambrose, St. Jerom, and St. Augustin. But it does not from hence follow, that they all acknowledg'd them as Canonical. On the contrary Origen, St. Jerom, and St. Hilary place them among the *Apocryphal*, and St. Basil, in the Preface to his Commentary on the *Proverbs*, says expressly, that there are but three Books which belong to Solomon, and in other places he gives us sufficient hints, that he never look'd upon the Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* as Canonical. Philastrius, and Rufinus reject them, as well as the Priests of *Marseilles*, and some other *Gauls* who rejected the Book of *Wisdom*, as St. Hilary testifies in his Letter to St. Augustin (*c*). Theodoret is of the same mind in his Preface to the *Canticles*. We cannot absolutely say so of St. Cyprian, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustin, who acknowledg'd them for Canonical, according as it was determin'd in the Council of Carthage, by Pope Innocent I, in the Council of Rome under Gelasius, by the Decree of Eugenius, and in the Council of Trent.

Lastly, the two Books of the *Maccabees* are cast out of the Canon of Sacred Books in the Catalogues of Melito, Origen, the Council of Laodicea, St. Cyril, St. Hilary, St. Athanasius, St. Jerom, and in the rest which we have already mention'd. In the *Chronicle* of Eusebius they are oppos'd to the Canonical Books, where 'tis said: *What we have hitherto related concerning the Annals of the Hebrews, is taken out of the Holy Scripture; what follows is taken out of the Books of the Maccabees, Josephus, and Africanus.* Tertullian in his Treatise against the *Jews* mentions the History of the *Maccabees*, but does not cite

(*b*) Cited as Scripture by a great many Ancient Writers. Besides a great many Allusions of Scripture, which might be produc'd, but which do not prove that they were quoted, St. Barnabas cites one Passage out of *Wisdom* 2. 12. and another out of *Ecclesiasticus* 4. 36. St. Clement Romanus in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, mentions a Passage taken from *Wisdom* 11. 22. Tertullian, B. 3. against Marcian, towards the End, and in the *Prescriptions*, quotes the Book of *Wisdom*. St. Clement Alexandrinus cites them also several times in his *Stromata*, as Eusebius takes notice, *Ecclesiast. Hist.* B. 6. Ch. 7. St. Cyprian cites these two Books very often, and ascribes them even to Solomon himself. Origen cites the Book of *Wisdom* as Scripture in a great many places; viz. in his third Book against Celsus, and in his eighth Homily on *Exodus*: *Ecclesiasticus* he quotes in his twenty fourth Tract upon St. Matthew. St. Hilary cites them on the 140th Psalm. St. Basil likewise cites them sometimes, and particularly B. 5. against Eunomius. They are likewise quoted in the Letter of the Council of Sardica, mention'd by Theodoret, B. 2. Ch. 8. of his History; by St. Ambrose very often, and by St. Jerom himself in his Commentary on the seventy third Psalm, in the second and sixteenth Books upon *Isaiah*, in the thirty third Book on *Ezekiel*: And by St. Augustin in a great many places. They are likewise cited by the Author of the Book entitled, *De Divinis Nominibus, & de Hierarchia*; in the latter of these Tracts, Ch. 2. and in the former, Ch. 4. By Anastasius Sinaita, Lib. 9. in *Exam. Orat.* 2. *De In-circumscriptione*, & Q. 8, & 10; by John Damascen, B. 4. Ch. 16. *De Fide Orthodoxa*, in his third Oration concerning the *Nativity*, and in the Sermon concerning the *Dead*, and by others. But, as Greiser remarks, The Citing of any Book does not make it Canonical. These Books are thrown out of the Canon by those very Persons, who cite them as Scripture; and those who ascribe them to Solomon in their Citations, do expressly deny it in other places. There are some who pretend that the Book of *Ecclesiasticus* is cited by those, who mention this Sentence (*Do nothing without Advice*) as Scripture; such as St. Basil, in his short Rules, *Interrog.* 104. Eusebius, *de Prap. Evang.* Book 12. Cassian, Conference 2.

Boniface, in his 98th Epistle; the Council of Ephe-sus, in the Synodal Epistle to Pamphilus. But this very Sentence is in Substance to be met with *Prov.* 13. 16. and is verbatim in *Chap.* 24. v. 13. of the Version of the *Septuagint*, from whence those Fathers took it, as well as Isidorus of Damietta, who has often made use of it. The *Proverbs* were likewise very frequently cited by the Ancients under the Name of *Wisdom*: By Melito in his Catalogue, *Proverbia quæ & Sapientia*, (for so it ought to be render'd, and not *Proverbia & Sapientia*); By Origen in his seventeenth Homily on *Genesis*, *Exodus*, and *Numbers*. By the Author who writ under the Name of Dionysius of Alexandria against Paulus Samosatenus; By the Author of the Constitutions several times; by St. Basil *Const. Monast.* c. 3. and 16. By St. Gregory Nazianzen *Orat.* 1. and 26. and by St. Gregory Nyssen in his Book of the Life of Moses, and B. 7. against Eunomius; by the *Trallian Council.* Ch. 64. By the Second Council of Nice, *Act.* 6. The *Proverbs* are likewise styl'd *prophetia*, by Clement Alexandrinus, Hege-sippus, and several others of the Ancients.

(*c*) As St. Hilary testifies in his Letter to St. Augustine. This Father having produc'd this Passage out of *Wisd.* 4. 11. [*He was taken away lest wickedness should alter his Understanding,*] to prove his Opinion concerning Predestination; those who dissented from his Opinion in Gaul, reply'd, as Hilary testifies, that no use could be made of this Passage, being taken out of a Book that was not Canonical, [*tanquam non Canonicum omittendum.*] But St. Augustin in his Treatise concerning the Predestination of the Saints, gives 'em this Answer, *That they ought not to reject that Passage of the Book of Wisdom, which had for so long a time been fit to be read in the Church, and to be hark'd to with the Veneration that is due to a Book of Divine Authority, by all Christians, from the highest Bishop to the Lowest Laick, Penitent, and Catechumen.* He adds that this Book ought at least to be prefer'd to all other Ecclesiastical Writings, since they themselves have cited it as a Divine Piece. He says farther in his 17th Book de *Civitate Dei*, That the Books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* were receiv'd in the first Centuries, especially by the Western Church.

these



their Books as *Canonical Scripture*. St. Cyprian indeed does often cite them under that Name; and so does St. Ambrose in the Book concerning *Jacob*, and a happy Life, Ch. 10, 11. St. Chrysostom compos'd an Homily upon the *Maccabees*, which is Lost: He likewise mentions the *Maccabees* in his fourth Homily on the Words of *Isaac*, and on the 44th Psalm. St. Jerom himself who rejects them in several Places, does likewise cite them as Sacred Books in B. 5. of his Commentary on *Isaiah*. St. Augustin quotes them in his Book concerning the Care that ought to be taken of the Dead, to prove that one may offer up Sacrifice for them: and in his 18th. Book de *Civit. Dei*, he assures us that tho' these Books were not receiv'd as Canonical by the *Jews*, yet they are own'd as such by the Church. But in his first Tract against *Gaudentius*, speaking of the Action of *Razis* who kill'd himself, he thus expresses himself concerning those Books: *The Jews do not admit of the Books of the Maccabees, as they do of the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms: But the Church receives them, and they are not unuseful, provided they be read and understood with some caution and restriction; they are likewise very valuable upon the Account of the History of the seven Brethren, who suffer'd under Antiochus the Tyrant.* However he places them in the Catalogue of *Canonical Books*, which he relates in the Second Book de *Doctrinâ Christianâ*. The Author de *Miraculis Scripturae*, which Work is to be met with among St. Augustin's Tracts, rejects the Books of the *Maccabees*. In the Last Canon attributed to the Apostles, we find three Books of the *Maccabees* reckon'd among the *Canonical Books*; but 'tis very probable, that this passage has been Added, since they are not acknowledg'd as *Canonical* by the *Nicephori*, St. John Damascenus B. 4. Ch. 18. de *fide Orthodoxâ*, and several others who have own'd the Authority of the *Apostolical Canons*. They are receiv'd by the third Council of *Carthage*, and by *Innocent I.* There is but one of them approv'd by the Council of *Rome* under *Gelasius*. 'Tis very strange that after such Authorities, St. Gregory the Great should thus speak of them in the Nineteenth Book of his *Morals*; *We don't without reason, says he, produce arguments taken out of these Books that are not Canonical, since they have been published for the Edification of the Church.* This would make one believe, that they question'd the Authority of these Books in the *Roman Church* even since the Decrees of *Innocent* and *Gelasius*. However it seems more probable that the Churches of *Africk* and of *Rome* did unanimously own them as *Canonical*; but we can't say so much of the other Churches, since there are a great many Ecclesiastical-Writers both *Greek* and *Latin*, who, since the Decisions of the Council of *Carthage* and *Rome*, and the Declaration of *Innocent I.* have not reckon'd above two or four and twenty *Canonical Books* of the *Old Testament*: among the *Greeks* for Instance there are, *Anastasia Sinaita*, *Leontius*, St. John Damascenus, the *Nicephori*, *Antiochus*, *Philip*; and among the *Latins*, *Bede*, *Isidorus*, *Berengaudus*, &c. who have either reckon'd three Classes of the Books of Scripture, according to *Junilius*, or have declared, that they own no Books for *Canonical* which are not in the *Jewish Canon*; such among the more Modern Writers are, *Lyranus* in his Commentaries on *Esayas* and *Tobit*, *Tostatus* on the first Chapter of *St. Matthew*, *Cajetan* at the end of the Historical Books of the *Old Testament*, and several others. Which shews that those Determinations were not regarded by all Authors and all Churches, till the Matter was fully decided by the Council of *Trent*.

Having thus treated of the Books which have been wholly and intirely thrown out of the Canon of Holy Scripture, we shall now make a few Remarks on a Part of the Book of *Daniel*, which the *Jews* reject, containing the Prayer of *Azarias*, and the Song of the three Children in the Fiery Furnace, which begin at the 24th. Verse of the third Chapter, and end at the 91st: The History of *Susanna*, related in the Thirteenth Chapter, and of *Bel* and the Dragon, in the Fourteenth and Last. These Subjects are not in the *Hebrew* or *Chaldee Text*, nor in the *Greek Version* of the *Septuagint*, but are taken out of the *Greek Version* of *Theodotion*, (which was then us'd by the Church) in *Daniel's* Prophecy, as St. Jerom observes in his Preface, and in the Note which he has made on those Places. *Africanus*, *Eusebius*, and *Apollinarius* have rejected these Narrations, not only as being *Uncanonical*, but also as *Fabulous*, and St. Jerom seems to be of their Opinion (d). *Origen* has maintained the Truth

(d) St. Jerom seems to be of their Opinion. In his Preface to the Translation of *Daniel*, he has these Words: *Apud Hebræos nec Susanna habet Historiam, nec Hymnum trium Puerorum, nec Belis Draconisque fabulas, quas nos, quia in toto orbe dispersæ sunt veru anteposito, easque jugulante subjecimus, ne*

*videremur apud imperitos magnam partem voluminis detruncasse.* He afterwards relates the Objections, that are made, to demonstrate the Falsity of this History, without replying to them, and leaves his Reader to be Judge of the Case; *super qua Lectoris arbitrio rem relinquens.* *Rufinus* upbraids him



Truth of this History against *Africanus*, but withall does not assert it to be *Canonical*, (e).

The Author of the Book concerning the Wonderful things of the Scripture, attributed to *St. Augustin*, does not mention the History of *Susanna*, and rejects that of *Bell and the Dragon*, B. 2. Ch. 32. *Theodoret* in his Exposition of *Daniel*, does not say a Word of those Histories. *Nicephorus* places *Susanna* among the *Apocryphal* Books. However that which is related in those two Chapters is cited under *Daniel's* Name, and as part of his Prophecy (f) by *St. Irenaus*, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *St. Cyprian*, *Didymus*, *St. Hilary*, *St. Basil*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustin*; the Author of a Homily upon *Susanna* attributed to *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Fulgentius*, *Avitus*, and *Bede*. *Sulpitius Severus*, and the Author of the Synopsis of *St. Athanasius*, do likewise mention these Histories as part of the Sacred Text; tho' the Latter, at the end of his Work, owns that the History of *Susanna* is one of those Books that are doubted of. *St. Ambrose* quotes the Words of *Daniel* related in the third Chapter, as being certainly of Divine Inspiration; and *Ruffinus* upbraids *St. Jerom* for having cut off from *Daniel*, the Song of the three Children, the History of *Susanna*, and that of *Bell and the Dragon*. *St. Jerom* himself in answering him is forc'd to accommodate himself to the common receiv'd Opinion, but relapses into his Old Sentiments in the Preface to his Commentary on *Daniel*. This is what can be produc'd for the Authority of these Histories; we shall in the Sequel examine what has been said concerning the Truth of them.

for this Conduct in his second Invektive, and accuses him of having struck out of the Scriptures an Example of Chastity, which the Church propos'd to the Imitation of the Faithful; and of having effac'd a Hymn which was sung in the Church on High Days: *Nam omnis* (says he) *illa Historia de Susanna quæ castitatis exemplum præstabat Ecclesiis Dei, ab isto abscessa est & abjecta & posthabita: Trium Puerorum Hymnus, qui maximè diebus solemnibus in Ecclesia Dei canitur, ab isto & loco suo penitus erasus est.* To this *St. Jerom*, in the second Book of his Apology, replies, That he had only set down what the Jews; usually objected against the History of *Susanna*, the Song of the Three Children, and the Stories of *Bell and the Dragon*. *Non enim* (says he) *quid ipse sentirem, sed quid illi contra dicere soleant, explicavi. Quædam opinioni si non respondi in Prologo, brevitati studens, ut non præfationem sed Librum viderer scribere.* Notwithstanding this, in the Preface of his Commentary upon *Daniel* he likewise treats these Histories, as Fables that have no Authority. He approves of the Opinion of *Eusebius* and *Apollinarius*, who would not engage themselves in defending them against *Porphyry*, because they had not Canonical Authority; and opposes the Testimony of these Authors, to such as blame him for having struck out those Books. This is exactly the Objection of *Ruffinus*. *St. Jerom's* Passage upon this Point runs thus; *Cui & Eusebius & Apollinarius pariter semper respondere Susannæ, Belisq; ac Draconis fabulas non contineri in Hebræo, sed pariem esse Prophetiæ Habacuc filii Jesu de Tribu Levi..... unde & nos ante plurimos annos cum veriteremur Daniëlem, hæc visiones cum O-belo prænotavimus significantes eas in Hebræo non haberi. Et miror quosdam hæc quædamque, indignari mihi quasi ego decurraverim Librum, cum & Origenes, & Eusebius, & Apollinarius, aliiq; Ecclesiastici viri & doctores Græci hæc, ut dixi, visiones non haberi apud Hebræos, fateantur, nec se debere respondere Porphyrio pro his, quæ nullam Scripturæ Sanctæ auctoritatem præbeant.* 'Tis upon this Account that he did not make a Commentary on the two last Chapters, but only collected some Observations taken out of the Tenth Book of *Origen's Stromata*, to prove the Narration to be true. Yet in the Conclusion he seems to despair of being able to answer the Objection. *Quod facile solvet* (concludes he) *qui hanc historiam in libro Daniëlis apud Hebræos dixerit non haberi. Si quis autem potuerit eam approbare esse de Canone, tunc quærendum est quid ei respondere debeamus.*

(e) Yet *Origen* does not assert it to be Canonical.]

*St. Jerom*, in the Preface to his Commentary upon *Daniel*, mentions *Origen* as one of those who thought it not requisite to answer what *Porphyry* said against those Histories, because they had not the Authority of Sacred Writ. In the Commentary of *St. Jerom* on the Last Chapters of *Daniel*, taken out of the Tenth Book of *Origen's Stromata*, the Truth of these Histories is maintain'd; but yet so, as they are not thereby concluded to be Canonical. In the Contest betwixt *Origen* and *Africanus*, *Origen* only concern'd himself about the Truth of this History. *Africanus* reprov'd *Origen* for having produc'd, in a Conference, the History of *Susanna*, because that part of the Book of *Daniel* was false, a Relation and Fable newly invented. *Origen*, for his part, defends the Narration as a true History, and likewise believes, that it was formerly in the Hebrew Text, from which it was afterwards eras'd by the Jews. But he does not assert that it was receiv'd as Canonical by all the Churches: He only says that it was commonly us'd in the Church, [*Quæ in Ecclesiis circumferuntur.*] In this very Letter he says the same thing of the Book of *Tobit*, viz. That it was not receiv'd as Canonical by all the Church. Yet 'tis quoted by him as Canonical, in the Eighth Homily upon *Leviticus*. *Sed tempus est* (says *Origen*) *nos adversus improbos Presbyteros uti sancta Susanna vocibus, quas illi repudiantes, historiam Susannæ de Catalogo divinatorum Voluminum deiecerunt, nos autem & suscipimus & contra ipsos opportunè proferimus.* But 'tis very probable that 'tis an Addition of *Ruffinus*, who directly strikes at *St. Jerom*. *Origen* in his Commentary on *St. Matthew* observes, that he makes use of the Example of *Daniel*, tho' he knew very well that it was not in the Hebrew, but because it was us'd by the Church. He adds, that this was not a place proper to treat of that Matter.

(f) However that which is related in those two Chapters is cited under *Daniel's* Name, and as part of his Prophecy.] *Irenaus* B. 4. against Heresies ch. 11. says *Quem & Daniel Prophetæ (cum dixisset ei Cyrus Rex Persarum, Quare non adoras Bel?) annuntiavit dicens, quoniam non colo Idola. ibid. Ch. 44. Et audiens eas, quæ sunt à Daniele Prophetæ voces, semen Chanaan, & non Juda species seduxit is, &c.* These are *Daniel's* Words to the two Elders, Ch. 13. v. 52. *St. Clement of Alexandria*, in his *Stromata*, B. 4. after he had prais'd *Judith* and *Esther*, adds: *Taceo enim Susannam & Moysæ Sororem: Illa vero per summam bonestatem vel ad mortem usq; procedens, cum ab intemperantibus*

perantibus condemnatur amatoribus, persistit constans & firma testis pudicitiae. Tertullian in his Tract concerning Idolatry, Ch. 18. has these Words: Statim apparuisse Daniele idoli non deferuisse, nec Belem, nec Draconem colere. In his Book de Juvenibus, Ch. 7. he says; *Aspice Danielis exemplum circa somnium Regis Babylonis, & si Deo miserabilis, Leonibus in lacu fuerat horribilis.* Et Ch. 9. Sicut Danieli in lacum Leonum esuriendi prandium metentium exhibitum est. L. de Cor. c. 4. Si & Susanna in judicio revelata argumentum velandi praestat. — Origen in his Letter to Africanus, in his Eighth Book against Celsus, and in his Eighth Homily on Leviticus, expresses himself thus: Sed tempus est nos adversus improbos Presbyteros uti sanctae Susannae vocabis, quas illi repudiantes historiam Susannae, de Catalogo Divinorum voluminum defecerunt, nos autem & suscipimus, & contra ipsos opportunè proferimus. In his Commentary on St. Matthew, he says, Uti sumus hoc Danielis exemplo, non ignorantes quod in Hebraeo positum non est, sed quoniam in Ecclesijs tenetur, alterius est temporis requirere de hujusmodi. St. Cyprian, in his Fourth Epistle, now the Forty third, expresses himself in these Words: Ne Aitas vos eorum, nec Auctoritas fallat, qui ad duorum Presbyterorum nequitiam respondentes, sicut illi Susannam pudicam corrumpere & violare conati sunt. In the Fifty sixth, now the Fifty eighth Epistle, Sic & Daniel, cum compelleretur adorare Idolum Bel in asserendum Dei sui honorem plenè fidei libertate, prorupit dicens, Nihil colo ego nisi Dominum Deum meum, qui condidit Cælum & Terram. The same Father, in his Treatise of the Lord's Prayer, says, Sic Danieli in Leonum lacu jussu Regis incluso, prandium Divinitus procuratur: In his Tract or Exhortation to Martyrdom, Daniel Deo devotus, & Sancto Spiritu plenus, exclamat & dicit, Ni-

hil colo ego nisi Dominum Deum. And in his Book concerning Works of Mercy and Alms-giving: Danieli in lacu Leonum ad pradam jussu Regis incluso, prandium divinitus apparatur. Didymus, in his First Book concerning the Holy Ghost, has these Words, Danieli adhuc puero suscitasse dicitur Deus Spiritum Sanctum quasi jam habitantem in eo: And B. 3. Hac autem fallacia etiam in Presbyteros, qui adversus Susannam in crudelitatem se verterent, intravit, &c. scriptum est enim: Venerunt autem & duo Presbyteri pleni iniqua cogitatione. St. Hilary, on the Twenty second Psalm, says; Sed & Daniel condemnans Presbyteros ita dicit, non semen Abraham, &c. St. Basil, in his Commentary on the Third Chapter of Isaiah, thus expresses his Thoughts: Si quis fuerit ad exemplum sapientis illius Danielis, corpore quidem juvenculus, canis vero sensu, utiq; potius preferendus venit istis qui in proposito flagitiose ac perulantis vitæ consensientes canitiem ostentant corporis, quemadmodum seniores illi in Babylone inveterate dierum Malorum, &c. The same Father in his Second Homily de Juvenibus, makes mention of Daniel's being cast into the Lion's Den. St. Gregory Nazianzen, in his Twenty seventh Oration, has these Words; Quandoquidem ut Danielis verbis utar, egressa est iniquitas a Senioribus Babylonicis, &c. There is a Homily on the Story of Susanna attributed to St. Chrysostom, but which is none of his. St. Ambrose, B. 3. Ch. 6. concerning the Holy Ghost; St. Austin in his 118th Sermon, and in several other places; St. Fulgentius, in his Tract concerning the Faith of Peter, and in his Replications to Ferrandus; Avitus, in his Letter to his Sister; Bede, and several others, do likewise acknowledge these Histories as part of the Scripture, and of the Book of Daniel.

## SECTION VI.

*How the Deutero-Canonical Books came to be inserted into the Canon of Sacred Books, and to be own'd as such.*

**T**IS a material point to enquire how the Books, which at first were not in the Canon of the Jews and of a great many Churches, and whose Authority was not allow'd to be receiv'd, have since become Canonical, and acquir'd so great an Authority, that 'tis no longer lawful to doubt of them, but to look upon them as Sacred and Divine Writings. For it seems with reference to the Books of the Old Testament, none ought to be acknowledg'd as Divinely inspir'd, but such as were receiv'd by the Grand Synagogue, and inserted into its Canon. 'Tis to this Synagogue God had intrusted the Divine Writings; 'Tis it, that has preserv'd them; 'Tis by its Testimony and Tradition that they were discover'd and known; and from it the Christians have receiv'd them. If Jesus Christ and his Apostles had taken notice of any others as divinely inspir'd, we should be oblig'd to acknowledge them; but they have cited none other Books under the Name of Holy Scripture, but those which are in the Jewish Canon. If the whole Church had inserted any others into the Canon in the Primitive Times, one might then say that it was of Apostolical Tradition; but on the contrary it appears that they were not inserted in the most Ancient Catalogues of the Christian Writers, and that several have cast them out of the Canon, or at least have doubted of them. Now if in the beginning they might be call'd into question, because they were not received by all the Churches, why may they not be doubted of at present? It was to no purpose that they were receiv'd afterwards; this subsequent Agreement could not render them Canonical: For the Church having had no new Revelation could not tell whether those Books were Divine or not, but only by Tradition. Now since Ancient Tradition varies, and renders the matter uncertain, whatever approbation the Church might afterwards make, unless it had receiv'd new Light, the thing ought still to remain in the same uncertainty.

To this some reply, That those Books that are call'd Deutero-Canonical were acknowledged by the Universal Church even in the Primitive Times, as Books divinely inspir'd;



spir'd; that they were in the Canon of the *Christians*, tho' not in that of the *Jews*; and that the Ambiguity of those two Canons has impos'd upon a great many Writers. That the *African Church* having declared them to be *Canonical*, the Tradition of other Churches agreed with it in this Point; and that they have since been generally receiv'd, and insert'd in all the Canons which were afterwards drawn up. For the Proof of this position they produce the Authority of St. *Jerom* in his Prefaces to *Tobit* and *Judith*; where he observes, that tho' these two Books were not in the *Jewish Canon*, yet they were receiv'd in the Church, and that the Council of *Nice* had plac'd the latter among the Books of Holy Scripture. He says the same thing concerning the History of *Susanna* in his Answer to *Ruffinus*. They likewise bring a memorable Passage out of St. *Augustin*, who in his 18th Book *de Civit. Dei*, speaking of the Books of the *Maccabees*, says, That tho' they were not own'd as *Canonical* by the *Jews*, yet they were by the *Christians*: *Macchabæorum Libri, quos non Judæi, sed Ecclesia pro Canonicis habet*: And of the Book of *Wisdom* he says, that for a great many years all the *Christians* read it, and heard it in the Church with that Respect and Reverence that was due to a Canonical Book. They add, that it appears to be true that those Books were always acknowledg'd by the Church as *Canonical*, since there is scarce one of them but what was cited under the name of Sacred Writ by the most ancient *Christian* Writers, as we have already demonstrated.

It were to be wish'd that this Scheme were as Solid as 'tis Commodious, for an answer to the objection before lay'd down: But 'tis such an easy matter to overthrow it, that whoever would persist in defending it against the Hereticks, would soon find himself engag'd in such a Labyrinth, as would be difficult for him to extricate himself out of. It appears on the contrary, that most of the Ancients did not believe that the Books which were not Comprehended in the Catalogues that they made of *Canonical* Books were really such, or had the same Authority with those that were therein contain'd. For in the First place, if these Books had been receiv'd by all the Church, as Books of an infallible Authority, how is it possible that the Councils and Fathers who drew up the Catalogue of the Books of Holy Scripture should have omitted them? For whom and to what purpose did they make these Catalogues? Doubtless not for the *Jews*, but for the *Christians*: They made them not to discover what Books were receiv'd by the Great Synagogue, but to inform *Christians* what Books they ought to look upon as *Authentic*, and such as they ought to establish their Religion upon (a).

This being so, would it not have been ridiculous in the Bishops of the Councils and in the Ecclesiastical Writers, if they had insert'd into their Catalogue or Canon only such Books as the *Jews* acknowledg'd, and had constantly omitted those which the Catholic Church had allow'd of? It can't be said that this Omission happen'd either by chance or through neglect. For beside this, that in a Subject of so great importance it cannot be presum'd that any Person should be guilty of such an Ignorance or Neglect; yet if it were so, 'tis impossible that all of 'em should have omitted exactly and precisely the same Books. In the second place, they have not only omitted these Books, but most of them have exprelly said that they were not own'd as *Canonical* by the *Christians* themselves: For some of them have call'd them *Apocryphal*; others have said that they are *doubtful*; some, that they were such as the Church was not agreed about: And most have said that tho' they be read in the Church, yet they were not receiv'd among the *Canonical* Writings: *Legit quidem Ecclesia* (says St. *Jerom*) *sed eos inter Canonicas Scripturas non recipit*. Where observe, that 'tis the Church which did not admit of them as *Canonical*. They have added that they were good and useful, that they might be read to the *Catechumens*; but that they did not stand upon the same Authority with the *Canonical* Writings; that they could not be made use of to establish any Doctrine of Religion; and that they ought to be read with Discretion and Caution. 'Tis after this Manner, that the Ancients have spoken of these Books in the

(a) Such as they ought to establish their Religion upon.] None of 'em have said, that they follow the Canon of the *Jews*; almost all of them declare, that they speak of those that were receiv'd in the Church, which the *Christians* ought to read, and whose Authority they ought to rely on, and make use of. Neither *Melito*, nor the Author of the *Apostolical Canon*, nor the Fathers of the Council of *Laodicea*, nor St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, nor St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, took any notice of the Canon of the *Jews*; their Design was to draw up the Catalogue

of Books acknowledg'd to be *Canonical* in the Church. St. *Cyril* speaks thus to the *Christian Novice*, Read these two and twenty Books, meditate on them only, and regard not the *Apocryphal*. The *Apostolical Canon*, recommends them to the perusal both of *Clergy* and *Laity*. It was not for the *Jews*, but for the *Christians*, that the Council of *Laodicea* drew up its Canon. St. *Hilary* speaks of *Christians* when he says that some reckon'd four and twenty Books, adding to the former *Tobit* and *Judith*.



places where they have expressly treated on this Subject. All this very clearly proves that those Books were not receiv'd as *Canonical* by all the Churches of the Primitive Times; and that we have great reason to call them *Deutero-Canonical*, not only upon the Account of the *Jewish Sanhedrim*, but also upon the account of the Church. But 'tis likewise requisite that some Assent be given to the following Truths: (1.) That those Books were transmitted to us from the *Jews*. (2.) That all *Christians* have acknowledged them as *Genuine*, free from Heresy or any other Error. (3.) That they have esteem'd and thought them to be very usefull for edification and Instruction, that they have caus'd them to be read to the *Catechumens*, and publickly in some Churches. (4.) That a great many Authors, even the most Ancient, have often cited them under the Name of Holy Scripture. (5.) that the *African Church* has acknowledged them for Sacred Books even in the Primitive Times, as appears from the Testimony of St. *Cyprian* who quotes them frequently. (6.) That that Church did insert them into the Catalogue of Sacred Books, and in the same rank with the rest in the fifth Century, with this *Proviso*, *That the Churches beyond Sea should be consulted with about it.* (7.) That the Church of *Rome* did likewise approve of the Opinion of the *Africans*, and that all the *Latin Churches* have embrac'd it since. All these Reasons and Considerations joyn'd together, are sufficient to establish the Authority of these Books, of which the Decision of the Council of *Trent* has left us no reason to doubt. For tho' no new Revelation has been made to the Church, yet it may after so long a tract of time be better assur'd of the Truth and Genuineness of a Work, than it was before, when after a due Examination of the Matter, it has met with a sufficient Testimony not to doubt any longer of it, and a sufficient Tradition, to judge it to be Authentic. 'Tis for this Reason that St. *Jerom* says that the Epistle of St. *Jude* hath acquired its Authority by Antiquity and Custom, and deserves to be plac'd among the Sacred Writings of the New Testament. I shall conclude this Head with the following Rule of St. *Augustin*, taken out of the 8th Chapter of his Second Book *de Doctrina Christiana*. "He who would become skilful in the Holy Scripture, ought in the first place to read it throughout, but withall only such Books as are call'd *Canonical*: for the others he will afterwards read over with more safety, when he shall have been fully instructed in the Faith. . . . . But to judge of the *Canonical* Scriptures, care should be taken to follow the Authority of most Churches, and particularly of those that are *Apostolical*; and an impartial Reader will prefer the Scriptures, that are receiv'd by all the Churches, to those that are rejected by some: And of those which are not receiv'd by all the Churches, he ought to prefer such as are receiv'd by the greatest Number, and most considerable of them: Lastly that in Case there be some Books that are receiv'd by the Greater Number of Churches, and others receiv'd by those Churches that have the most Authority (which St. *Augustin* believes very rarely, or never happens) then the Books shall be look'd upon to be of equal Authority. " 'Tis upon this Rule and according to this Principle of St. *Augustin* that I have argu'd, and all others ought to argue concerning the *Canonical Books*.

## S E C T. VII.

*The Division of the Books of the Old Testament, and the Orders they were rank'd in both by Jews and Christians*

THO' the Dividing or Distributing the Books of the *Old Testament* into several Distinct Classes, be a thing altogether Arbitrary, yet it may not be amiss to take notice of those that have been the most common, and the most in use. The first and most Ancient is that which is intimated by our Saviour, *Luke. 24. 44. All things must be fulfilled which were written in the Law, in the PROPHETS, and in the PSALMS concerning me.* It seems as if *Jesus Christ* was minded to refer all the Sacred Writings of the *Jews* to these three Classes: However this is not altogether clear, and perhaps he speaks here only of the five Books of *Moses*, the *Prophets*, and the Book of *Psalms*; because these are the Books which contain the greatest part of the Predictions concerning the *Messias*. But that which Inclines us to believe that he has comprehended in this Division all the Books of the *Law*, is because the Ancient *Jews* divided them

after the same manner into three Parts, and gave them the same Names. Thus much we learn from *Philo Judæus B. 6. de Vita contemplativa*; from *Josephus* in his first Book against *Appion*; from *St. Jerom* in *Prolog. Gal. & Prefat. in Daniel*; and from *St. Epiphanius Homil. 29. n. 7.* who assert that the *Jews* made three Classes of *Canonical Books*: the first of the *Law*, containing the five Books of *Moses*, which they call'd *THORA*: The Second of the *Prophets*, call'd by them *NEVIJM*, which comprehends the other Historical Books with the Prophecies: And the third of the *Hagiographa* or Sacred Writings, which they call'd *CETUVIM*, containing the *Hymns* or *Psalms* to the Praise of God, with the Pieces of Morality. But according to *Josephus*, the Second Class takes in thirteen Books, and the third no more than four: Whereas according to *St. Jerom* the Second Class contains but only Eight, and the Third Nine; because he has plac'd in this Last, the Book of *Job*, that of *Daniel*, (whom the *Jews* thought fit to strike out of the Number of the Prophets) the *Chronicles*, the Books of *Ezrah*, and the Book of *Esther*. In this Division *Ruth* is joyn'd with *Judges*, and the *Lamentations* with the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*. Several other *Rabbies*, and the *Septuagint* reckon up four and twenty Sacred Books, as *St. Jerom* observes in his Preface to the Books of *Ezrah*, that they might be conformable to the Letters of their Alphabet, wherein they repeated the Letter *JOD* thrice in honor of the Name *Jehovah*, which the *Chaldees* wrote by three *JODS*. 'Tis for this Reason that the *Jews* at this day do commonly make use of the Name of four and twenty, to denote the Holy Scriptures; because it is compris'd in four and twenty Books. Lastly, some have reckon'd seven and twenty, by separating all the double Books, as *St. Epiphanius* observes, and that they might have Characters to mark them, they added to the usual two and twenty Letters the five *Finals*, viz. *Caph*, *Mem*, *Nun*, *Pé*, and *Tsaddi*; which are of a different Make and figure at the End, from what they are of in the Middle or beginning of Words.

In this Distribution of Sacred Books into three Classes, they have assign'd a distinct Class for the Books of *Moses*, because he was their first Law-giver, and the Founder of the *Jewish* Religion. The Second Class consists of two Parts, containing four Books each. The former they stile *Ancient Prophets*, *NEVIJM RASCONIM*, viz. *Joshuah*, *Judges*, *Samuel* and the Books of *Kings*: and the Second the more Modern Prophets, *NEVIJM AHARONIM*, which are, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve *Lesser Prophets*. The third Class comprehends not only the Book of *Job*, and the *Psalms*, which are Poetical Pieces, and the Books of Morality, viz. the three Tracts of *Solomon*; but also the Book of *Daniel*, whom the *Jews* do not reckon as a Prophet, and the Historical Books of the *Chronicles*, *Ezrah*, and *Esther*. These Books are stil'd *Hagiographa*, or as they Phrase it, *HONCAHH HACCODISCH*, that is, writ by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, to distinguish them from the former, which they call *Prophetical*. For the *Jews* make a distinction betwixt Prophecy and Divine Inspiration, as *Rabbi Kimchi* observes in his Preface to the *Psalms*, and *Maimonides* in *More Nevochin Ch. 45.* Prophecy, say they, is a Revelation made to Men in a Dream, or when they are in an Extasie, or by some Vision and Representation, or lastly by a Voice: Whereas Divine Inspiration is convey'd to Persons who are endu'd with a Soundness and Presence of Mind, who speak as other Men; in whom nothing extraordinary appears, but who are inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, that enlightens their Minds, and suggests Words to them whereby to praise God, and to instruct and reprove Men, and even to foretell things to come. If regard be had to this Distinction, one cannot perceive why they have plac'd in the Class of Prophecies, the Historical Books of *Joshuah*, *Judges*, *Samuel*, and *Kings* (which were unquestionably writ by Persons of a sound Mind, and who spoke as other Men did) rather than the Books of *Job*, *Psalms* and *Daniel*, which are a great deal more Extatical, and full of the Poetical and Prophetical Air or Transport. Nor it is possible to assign any reason why they have excluded *Daniel* out of the Number of the Prophets, a Man who had a great many Visions and Apparitions in his Sleep. For to pretend as *Rabbi Kimchi* does, that 'tis because he has not equal'd the rest of the Prophets in his Visions, is a Chimerical Supposition. I should rather think that they depriv'd him of that Character, because he liv'd at Court more like a Man of the World, than a Prophet, or that they thought it convenient to joyn him to *Ezrah* and *Nehemiah* to continue the thread of the History. Let this be as it will, the *Jews* not only have inserted *Daniel* into their Canon, but have likewise own'd that it may be asserted that there are Prophecies in his Treatise, as well as in the *Psalms*, as appears from what *Rabbi Kimchi* says in his Preface to the *Psalms*. The Latter *Jews* who count four and twenty Canonical Books, place *Ruth* and the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah* among the

Hagi-



*Hagiographa*. I shall not stand to relate the Allusions which the *Rabbies* make of these three Classes of Sacred Books with the three parts of the Tabernacle or Temple, according to which, the Law of *Moses* (as the Principal part of Scripture) is correspondent with the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, the *Holiest of Holies*, where the Ark and the Books of the Law were deposited: The Book of the *Prophets* with the *Holy Place*, where the Table, the Candlestick, and the Golden Altar were; and the *Hagiographa* to the *Court of the Temple*, where was the Altar for the Whole Burnt Sacrifices; and a great many other trifling Notions which have neither Profitableness nor Solidity in them.

Tho' this Division of the Sacred Books of the Old Testament be the most Ancient, yet it has its faults, as we have already observ'd: (1.) Because they place in the Second Class, those Books that belong to the third, and in the third such Books as would have been better in the Second: (2.) Because they range in one and the same Class, Books of a different Nature, viz. *Historical* Books with *Prophetical*; Books of *Hymns* and *Praises* with Books of *Morality*; and *Poetical* Books with *Simple Narrations*. 'Tis for this Reason that several Authors have divided them after another manner. St. *Cyril of Jerusalem* and St. *Gregory Nazianzen* divided them into *Historical*, *Poetical* and *Prophetical*. Among the first of these they reckon the five Books of *Moses* with the Books of *Joshua*, *Judges* with *Ruth*, the *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, the Books of *Ezrah* and *Esther*, which according to the *Hebrews* are twelve in Number. The *Poetical* Books are five, viz. *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes* and the *Canticles*. The *Prophetical* Books are likewise five, viz. the twelve *Lesser* Prophets, and the four *Greater*, to wit, *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah* with *Baruch*, the *Lamentations*, and his *Letter*; *Ezekiel* and *Daniel*. St. *Epiphanius* makes four or five Classes of them; (1.) The *Law* which contains the five Books of *Moses*. (2.) Five Books written in Verse, which are *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes* and the *Canticles*. (3.) The *Hagiographa*, which are the Books of *Joshua*, *Judges* with *Ruth*, *Kings* and *Chronicles*. (4.) The *Prophetical* Books which are the twelve *Lesser*, and the four *Greater* Prophets. (5.) The Books of *Ezrah* and *Esther*, which are distinct from the rest. St. *Augustin* divides the Books of the Old Testament into four Classes; the first comprehends all those that give us the History of the World from its Creation in a direct Line of Succession, that is, the *Pentateuch*, *Joshua*, *Judges* with *Ruth*, whose History belongs to the first part of *Kings*, the four Books of *Kings*, and the *Chronicles* which are no more than a Recapitulation of the History of the same times. The Second contains the Histories which have no manner of Connexion, viz. the Books of *Job*, *Tobit*, *Esther*, *Judith*, the *Maccabees*, and the two Books of *Ezrah*, which seem rather to belong to the Sacred History. The third comprises the Books that may in some sort be stil'd *Prophetical*, viz. the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus*, which (according to this Father) belong to the same Author. The fourth, those that may properly be stil'd *Prophetical*, to wit, the twelve *Lesser* and the four *Greater* Prophets. St. *Chrysostom* in the 36th *Homily* on the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, intimates a Division, which, if one Article were added to it, would seem the most exact of any other. For he there observes, upon the occasion of a Passage of *Isaiah* cited by the Apostle as *THE LAW*, that all the Old Testament is sometimes stil'd *the Law*; that this Word taken in its Latitude comprehends *Nóμoι*, *Προφήται*, *Ἱσθιαί*, i. e. the *Law*, the *Prophets*, and the *Histories*; denoting thereby the three sorts of Books of which the Old Testament is compos'd, to which if there were added the Books that treat of *Morality*, you would have an exact Division of the Books of the Old Testament as to its Subject-matter, into four Classes, which is followed by *Isidorus of Sevil*, and *Raban*. The first will contain the *Law*, or the five Books of *Moses*, which are the Foundation of the Jewish Religion: The Second, the *Historical* Books, viz. *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth*, the four Books of *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, the Books of *Esther*, *Tobit*, and *Judith*, the two Books of *Ezrah*, and the two Books of the *Maccabees*. The third will comprehend the Prophets, viz. the four *Greater* with *Baruch* and the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah*, and the twelve *Lesser* Prophets. The fourth, the Books that are rather *Moral* and *Instructive*, than *Historical* and *Prophetical*, to wit, the Book of *Job*, the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom*, and *Ecclesiasticus*.

As for the Particular Order or Placing of these Books in each Class, neither the *Jews* nor *Christians* are agreed about it, Yet they all place the five Books of *Moses* in the Front. The Books of *Joshua*, *Judges*, *Ruth* and *Kings*, were those that were plac'd next the Second Class of the Ancient *Jews*: But the Moderns have taken *Ruth* from thence, and joyn'd it with the *Canticles*, the *Lamentations*, *Ecclesiastes* and *Esther*. They have made of them a sort of a Second *Pentateuch*, which they place after *Proverbs*.



The Order of the other Prophets in the Ancient Jewish Canon, runs thus: *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, *Ezekiel*, and the twelve Lesser Prophets. The Talmudists, *Babatra*, Ch. 1. place *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel* before *Isaiah*; whereas the *Massorets* keep to the usual Method. The former place *Ruth* before the *Psalms*; and the Book of *Job* after them, just before the *Proverbs*: *Daniel*, *Esther*, and *Ezrah* are the Last of the *Hagiographa*.

The Catalogues of the Canonical Books of the Ancient Christians are in the same Order as far as the Book of *Chronicles*, excepting St. *Epiphanius*, and St. *Jerom*, the former of whom inserts the Book of *Job*, *Psalms*, and the three Books of *Solomon* between *Ruth* and the Book of *Kings*: And the Latter places the *Chronicles* among the *Hagiographa*. But after the *Chronicles* the Ancient Christians seem to be of different Sentiments. For some of 'em do place after them the Books of *Ezrah*, as *Origen*, the Canons of the Apostles, and of the Councils of *Laodicea* and *Carthage*, St. *Cyril*, St. *Athanasius*, St. *Hilary*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Ruffinus*. Others put them at the End after the *Prophetical* Books, as *Melito*, St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Jerom*, Pope *Innocent I.* and Pope *Gelasius*.

*Esther* in the Council of *Laodicea* is placed after the Book of *Judges* and *Ruth*. In the Apostolical Canon, in St. *Cyril*, and *Ruffinus*, it follows *Ezrah* which comes after the *Chronicles*. *Origen* St. *Hilary*, St. *Jerom*, St. *Epiphanius*, the Council of *Carthage* and *Gelasius* place it the Last of all.

St. *Jerom* and *Ruffinus* are the Only Christian Authors, who have followed the Ancient Catalogue of the Jews, and plac'd the Prophets before the *Psalms*, the Books of *Solomon* and the other *Hagiographa*. All others according to the Chronological Order, have plac'd the Prophets after the *Psalms* and the Books of *Solomon*.

The Book of *Job* is the first of the *Hagiographa* among the Jews, as well as with St. *Jerom* and *Ruffinus*. 'Tis likewise plac'd before the *Psalms* in the Catalogues of *Melito*, of the Apostolical Canon, of St. *Cyril*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and St. *Epiphanius*. In the Catalogues of the Council of *Laodicea* and St. *Athanasius* it immediately follows the three Books of *Solomon*. *Origen*, St. *Hilary*, *Innocent I.* and *Gelasius*, place it at the End after the Prophets.

The *Psalms* of *David*, and the three Books of *Solomon*, viz. the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles* are next in order in all the Catalogues, except in those of *Innocent I.* and *Leontius*, who place the *Psalms* before the Books of *Solomon*. They who own *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* to be Canonical, do joyn them to the former.

The Order wherein the Prophets are plac'd is very various; Most do rank in the first place the Book of the twelve Lesser Prophets, and none among the Ancients besides *Melito*, St. *Jerom*, and *Ruffinus* place it after the Greater Prophets. Some put *Daniel* before *Ezekiel*, as *Melito*, *Origen*, and St. *Hilary*. All others put him the Last of the Greater Prophets. St. *Jerom* in conformity to the Jews places *Daniel* among the *Hagiographa*.

As to the *Deutero-Canonical* Books, those who admit of them, rank *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* with the Books of *Solomon*; And as to *Tobit*, *Judith*, and *Maccabees*, they formerly clap'd them at the end, as is apparent in the Canons of *Africa*, and in the Decrees of *Innocent*, and *Gelasius*. Yet at present *Tobit* and *Judith* are plac'd before *Esther* and *Job*, and just after *Ezrah* (a). These are most of the Differences to be met with among the Ancients, about the Order or Placing of the Sacred Books. But enough has been said on those Minute things.

[ (a) 'Tis easie to perceive that the Doctor of the Sorbonne in this whole Section inclines very much to St. *Jerom*'s Order or Placing of the Books of the Old Testament, according to his Latin Translation of the Bible, tho he likewise fairly relates the Opinions of the other Fathers and particularly speaks in Favour of St. *Chrysostom*'s Division of them, which he says would be the best, if another Article were added to it. In our English Translation the Or-

der of the Books is much different. We first reckon the Canonical Books of the Old Testament distinctly; the *Apocryphal* we place by themselves, and in some (particularly in the *Geneva*) Bibles the latter are quite left out. We shall not trouble the World with a List of those Books according as the Church of England has reciev'd them, since they are plac'd at the Beginning of every Bible.]

SECTION. VIII.

Of those Books of the Old Testament, that are Lost, Apocryphal and forg'd by the Jews and Hereticks. Of several Passages of the Prophets cited by the Evangelists, which are not to be met with in the Books from whence they are quoted.

**B**Eside those Books which were at last received into the *Canons* of the Books of the Old Testament, there are likewise several others, which tho' very Ancient were not inserted into the *Canon* of the Jews, or which having been compos'd since, have been esteem'd and cited by some Christian Authors, but have never been reckon'd as *Canonical*; or lastly which have been forged by Hereticks, and by consequence were always rejected.

In the first place there are a great many Books cited in the Old Testament, which are entirely lost a long time ago, and which were not in the *Jewish Canon*. The first of these Books commonly alledged, is, the Book of the Wars of the Lord, which is cited *Numb. 21. 14.* But it does not appear that in this place any Book is mention'd (a). The same must be said of the Book of the Covenant (b), of which they say mention is made *Exod. 24. 7.* which is only the Laws that *Moses* had receiv'd from God, related in the foregoing Chapters of this Book. The Book of the Lord mention'd in *Isaiah, Ch. 34. 16.* is not a particular Book (c). Nor does it appear very plainly that the Book of *Fasher*, or the Upright, cited (d) in *Joshua, Ch. 10. v. 13.* and *2 Sam. 1. 18.* was an Historical Book, on the Contrary it is more probable that it consisted of Hymns or Songs. But

(a) It does not appear that any such Book is mention'd.] The Hebrew Text runs thus, *Numb. 21. 14. It shall be said in the Book or Relation of the Wars of the Lord:* which is followed by a Sentence taken out of this Book or Relation. Some say that in this Passage it is not meant a Book, for the Hebrew Text does not speak in the preter perfect, but in the future Tense, Thus it shall be said, and the Word *Sephar*, which is rendred a Book may signify any manner of Relation and Narration. And thus the Words cited may bear this sense, As it shall be said when the *Israelites* shall relate the Wars of the Lord. It may likewise be understood of some Hymn sung in Honour of that Victory; and in truth the Words cited in this place contain Poetical Expressions conformable to a Song in Honour of that Victory. It is therefore very probable that 'tis one of those Hymns which the Author speaks of, or rather a Book consisting of Hymns, which was then lost. There are some Critics who explain it to be *Judges* or the Book of the *Psalms*; but it cannot be applied to them, and what is related in this Passage, as being in the Book of the Wars of the Lord, is in neither of them. In *Exodus, Ch. 17. v. 14.* God commanded *Moses* to write the Defeat of *Amalek* in a Book which some understand to be meant of the Book of the Wars of the Lord. But since he has not so much as nam'd it, we may as well understand it of the Book of *Exodus* it self, or rather of a Journal or Memoir wherein *Moses* wrote the most remarkable Occurrences. For this reason he was order'd in the same place to read this relation to *Joshua*, who commanded the Army of the *Israelites*, that he might see whether it were exactly true. *St. Augustin, Q. 42.* On *Numbers*, supposes that the Book of the Wars of the Lord, was a Prophane Book, which contain'd a Foreign History; wherein he is much in the wrong.

(b) The Book of the Covenant.] 'Tis said *Exod. 24. 7.* that *Moses* took the Book of the Covenant, and read it in the Audience of all the People. And in the

4th Verse 'tis said, That *Moses* wrote all the words of the Lord. Some have understood this of a particular Book, but the Sequel of the Narration shews that it only concern'd the Laws which *Moses* reported from God in the Mount, which contain the principal Laws of *Moses* as well *Judicial* as *Ceremonial*.

(c) Is not a particular Book.] *Isaiah* having in this Chapter related the Afflictions or Judgments which were, or should be inflicted on the *Gentiles* and *Idumea*, refers himself to the Book of the Lord. *Seek ye* (says he) *out of the Book of the Lord, and read: no one of those shall fail, None shall want her Mate: For my mouth it hath commanded, and his Spirit it hath gathered them.* The Book of the Lord, of which mention is here made, is not a particular Book. 'Tis the Sacred Books themselves wherein are writ the Judgments of the Lord, that is the Vengeances which he exercises on the Nations; or rather 'tis this Prophecy it self, as if he had said; when you see these Judgments happen, consult this Prophecy, and you will find that all that was foretold is happen'd.

(d) The Book of *Fasher*.] Some have thought that *Fasher* is a proper Name. Others say that 'tis so call'd, because it contain'd the Actions of Upright or Famous Men: Others, because it was the Book of the Law: And others, because it was a faithful and exact History. The Passage that is cited in *Joshua*, is Historical and Poetical concerning the Course of the Sun, that was stopp'd. In the Book of *Samuel*, 'tis said in a Parenthesis upon the Occasion of the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, that *David* had them teach the Children of *Judah* the use of the Bow, behold it is written in the Book of *Fasher*. It seems as if one might infer from this place, that the Children of *Israel* were order'd in this Book of *Fasher* to learn to draw the Bow; or rather that it was related in this Book, that *David* commanded the Children of *Israel* to learn the Use of the Bow. But some understand by the Bow a Song in the Book of *Fasher*.

it can scarce be question'd, but that the Books of *Nathan* (e), *Gad* (f), *Shemaiah* (g), *Iddo* (h), *Abijah* (i), and *Jehu* (k); cited in several places of the *Chronicles*, were Memoirs compos'd by those Prophets, or rather Prophecies which contain'd a part of the History (l). The same ought to be said of the Book of the *Journals* or *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel* which are Different from the *Paralipomena* or *Chronicles* (m), wherein is cited an History of the Kings of *Juda* and *Israel*, which is different from the Book of *Kings* (n), and which may be the same with the *Journals* cited in those Books. To these must be added the Book of *Samuel the Seer* (o), cited in the last Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*: The Discourses of *Oseah* (p), of which mention is made 2 *Chr.* 33. 18, 19. The Acts of *Uzziah*, mention'd 2 *Chron.* 26. 22. (q). The Three thousand of Proverbs which *Solomon* wrote, as is intimated 1 *Kings.* 4. 32. A Thousand and five Songs, and a great many Tracts on Plants and Animals, compos'd by the same Author, of which mention is made in the same place. The Prophet *Jeremiah* speaks himself, *Ch.* 36. of a Volume of Prophecies which he had dictated to *Baruch*, concerning the Wrath of God denounc'd against the *Jews* and the

(e) *Nathan*.] A Prophet of the City of *Gabbath*, who reprov'd *David* for his Adultery. His Book containing the History of *David* and *Solomon* is cited 1 *Chron.* 29. 29. 2 *Chr.* 9. 29.

(f) *Gad*.] A Prophet sent to *David*, who wrote the History of that King, cited 1 *Chron.* 29. 29.

(g) *Shemaiah*.] He is not the same with *Shemaiah* the *Nebelamite* the false Prophet, one of those who was carry'd away Captive to *Babylon* with *Joathan*. That *Shemaiah* wrote a Letter against *Jeremiah* of whom mention is made. *Jer.* 29. 24, 32. The *Shemaiah*, of whom we speak, liv'd in the time of *Rehoboam*, and foretold to him, in the fifth year of his Reign that the Temple should be rited. He compos'd the History of *Rehoboam* cited 2 *Chron.* 12. 15.

(h) *Iddo*.] A prophet who liv'd under the Reigns of *Solomon*, *Rehoboam* and *Abijah*, who wrote two Books, one of Visions against *Feroboam*, and the other containing the Remarkable Acts of *Abijah* King of *Judah*. The former of these is cited 2 *Chron.* 9. 29. . . . . 12, 15, the Second 2 *Chron.* 13. 22.

(i) *Abijah*.] he wrote an History of the Acts of *Solomon* about the end of his Reign, cited 2 *Chron.* 9. 29. This Prophet was of *Shiloh* in the Tribe of *Judah*. It was he who met *Feroboam*, and rent his Mantle into twelve parts, giving him ten of them thereby prophesying of the Division of the Kingdom of *Solomon*, and that *Feroboam* should be King over ten Tribes, as is related 1 *Kings* 11. 29. &c. His usual place of Residence was at *Shiloh*, where he dyed.

(k) *Jehu*.] A Prophet the Son of *Hanani*, who foretold *Baasha* King of *Israel* of his Defeat, and upbraided *Jehoshaphat* for the Confederacy he had made with *Ahab*. He wrote an History of the Kings of *Israel* to the Reign of *Jehoram* the Son of *Jehoshaphat* cited 2 *Chron.* 20. 34. "in these Words, Now the rest of the Acts of *Jehoshaphat*, first, and last, behold, they are written in the Book of *Jehu* the Son of *Hanani*, who is mention'd in the Book of the Kings of *Israel*; or according to the *Septuagint* and *Vulgar Translation*, *Quæ digestis in Libros Regum Israel*. In the *Vulgar Translation* 'tis said 1 *Kings* 16. 7. That he was kill'd by *Baasha*, but there is nothing of it in the Original Text.

(l) Or rather Prophecies which contain'd a part of the History. ] 'Tis probable that those Books compos'd by the Prophets were not purely *Historical*, but they mix'd something of Prophecy in their History penn'd in an *Historical* Style. For which reason the Histories of *Feroboam* writ by the Prophet *Iddo* was intitled the Visions against *Feroboam*, which agrees only with a Prophecy. 2 *Chr.* 9. 29. 'tis said, the Rest of the Acts of *Solomon*, first and last, are they not written in the Book of *Nathan* the Prophet, and in the Prophecy of *Abijah* the *Shilonite*, and in the

Visions of *Iddo* the Seer, which he saw against *Feroboam* the Son of *Nebat*. Thus 'tis plain, that the Books denoted by the names of Visions and Prophecies, were not merely *Historical*.

(m) Different from the *Paralipomena* or *Chronicles*.] Most of the things about which Reference is made to this Book in the Books of the *Kings* are not to be met with in the *Chronicles*; as for instance the Wars of *Baasha*, 1 *Kings* 16. 5. The Acts of *Zimri*, *ibid.* v. 20. Those of *Omri*, *ibid.* v. 27. that which is said of the Ivory House of *Ahab*, 1 *Kings* 22. 39. The Acts of *Feroboam*, mention'd 2 *Kings* 14. 28. And the Acts of the last Kings of *Israel*, viz. *Pekabiah*, *Pekah*, and *Hoshea*, mention'd in the 15th. Chapter of the Same Book.

(n) Which is different from the Book of *Kings*.] This Book is often cited in the Second of *Chronicles*. It cannot be in the Second of *Kings*, since therein no mention is made of what is related in the *Chronicles*, as for Instance what is said *Ch.* 24. concerning the Children of *Joash*, and of the money that was collected in his time; what is related in the 33d *Ch.* concerning the Prayer of *Manasseh*. And the Abominable doings of *Jehoakin* mention'd in the last Chapter.

(o) The Book of *Samuel the Seer*.] Some think that 'tis the Book which the *Jews* at present call *Samuel*, which contains the two Books of the *Kings*; but there is great probability that 'tis another Book.

(p) The Discourses of *Hoseah*.] This Author is cited 2 *Chr.* 33. 18, 19. Now the rest of the Acts of *Manasseh*, and his Prayer unto his God, and all his Sin and his Trespas, and the Places wherein he built high Places, and set up Groves and graven Images before he was humbled, behold they are written among the sayings of the Seers or *Hosea*. The *Septuagint* have render'd this Name of *Chozai*, by that of *Prophets*. Some Interpreters likewise pretend that the Hebrew Word will bear this Sense. But 'tis more probable, that in this place mention is made of a particular Prophet who is call'd *Anan* in the *Syriack* and *Suphanes* in the *Arabick*. *Raban* who is the Author of the Jewish Traditions concerning the *Chronicles* attributed to St. *Ferom*, says that some believe this *Oseah* to be *Isaiah*, who is call'd by the Name of *Chozai* which signifies *My Vision*. Others make him to be an *Arabian* Prophet. But these are groundless conjectures; and 'tis most likely that it was a Prophet nam'd *Chozai* who wrote the particular History of the Sins and Repentance of *Manasseh* the King of *Judah*. And perhaps the Prayer of *Manasseh*, still extant in the *Apocrypha*, was taken out of this Work.

(q) Of which mention is made 2 *Chr.* 26. 22.] 'Tis there said, that *Isaiah* did write the Rest of the Acts of *Uzziah*, first and last.



City of *Jerusalem*, which Book was cut to Pieces, and cast into the Fire by King *Jehoiakim*. *Jeremiah* coming to understand it, order'd those Prophecies to be written over a-new, and added thereto several fresh Denunciations against the King of *Judah* and his People. Some think this Piece to be the same with the *Lamentations*. This Prophet in the 51<sup>st</sup> Chapter does likewise mention a Prophecy that he had Compos'd concerning the Ruin of *Babylon*, which he order'd *Seraiah*, who went to *Babylon*, to fasten to a Stone, and cast into the River of *Euphrates*. Lastly, He wrote Memoirs or Relations of what happen'd after the taking of *Jerusalem*, from whence the Author of the First Book of *Maccabees* saith he took what he has Written on that Subject in the beginning of his Work. The Memoirs of *John Hircanus* (r), and the Books of *Jason* (s), of which mention is made in the Second Book of the *Maccabees*.

It may be ask'd whether these Books cited in the *Old Testament* were *Canonical*. But methinks this is a very idle Query, since none of these Pieces are at present extant. 'Tis plain that they are not *Canonical*, in the Sense wherein we have explain'd it, that is, they were never inserted into the Canon of the *Jews*, nor into any one Canon of the *Christians*. No body can tell whether they should be included, if they were now remaining, and we were very well satisfied of their Antiquity: Nor can any one tell whether they were Written by Divine Inspiration, or were only of Humane Invention. Those who, with *Salmeron*, are of the latter Opinion, offer to refute the contrary Notion by these Arguments. First, Since most of those Books were Compos'd before *Ezra's* time, he would have inserted them into the *Jewish* Canon, if he had look'd upon them as Divine Writings. 2<sup>dly</sup>, Because otherwise it must needs be said that the Church was depriv'd of a great part of Sacred Writ. 3<sup>dly</sup>, Because the Apostles have cited none but those that we have by us, as Books of Holy Scripture. 4<sup>thly</sup>, Because the Fathers are agreed in thinking these Books to be *Apocryphal*, and among them do place the Book of *Enoch*, cited by the Apostle *St. Jude*. This is the Opinion of *Origen* and all the rest of the Fathers, except *Tertullian*.

On the other hand, those who maintain that these Books were written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, do say, That the Authors being certainly Prophets Divinely Inspired, whose Works are cited in the Books that were Written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as Credible and Authentic Pieces, wherein the truth of Matters of Fact may be discover'd; 'tis to be believed, that they are likewise written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. However, to this it may be reply'd, That 'tis not necessary, that all the Writings and Discourses of a Prophet shou'd be Inspired by the Holy Ghost. For this reason *St. Augustin* very Judiciously observes, *Book 18. Ch. 38. de Civit. Dei*, That tho' these Books cited in the Holy Scripture had been written by Prophets whom the Holy Ghost did Inspire, yet it does not from thence follow, that they were always Divinely Inspir'd. For, says he, these Prophets might sometimes write as private Men with an Historical Accuracy, and at other times as Prophets who follow'd the Dictates of the Divine Spirit: *Alia sicut homines Historicâ diligentia, alia sicut Prophetas inspiratione Divinâ scribere potuisse*. 'Tis no Proof at all, that these Histories were Penn'd by Divine Inspiration, because they are quoted by the Authors of the Sacred Books, since even Prophane Poets and Writers are likewise cited in them; and 'tis enough that these Histories be Genuine and Credible, to warrant the Sacred *Historians* referring themselves to them.

'Tis urg'd further, That the *Proverbs of Solomon*, which we still have, making part of the Three Thousand attributed by the Scripture to him, it cannot be prov'd that those, which are now Extant, were Divinely Inspired, unless we suppose all of 'em to be of the same Nature. And they add, that the Book of *Iddo* was apparently a Divinely Inspir'd Writing, and a Prophecy, since it was Entitled, *The Visions against Jeroboam*. They likewise produce several of the Fathers who are of that Opinion, viz. *Origen*, in the Preface of his Commentary on the *Canticles*; *St. Chrysostom*, *Homil. 9. on St. Matthew*, and *Homil. 7. on the first Epistle to the Corinthians*; *St. Athanasius*, or the Author of the Abridgment of the Scripture, attributed to him; *St. Augustin*, *Q. 42. on Numbers*; *Theodoret*, *Oecumenius*, *St. Eucherius*, and several others. The most Learned Rabbies, to wit, *Aben-Ezra*, *Levi-Ben-Gerson*, and *Abra-va-nel*, agree

(r) *John Hircanus*.] In the first of the *Maccabees* Ch. ult. v. 23, 24. 'tis said, That the rest of the Acts of John, and his Wars and worthy Deeds which he did, and the building of the Walls which he made, and his Doings, behold they are written in the Chronicles of his Priesthood.

(s) *The Books of Jason*.] A few of *Cyrene*, who in five Books wrote the History which the Author of the second Book of *Maccabees* abridg'd, as is hinted Ch. 2. v. 24.

in the Notion, as well as the ablest Criticks; as for Instance, among the *Romanists*, *Sixtus of Sienna*, *Serrarius*, *Pineda*, *Bellarmino*, *Bonfrerius*, &c. And among the *Protestants*, *Beza*, *Whitaker*, *Drusius*, &c.

The Reasons that are brought against this Notion are not absolutely Convincing. The first can no more be apply'd to the Books that were lost, before *Ezrah* made his Collection, or of which he had no Knowledge; than it can be to those, of whose Antiquity he had not sufficient Evidence. The second Reason supposes, that all the Sacred and Divinely Inspir'd Writings are absolutely necessary to the Church; and that God would never have permitted any of them to be lost: A Supposition that is unaccountable. For 'tis not at all Necessary, that the Church should have preserv'd all the Revelations that were made to Men since the Creation of the World. How many Oracles of the Holy Ghost, and how many Sayings were there of *Jesus Christ*, of which we have not the least Record remaining? How many Instructions of the Apostles lie bury'd in Oblivion? Is it certain that we have by us all the Epistles which they wrote, or rather, is it not very probable that several of them are lost? The third Argument proves no more than this, That in the times of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles, these Ancient Divinely Inspir'd Books were not in Being, and that since they were not in the *Jewish* Canon, they did not think it proper to cite them; or lastly, Because they had no occasion to cite them, no more than they had even some of those that were in the Canon. The fourth Argument taken from the Authority of the Fathers, who rejected the Book of *Enoch* as *Apocryphal*, tho' it be cited in the Epistle of *St. Jude*, is only levell'd against that particular Book, and concludes nothing against the rest which are cited in the *Old Testament*. Besides, tho' a Book be Divinely Inspir'd, it may be reckon'd *Apocryphal*, or at least *Doubtful*, because one is not absolutely assur'd that it belongs to that Author to whom it is ascrib'd, as *St. Augustin* observes. For there are three things requisite whereon to establish the Divine Authority of any Book. (1.) 'Tis necessary that it be Writ by a Prophet, or an Author Divinely Inspir'd. (2.) That the Author be Inspir'd when he wrote it; that he Compos'd it *Inspiratione Divina*, and not barely *Historicâ Diligentia*. (3.) That one ought to be certain of both these things. There might have been some Books of the Prophets, which were not of Divine Inspiration; and there might have been Books Divinely Inspir'd Compos'd by the Prophets, of whose Author or Inspiration nothing of certainty could be gather'd. There might have been some, of which they were at one time assur'd, and of which they were not afterwards; because they had no longer the same Certainty and Assurance that they belong'd to those Persons to whom they were ascrib'd, or that the Authors of them were Prophets; the Tradition of one or the other not being handed down faithfully to Posterity. Lastly, It might so happen, that some of those Books had been Adulterated and Corrupted, as well as there were several of them lost. When *Ezrah* drew up the Canon of the Sacred Books, he could not insert into it those that were lost before his time; nor ought he to insert those that were Doubtful, Spurious or Adulterated: He only inserted such as had been manifestly Compos'd by the Prophets, Penn'd by Divine Inspiration, and acknowledg'd as such by an universal and unanimous Consent. But 'tis not necessary for this reason to say that there were never any other Books Divinely Inspir'd, and that there were not any others even in his time, but those that are inserted in the Canon: Since there might have been some of them lost, and among those that remain'd and he rejected, there might have been some Divinely Inspir'd Writings; but of whose Genuineness and inspiration he was not very well assur'd. This Canon has indeed fix'd and determin'd the Number of Books, that ought to be acknowledg'd as Sacred and Divine; but it has not included in general all those that were Penn'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; at least, such a thing cannot be asserted positively. Nor can it be said for certain, That all those which are cited in the Sacred Books, nor that all the Books Compos'd by the Prophets, were of Divine Inspiration. 'Tis a *Medium* and Middle way that ought to be follow'd, according to the Opinion of the Fathers, who have acknowledg'd, That there may be some Books Divinely Inspir'd, and others of Humane Composition, and *Apocryphal* among those that are cited in the *Canonical* Books. See how *Origen* speaks of this Matter in the Preface of his Commentary on the *Canticles*, where, after he had observ'd, that this is one of the Thousand and Five Songs, which *Solomon* Compos'd, of which mention is made 1 *Kings* 4. 32. He adds: "It would be an invidious Task indeed, and nothing to our present purpose, to make an Enquiry about those Books, of which mention is made in the Holy Scriptures, which are not at present Extant, and which  
" are



are not so much as us'd by the *Jews* themselves: Whether the Holy Ghost thought fit to erase them, because they contained such things as were above the reach of vulgar Capacities; or whether they were of the Number of *Apocryphal* Books, and contain'd in them several Interpolations and Things contrary to the Faith, and for that reason were not admitted into the Canon, nor allow'd to be Authentic. 'Tis not for us to determine any thing on this Point. However 'tis evident, that the Evangelists and Apostles have related several Instances inserted in the *New Testament*, which are not to be met with in the *Canonical* Scriptures, but in the *Apocryphal*, from whence 'tis plain that they took them. Yet we are not upon this account to reckon the *Apocryphal* Books as Authentic, since 'tis not proper we should break through the Limits which our Forefathers have assign'd us. The Apostles and Evangelists, who were fill'd with the Holy Ghost, knew very well what ought to be taken out of those Writings, and what ought to be rejected; but for us who have not the same fullness of the Divine Spirit, we cannot, without great Danger, pretend to any such thing.

St. *Augustin*, speaking of the Book of *Enoch*, B. 18. Ch. 38. *de Civit. Dei*, and of other Writings attributed to those Ancient Patriarchs, says, "That their great Antiquity is the Reason why they have no Authority among the *Jews* or *Christians*; and that this has render'd them suspected, for fear they should quote Spurious Pieces instead of Genuine. That some Writings are produc'd which are attributed to them by those Persons who believe what they have a mind to upon slight Grounds, but that the true Canon has not admitted of them; not that it rejects the Authority of Men that were so acceptable to God, but because 'tis not believ'd that those Writings belong'd to them; and that it should not seem strange that these Pieces were suspected which crept into the World under the Names of such Ancient Personages, since in the very History of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, which is *Canonical*, several things are hinted at, of which no Narrative is made, and are said to be met with in other Books Writ by the Prophets, which yet are not in the Canon, which the People of God admitted of. St. *Augustin* confesses, that he does not know the Reason of it: [*Cujus rei, fateor, causa me later,*] but he fancies that it might so happen, That those very Persons to whom the Holy Ghost did reveal such things as were to be made use of as the Fundamentals of Religion, have sometimes Written as Faithful Historians, and sometimes by the Inspiration of God; and that a distinction was made between those two kinds of Writings, by attributing the one to them, as their own Work, and the other to God, who spake by them: That the one may be servicable to give us greater and clearer Notices of Matters of Fact; the other to establish Religion: That as for the Authority of them, regard ought to be had to the Canon, that if under the Name of Ancient Prophets such Books are produc'd which are not contain'd therein, they are not Credited, because one is not assur'd that they belong to those Persons who are said to be the Authors of them; and the rather if there are in them such things as are contrary to the Faith of the *Canonical* Books; which shews that they are none of theirs to whom they are attributed.

If it be ask'd, what Reasons can be given how these Books came to be lost, St. *Chrysostom* informs us of the chief of them in the 9th Homily on St. *Matthew*, where he observes, upon the account of this Passage, [*That it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophets, He shall be call'd a Nazarene.*] That several Monuments of the Prophets are lost, as may be prov'd from the *Chronicles*. "For (as he then adds) the *Jews* having been at some times Careless and Negligent, and at other times Prophane, they suffer'd some of these Books to be lost thro' their Carelessness, and have burnt or destroyed others. *Jeremiah* makes mention of their Profaneness, and concerning their Negligence we read in the second Book of *Kings*, that for a long time together the Book of *Deuteronomy* could not be met with, which was hid under Ground some where or other, and almost Worm-eaten. Now if the Sacred Books were lost in a time of profound Peace, who would wonder at such an Accident when the *Gentiles* made War against them and Invaded their Country? St. *Chrysostom* in this place sets down three Causes of the loss of these Books. (1.) The Carelessness of the *Jews*, who did not preserve them. (2.) Their Profaneness, which induced them to burn, or destroy them. And (3.) The Wars and IncurSIONS of the *Gentiles*, the Captivity of the *Jews*, the Destruction of the Temple and City of *Jerusalem*, the Dominion which the Strange and Pagan Kings had over them; as, for Instance, *Antiochus*, who was for Extirpating the *Jewish* Religion, and who caus'd their Books to be burnt, as 'tis related, 1 *Maccab.* 1. 56. The Author of the Abridgment of Scripture,



## 26 *A Compleat History of the Canon, &c.* Book I.

attributed to St. *Athanasius*, alleges the two first of these Reasons for the Loss of the Books cited in the Old Testament, viz. *Judeorum incuriam & ameniam*. And St. *Eucherius* produces the last: " 'Tis evident (says he,) why we have not remaining the " Books which the Holy Scripture approves of; because *Judea* having been ravag'd " by the *Chaldeans*, and the Ancient *Bibliothèque* being burnt, there remain'd only a " small number of Books, which at present makes up the Holy Scriptures, and which " were collected and re-established by the Care of *Ezrah*."

Let us now come to the Books which are not in the *Canon* of the *Old Testament*, but are still extant, of which this is the Catalogue. The Prayer of King *Manasseh* when Captive at *Babylon* cited in the Second Book of *Chronicles*, Ch. 33. where 'tis said that it was taken out of the Sayings of *Hosai*; which in *Greek* as well as in our *English* Version is rendred the *Sayings of the Seers or Prophets*. 'Tis to be met with in the *Apocryphal* Writings, just after the History of *Bel* and the *Dragon*: It is not very Eloquent, but 'tis full of very good thoughts. The *Latin* Fathers have often cited it, but 'tis neither in the *Greek* nor *Hebrew* Text, only in *Latin*.

The third and fourth Book of *Esdra*s or *Ezrah* are likewise in *Latin* in the Bibles of the *Vulgar* Translation, just after the Prayer of *Manasseh*. The third, which we have in *Greek*, is only a Recapitulation of the two first. It is cited by St. *Athanasius*, St. *Augustin*, and St. *Ambrose*. The fourth Book, which is only in *Latin*, is full of Visions and Dreams, and several Errors. 'Tis doubtless a Converted *Jew* who Penn'd it, and not the Author of the third Book.

The third Book of the *Maccabees* contains the Miraculous Deliverance of the *Jews* of *Egypt*, whom *Ptolemy Philopator*, incens'd at his being denied entrance into the Temple, when he came to *Jerusalem* after the Defeat of *Antiochus*, had expos'd in the Amphitheatre of *Alexandria*, to the fury of Elephants. *Josephus* mentions this History in the second Book against *Appion*. This Book is in all the *Greek* Editions. 'Tis inserted among the *Canonical* Books in the last Canon ascrib'd to the Apostles; but 'tis probable it was added thereto; since no mention is made in the Chronicle of *Eusebius*, nor in the Author of the *Synopsis* attributed to St. *Athanasius*. This History happen'd under the High-Priesthood of *Simon* the Son of *Onias*, long before the Histories related in the Other two Books. It ought therefore to have been the first, and 'tis very unfitly stil'd, the *Book of the Maccabees*, since not one word is therein said of them.

The Fourth Book, containing the History of *Hircanus*, is rejected as *Apocryphal* by the Author of the *Synopsis*, commonly ascrib'd to St. *Athanasius*. 'Tis scarce mention'd among the Ancients. It might have been taken out of the Book of the Actions of *John Hircanus*, of whom mention is made at the latter end of the first Book of the *Maccabees*. *Sixtus of Sienna* assures us, that its Narration is much like that of *Josephus*, but has not so much of the *Hebrew* Idiom in it.

There is at the end of the Book of *Job* in the *Greek* Edition, a Genealogy of *Job*, who is there said to be the fifth from *Abraham*, with an Account of the Names of the Kings of *Idumea*, and the Kingdoms of *Arabia*. This Appendix is neither in *Latin* nor *Hebrew*. There is likewise in the *Greek* a speech of *Job's* Wife, which is not in the *Hebrew*, and which is repudiated by *Africanus* and St. *Jerom*. There is likewise at the end of the *Psalms* in the *Greek* Edition, a *Psalms*, which is none of the Hundred and Fifty, compos'd under *David's* Name whilst a Youth after his fight with *Goliath*. The Author of the *Synopsis* attributed to St. *Athanasius*, cites it, and places it among the *Canonical* Books. Lastly, After the Book of *Wisdom* there is a Speech of King *Solomon* taken out of the Eighth Chapter of the first Book of *Kings*.

We have not by us the Book of *Enoch* so famous of old Times, cited by St. *Irenaeus*, St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Athenagoras*, St. *Jerom*, and several other Fathers; But we learn by the Passages which the Fathers have cited out of it, and by the Fragments of it, that remain in the Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, and in the Chronology of *Syncellus*, that he treats of Stars and their Influence; of the Angels Descending down to the Earth, and their Familiarity with the Daughters of Men; of the Giants Born of them; of the things that should happen to the *Jews*, of our Saviour, of the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, of the Dispersion of the *Jews*, and of the Last Judgment. It contains a great many Fictions on these Subjects: Therefore all the Fathers except *Tertullian*, have look'd upon it as an *Apocryphal* Book, which did not belong to the Patriarch *Enoch*. What causes the greatest difficulty, is, That it seems as if this Book were cited as *Enoch's* by the Apostle St. *Jude* in his *Canonical* Epistle, V. 14. *Enoch also* (says he in that place) *the Seventh from Adam*, prophesied of these, saying, Behold, the Lord cometh with Ten Thousands of his Saints, &c. Now from hence

hence it may be infer'd, that we must either reject the Epistle of St. Jude, or believe that the Book was really of that Patriarch's Composing. St. *Augustin* solves the Difficulty, by saying that the True or Genuine Book of *Enoch* as cited by St. Jude, is different from that which was known to St. *Irenaus*, St. *Juslin* and the other Fathers who liv'd in the first Ages of the Church. But this seems to be scarce probable, For which reason St. *Jerom* after *Origen* replies, that St. Jude might have cited an *Apocryphal* Book, and yet his Epistle be no less *Canonical*; and that there are several passages taken out of the *Apocryphal* Writings to be met with even in the other Books of the *New Testament*; which ought not to lessen the Authority of the *Canonical* Books, nor make the *Apocryphal* to be *Authentic*. Some of the Moderns have pretended to wind themselves out of this Difficulty with more ease, by maintaining that St. Jude does not speak of a Book of *Enoch*, but only of a Prophecy of that Patriarch, which he had learnt by Tradition, as St. *Paul* mentions the Names of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Magicians of *Pharaoh*, from the Tradition of the *Jews*: But this Opinion which is contrary to the Sentiments of all the Ancients, seems to be very improbable, and St. *Jerom*'s Solution of the matter ought rather to be rely'd on.

The Book of the *Assumption of Moses*, from whence 'tis pretended. That St. Jude has taken the Testimony of *Michael* the Arch-Angel, disputing with the Devil about the Body of *Moses*, is not so remarkable among the Ancients. However 'tis cited by *Origen*, in the third Book of his *Principia*. St. *Clement* in the sixth Book of his *Stromata*, pag. 679. relates a Vision of *Joshua* and *Caleb*, taken out of this Book. *Oecumenius* in his Commentary on the Epistle of St. Jude, repeats the Speech of the Angel to the Devil, [*Increpet te Deus, O Diabole, the Lord rebuke thee, Satan,*] as taken out of this Book. St. *Jerom* assures us, that 'tis a very hard matter to tell from whence St. Jude took this passage. He observes that there is something like it in the Prophecy of *Zachariah*, Ch. 3. 2. [In our English Version of the Bible, the Words are the very same.] The Author of the *Synopsis*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*, places this Book and another like it, intit'led, *The Testament of Moses*, among the *Apocryphal* Writings.

*Origen* likewise cites a Book, intit'led, *The Assumption, the Apocalypse, or the Secrets of Elijah*. *Synellus* after him pretends, that 'tis out of the *Apocryphal* Book, that St. *Paul* took this Sentence, which is in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Ch. 2. 9. *Eye hath not Seen, nor Ear Heard, Neither have entered into the Heart of Man, the things which God hath prepared for them, that love Him*: And that in the *Galatians*, Ch. 5. 6. *For in Christ Jesus, neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision, but Faith which worketh by Love*. He farther supposes that this Passage in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, Ch. 5. 14. [*Awake thou that sleepest,*] is taken out of an *Apocryphal* Book of *Jeremiah*. But it may so happen that in the two different Books, there may be the like Sentences and Expressions, and yet it does not from thence necessarily follow, that the one Author borrowed them from the other. *Origen* does likewise cite an *Apocryphal* Book, from whence he pretends that the Prophecy mention'd in St. *Matthew's* Gospel, Ch. 27. v. 9. (*The thirty Pieces of Silver the price of him that was valued, &c.*) was taken, St. *Jerom* makes the same Remark, and says that the *Nazarenes* made use of that Instance.

Several *Jews* have forg'd Books which they have father'd on the Patriarchs, such, for Instance, as the Book intit'led, *The Generations and Creations of Adam*. It was a common Opinion among them, that *Adam* compos'd a Treatise concerning the Philosopher's Stone: And there is a Book of Magick, which they attributed to *Cham*, of which *Cassian* makes mention, *Confer.* 8. Ch. 21.

The Author of the *Synopsis* attributed to St. *Athanasius*, makes mention of a Book concerning the *Assumption of Abraham*. 'Tis manifestly the same Book that is cited in the 35th Homily upon St. *Luke*, ascrib'd to *Origen*, where 'tis said that in this Book were introduc'd the Angels and the Devils disputing together about the Salvation or Damnation of *Abraham*. The *Jews* have likewise a Book under the Name of *Abraham*, intit'ld *Setsira*, i. e. of the Creation, which some ascribe to *Rabbi Akiba*.

The Author of the Homilies on St. *Luke*, attributed to *Origen*, in the 15th Homily and several other cite the *Testament of the twelve Patriarchs* (†), and the Dispute or Discourse

(†) *The Testament of the twelve Patriarchs.*] This plac'd a Learned Dissertation of his own in Book was translated from the Hebrew into Latin by [Latin.] It contains several Prophecies and Moral Robert Bishop of Lincoln. [John Ernest Grabe in Instructions put into the mouths of the dying his late *Spicilegium Patrum*, Printed at Oxford, has it Patriarchs: There are several Passages taken out intire in Greek and Latin, before which he has of the Book of *Enoch*. It contains Predictions of the



Discourse between *Joseph* and *Jacob*, which *Origen* cites, and commends in his Commentaries on *Genesis*, and on *St. John*.

The Author of the *Synopsis*, attributed to *St. Athanasius*, speaks of two *Apocryphal* Pieces, of which one is the Prophecy of *Habakkuk*, from whence 'tis said, that the History of *Bell and the Dragon*, which is in *Daniel*, was taken; and the other, a Collection of Prophecies under the Name of *Ezekiel*, divided into two parts. *Hermas*, one of the most ancient Christian Writers, in his *Pastor*, Ch. 2. cites the Prophecy of *Eldad* and *Medad*, two Prophets mention'd, Numb. 11. 26, 27. The Author of the *Synopsis* puts this Piece among the *Apocryphal* Writings.

*Origen* and *St. Ambrose* cite a Book of *Jannes* and *Jambres*, the Magicians of *Pharaoh*, which is rejected by *Gelasius* as an *Apocryphal* Piece. There is likewise a Book of *Og King of Bashan*, which is reckon'd as *Apocryphal* by the same Pope.

The *Gnosticks* have forg'd a Book, Entit'led, *The Apocalypse or Revelation of Adam*, of which *St. Epiphanius* makes mention. The *Manichees* have likewise feign'd a Book Entit'led, *De Genealogia*, or of the Sons and Daughters of *Adam*, of which mention is made in the Books of *St. Augustin* against *Faustus*, and which, with another concerning *Adam's Repentance*, is plac'd among the *Heretical Books* by Pope *Gelasius*.

The Author of the imperfect Commentary on *St. Matthew*, Ch. 2. cites a Book, Entit'led, *Seth*, which contains a Prediction of the Star that appear'd at our Saviour's Birth.

The *Ebionites* have forg'd a Book, Entit'led, *Jacob's Ladder*, as *St. Epiphanius* testifies, who likewise makes mention, *Her.* 40, and 67. of the *Assumption of Moses*, of which he cites a Fragment. *St. Jerom* likewise speaks of it in his Commentary on the 64th Chapter of *Isaiah*. Lastly, There were anciently a great many Books of this Nature, made, either by the *Jews*, who were great Lovers of such kind of Fictions, or by the *Hereticks*, who made use of them the better to spread their Errors. But it would be an unprofitable as well as an invidious Task, to give you an exact Catalogue of them.

But I cannot forbear insisting on two Passages cited in the *New Testament*, as taken from the Prophets, which are not in any of them, and, which some have pretended, were taken out of other Books. The first is in *St. Matthew*, Ch. 2. v. ult. where 'tis said, That *Jesus dwelt in a City call'd Nazareth*, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Prophets, *He shall be call'd a Nazarene*. These words, *He shall be call'd a Nazarene*, are not in any of the Prophets, that we have by us; which made *St. Chrysostom* suppose that they were taken from some other Prophet's Writing, which is lost. Others pretend, that they were taken from the 11th Chapter of *Isaiah*, v. 1. where 'tis Prophecy'd, that a Branch shall grow, &c. which Word in Hebrew is *Netzer*. *Huetius* supposes that this Passage is taken out of the 13th Chapter of *Judges*, v. 5. where 'tis said; *He shall be a Nazarite from his Mother's Womb*. But, after all, the most probable Opinion is that of *St. Jerom*, who believes that *St. Matthew* did not cite any of the Prophets in particular, but all of 'em in general, who had Prophecy'd, That *Jesus Christ* should be Holy, and Devoted to God, as the *Nazarenes* were.

The other Passage is cited by the same Evangelist, Ch. 27. Ver. 9, 10. *Then was fulfilled that which was spoken by Jeremiah the Prophet, saying, And they took the thirty Pieces of Silver, the Price of him that was valued, whom they of the Children of Israel did value, and they gave them for the Potter's Field, as the Lord appointed me*. Now this Prophecy is not to be met with in *Jeremiah*; but there is a Notion much like it in the Prophet *Zachary*, Ch. 11. Ver. 12. *Origen* in the 35th Tract on *St. Matthew*, asserts, That it must be said, that this Passage is taken out of an *Apocryphal* Book Entit'led, *The Secrets of Jeremiah*; or else it must be own'd, that through the Fault of the Transcribers, the Name *Jeremiah* is crept into the Gospel instead of *Zachariah*. Some other Authors aver, that this Prophecy was struck out of the Book of *Jeremiah*. Others have recourse to Tradition, which (as they pretend) had preserv'd this Prophecy of *Jeremiah* down to the time of *St. Matthew*. 'Tis likely, say others, That this Prophecy, being compos'd of the Words of *Jeremiah*, and the Thought of *Zachariah*, it was cited under the former's Name, just as in *St. Mark*, Ch. 1. v. 2. A Prophecy of *Malachy* joyned to another of *Isaiah*, is attributed to the latter. But 'tis yet more probable, that *St. Matthew* having only said, *as was foretold by the Prophet*, without naming any one, the Name of *Jeremiah* has since been added to the Text

the Sins and Punishment of the *Jews*; of the Death of the Saviour of the World; and of the Destruction, Captivity, and Dispersion of the *Jewish*

People. *Procopius* cites this Tract in his Commentary on the 38th Chapter of *Genesis*.



of the Gospel: For this Evangelist was never us'd to Name the Prophets whom he cites. This is St. Jerom's Solution of the Difficulty, and is more probable than any other. It may likewise more reasonably be applied to St. Mark's Citation, Ch. i. v. 2. because in the Greek Text 'tis only *ὡς γέγραπται ἐν τοῖς προφήταις*, as 'tis Written in the Prophets; and not *ὡς ἔγραψε ἐν ἑσαυτῷ προφῆτῃ*, as is fallily set down in some Copies; nor is it, according to the Vulgar Latin Translation, where 'tis render'd, *Sicut Scriptum est in Prophetis*, as 'tis Written in the Prophet. Besides, the very Words that are cited shew, that they were not taken from one single Prophet, but from several, and the greatest part from *Isaiah*, tho' the former are out of *Malachy*. Wherefore, when in the Greek Text 'tis read *Isaiah*, *Ἰσαίας*, as St. Chrysostom reads it, this Citation may be very well maintain'd by referring it to the Words of *Isaiah* which there follow.

## CHAP. II.

*Of the Authority of the Holy Scriptures: And herein, concerning the several Kinds of Revelations; with a particular Account of Prophecy, Divine Inspiration, and the Infallibility of the Sacred Writings.*

### SECT. I.

*That the Authority of the Holy Scriptures is founded on this Principle or Maxim, viz. That God cannot Deceive us.*

**S**INCE the Infallible Authority of the Holy Scriptures is founded on the Faith that ought to be had in the Word of God; the better to Establish and Confirm it, 'tis requisite that we should discuss Two Questions; The one is a Matter of Equity and Right, viz. Whether the Word of God be necessarily True; and whether 'tis not possible for him to deceive Men by a Lye: The other is Matter of Fact, viz. Whether the Canonical Books of the Holy Scriptures be really the Word of God, and how one may be ascertain'd that they are so.

As to the former of these Queries, 'tis very easie to decide it by Principles of natural Reason. The Idea which we have even by Nature of God, as a Being of Infinite Perfections, and consequently a Being Infinitely Wise, and Infinitely Good, convinces us very evidently of his Veracity. He may upon good Reason conceal some Truths from us by his Wisdom, but can never command us to believe Falshoods to be Truths; That being repugnant to his Wisdom and his Goodness too. 'Tis upon this Principle is founded the Certainty of all, even the Natural Notions which we have. For we can't be sure that we are not deceiv'd in things that appear most Evident to us, and of which we have clear and distinct Conceptions, but only because we know 'tis impossible that God should give us such a Natural Light as would deceive us, and represent to us a Falshity as if it were a Truth: And further, that since he is so Wise and Good, as certainly he is, he could not have made us of such a Nature as is subject to Deception in things of which we have a clear Idea, and believe to be true; and thereby have laid us under a fatal Necessity of being deceiv'd, and of never being able to distinguish Truth from Falshood. This Argument is still of greater force with respect to the Revelation which God himself has made to us of some Truths, whether immediately or mediately by the Ministry of others; for then it must be said, that God himself is a Cheat and Impostor, who took a secret Delight in blinding us with Error. The Holy Scriptures represent all along to us the Veracity of God in his Sayings, and his Faithfulness in his Promises. Thus 'tis said, *God is not as man that he should lye, or as the Son of man that he should repent or be subject to change. He is faithful, and without guile; He is faithful in all his words, and holy in all his works. All men are liars, but God is faithful and true. He is faithful and cannot deny himself. Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but his words shall not pass away.* In a word, There is nothing certain in this World, if God in his Nature can deceive us; his Goodness, Veracity and Faithfulness are the very Foundations

dations of all our Knowledge and Notions of things. There are therefore none, unless Men devoid of all Sense, who can deny this Principle or Maxim, viz. That whatever God has reveal'd to Men, whether by himself, or by the Ministry of Angels or Men, is certainly True.

The only Objection that can possibly be brought against this great Truth, is, That we read in several places of Holy Scripture, that God was minded to deceive Men, and made use of his Prophets to lead them into Error. 'Tis said in the first Book of Kings, Ch. 22. v. 23. That the Lord designing to deceive *Ahab*, put a lying Spirit into the Mouth of all that King's Prophets: *Dedit Spiritum mendacii in ore Prophetarum.* Job observes, Ch. 12. v. 24, 25. That God taketh away the heart of the Chief of the People of the earth, that he causeth them to wander in a wilderness where there is no way; That he blindeth them, and maketh them to stagger (or, according to the Hebrew, to Wander) like a drunken man. Ezekiel in the 14th Chapter declares, in the Name of God, that when Men corrupted and full of Sins shall come to consult the Prophet, God would answer them according to the Multitude of their Iniquities; so that the House of *Israel* should be deceiv'd because they had followed Idols; and the Prophet who deceiv'd them, should be first deceived by God himself. The Prophet *Jeremiah* Ch. 4. V. 10. Says that God had greatly deceived the People and City of *Jerusalem*, in saying: Ye shall have Peace, whereas the Sword reacheth unto the Soul. In the same manner God deceived the *Israelites*, when he twice answer'd them and bad them go up and fight the *Benjamites*, and yet they were both times defeated by the Children of *Benjamin*, Judg. 20. 'Tis said farther, that God estrangeth Men from his Way; that he hardens their Hearts, that they might not fear the Lord; that he hardened the Heart of *Pharaoh*: and in the New Testament *Jesus Christ* says, *Matt.* 13. 13, 14. That he spake to the People in Parables, because they seeing see not, and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand: And that in them is fulfilled the Prophecy of *Esaias*, which saith, By hearing ye shall hear, and shall not understand; and seeing ye shall see, and not perceive. This (say they) is a Spirit of Deception and Delusion. St. Paul informs us that God had abandoned the Heathen Philosophers to a reprobate mind; and 2 *Thess.* 2. 10, 11. that to those who would not receive the Love of the Truth, that they might be saved, he would send *διδόναι πλάνης, εἰς τὸ ποιῶσι αὐτοὺς ὡς ψεύδι, i. e. a strong Delusion, that they should believe a Lye.* To this may be likewise added the Instances of such Lyes as God seem'd to have approv'd of and to reward; as for Instance, That of *Abraham*, who told his Servants that he would return to them with his Son, tho' he went from them with a design of offering him up as a Sacrifice; that of *Jacob* to *Isaac*, who deceiv'd him, and supplanted his Brother *Esau* of the Blessing of *Promogeniture*; and that of the *Egyptian* Midwives, who lyed to *Pharaoh* that they might save the Children of the *Israelites* alive.

This is not a proper place to treat of these matters throughly, which we intend to explain hereafter. As a present Answer to the Objection 'tis enough to aver that in none of the Instances alledg'd does God either by himself, or by the Prophets sent by him represent a Falshood for a Truth. He only permits that Men for the punishment of their Sins should be deceiv'd by false Prophets, or misunderstand the Sayings of the true Prophets; but he never orders His Prophets to teach them Error.

The Prophets whom *Ahab* had consulted, were false Prophets. *Jehosaphat* a Religious Prince, ask'd for one of the Lord's Prophets, and accordingly *Michaiab* was brought. He, to give the King the Reason why all his false Prophets had impos'd upon and deceiv'd him, expresses himself in a figurative Style, and says that he had seen the Lord Seated on his Throne, and all the Host of Heaven standing by him on his Right-Hand and on his Left; that God ask'd, who will deceive the King of *Israel*, that he may go up and fall at *Ramoth-Gilead*? That some answered on this Manner, and others on that: That a Spirit came forth, and stood before the Lord, and said that he would perswade him, and be a Lying Spirit in the Mouth of all his Prophets; and that this was the reason why they were all fill'd with a Lying Spirit. All this does only prove that God for the Punishment of *Ahab* permitted that the Evil Spirit should deceive his false Prophets, and perswade them to prophesie to him contrary to Truth, That he should conquer. But the Spirit of God speaking by *Michaiab*, told him the Truth; he would not believe it; and the false Prophets carry'd the point. It was not God then who deceiv'd *Ahab*; it was not he who reveal'd a Falshood to him. 'Tis *Ahab* who deceiv'd himself in consulting the false Prophets; and God only permitted those false Prophets to be deceived themselves and to deceive him.

He likewise permitted the Idolaters, who consulted the Prophet to be deceiv'd by the Prophet who was deceiv'd himself. This is the meaning of that Passage of *Ezekiel*,

kiel, Ch. 14. V. 7, 8, 9. Where 'tis said, *When any one of the House of Israel, or of the Stranger, or Proselyte, that sojourneth in Israel, which separateth himself from me, and setteth up his Idols in his heart, and putteth the Stumbling Block of his Iniquity before his Face, and cometh to a Prophet to enquire of him concerning me; I the Lord will answer him by my Self. And I will set my Face against that Man, and will make him a sign and a Proverb, and I will cut him off from the midst of my People, and ye shall know that I am the Lord. And if the Prophet be deceiv'd when he hath spoken a thing, I the Lord have deceiv'd that Prophet, and I will stretch out my hand upon him, and will destroy him from the midst of my People Israel.* In this Place God says that he had deceiv'd that Prophet because he had permitted him to be deceiv'd, because he had not inspir'd him; and that That Prophet designing to himself some Advantage from those who came to consult him, had answered them in the Name of the Lord. The Prophet whom they consulted is an Impostor; God permits him to be deceiv'd, thereby to punish those Idolaters. They came to consult the Prophet of a God whom they did not Worship: Was it reasonable that this God should inspire his Prophet in favour of them? Did they not rather deserve to be abandon'd to their own Inventions? How could they complain that God deceiv'd them, when this Prophet did not tell them the Truth?

As to *Jeremiah*, he does not speak of the true Oracles of the Lord, but of the Sayings and Predictions of the false Prophets, who out of a false Complaisance had promis'd and foretold the People, that they should have the Peace which they desir'd, and were willing should be foretold to them.

As to the Answer which God made twice to the *Israelites* about falling upon the *Benjamites*; It was their own Rashness and false Confidence in their Strength, that put them under that Misfortune. They did not consult the Lord about their Success, they had made no preparation for any such thing; but only ask'd him whether the Tribe of *Juda* should go against *Bethel* and fight the *Benjamites*. The Lord returned them no answer about the Event, but only bad them *Go*: They are indeed defeated, but God never told them that they should overcome. When they made their Preparations, and consulted with him about it, he then promis'd them Victory, and the Event prov'd the Veracity of his Promise.

Lastly, God does not blind, harden and deceive Men, by positively teaching them a Falshood and a Lye, but by withholding from them those Illuminations and Measures of Grace, which he is not oblig'd to bestow upon them, and by permitting them to deceive themselves, or to be deceiv'd and seduc'd by false Prophecies and false Miracles, the Error and Falshood of which was very difficult, but yet not Impossible for them to discover. 'Tis in this fence that the Passage of *St. Paul's* Second Epistle to the *Thessalonians* is to be understood. That Strong Delusion, or that Energy of Delusion (according to the Greek) which God sent to them who rejected the Truth, is the Permission which he allows to Wicked Men, to do whatever is most likely to seduce them, and to make them believe a Lye. They hated and despis'd the Truth which was propos'd to them, for which reason God permitted them to be deceiv'd and seduc'd. The force of the Truth had no effect upon them; the Prevalency of Lying, that is, whatever was capable to seduce, should have its Effect, and lead them into Error. The same may be said of the Heathen Philosophers, whom God, because they had not glorified him as God, had given over to a Reprobate Mind, that is, left them to follow their own Wicked Imaginations, and abandoned them to all manner of Lust and Vice.

As to the Conduct of our Saviour *Jesus Christ* who spoke in Parables, that those to whom he spake might not understand him, it cannot be said, That this was a Fallacy or Delusion. He had wise and good Reasons for not discovering his Mysteries clearly to all the World. He was not oblig'd to it, he might conceal and veil a Truth, which he was willing should be understood by some, without deceiving others.

I shall not at present enter into the Dispute, whether 'tis not lawful for Men to lye upon some occasions, and whether the Patriarchs Lyes will admit of an excuse or no. 'Tis enough for my purpose, that it cannot be said that God can deceive Men, by teaching them and obliging them to believe a false Doctrine. This is unconceivable, whatever allowances may be otherwise made for Equivocations or Untruths. For nothing in the World can be brought to justify the Conduct of God, if he takes a pleasure to deceive Men by teaching them a false Doctrine, and obliging them to believe it as if it were true, by shewing them a way to conduct them to Truth and Salvation, which at the same time would lead them into Error and Damnation: This is a heap of Absurdities; 'tis to form such an Idea of God as is contrary to what we ought to have of him; and 'tis, as I said, to overthrow the first Principle of all our Conceptions.



## S E C T. II.

*Of the different kinds of Revelations which God made to Men in the Old Testament.*

**B**Efore we enquire whether the Books of the holy Scripture are the Word of God; *i. e.* Whether there is nothing in these Books but what God has reveal'd and inspir'd; 'tis requisite to explain in what manner, when, and by whom God did speak to Mankind, or reveal'd his Truths to them.

The Apostle St. Paul comprehends in a few Words all the Revelations which it pleas'd God to make unto Men: For thus he begins his Epistle to the *Hebrews*, *God has formerly spoke to our Fathers at sundry Times and in divers Manners by the Prophets, and in these last Days has spoken to us by his Son.* All the Revelations then may be reduc'd to two Periods of time; *viz.* (1.) Those that were made upon several occasions, or by parts and at several times (for so the Greek Word *Πολυμερῶς*, us'd by him signifies) to the Patriarchs, to *Moses*, and to the Prophets (for all this is compris'd under the General Name of *Prophets*) down to the coming of *Jesus Christ*. And (2.) Those that were afterwards made by his own Son, *Whom he appointed Heir of all things, by whom also he made the World.* The former of these Revelations was made at several times, and upon different occasions, *Πολυμερῶς*, and in divers manners, *Πολλοῖς*, by several Persons: But the latter was made all at once by his only begotten Son. The first was imperfect; it was deficient in a great many things; therein were contain'd but a few Truths, in comparison of that great Number reserv'd to the days of the *Messiah*: But the last is compleat and perfect; nothing is wanting in it: Nothing farther is to be expected or hop'd for in this World. This is the Perfection and Conclusion of the Revelations; as nothing like it appear'd before, so nothing like it shall be reveal'd hereafter, but this shall last to the end of the World. These are the Truths which we discover in this Passage of St. Paul. But since he tells us, That God spake at several times, and upon divers Occasions, and after sundry Manners to our Fathers before the coming of *Jesus Christ*: 'Tis requisite we consult the *Old Testament*, to discover the principal Occasions upon which he spake to them, and the Methods which he us'd to explain himself to them.

In the General, we may distinguish the several Revelations made under the *Old Testament*, into four Periods of Time. The first from the Creation of *Adam* to *Abraham*: The second, which contains the Revelations made to *Abraham* and his Descendents down to *Moses*: The third, the time of the Law given by *Moses*: The fourth, from the Death of *Moses* to *Jesus Christ*. We may likewise distinguish four several Manners which God made use of to Reveal himself to Mankind. (1.) By Discourses in the Day: (2.) By Visions of the Night: (3.) By an Articulate Voice: And (4.) by internal Inspirations. Lastly, God has sometimes taken upon him external Forms, and spoken to them himself. He has sometimes spoken by Angels, sometimes by the Prophets, and at other times has made use of *Enigma's*, Dreams, Visions, and Signs to manifest his Will to Men. These are the several Manners wherein God has spoken in the *Old Testament*, of which the Sacred History will furnish us with sufficient Instances.

In the State of Innocence, God convers'd familiarly with Man, by making him hear his Voice. *Cum Audissent vocem Domini Deambulantis in Paradiso*; As 'tis said of our first Parents after their Fall; For that was the usual method by which God express'd himself to them. 'Tis very probable, that he afterwards continu'd to speak to Men after the same manner, and that it was this Articulate Voice which pronounced Sentence upon *Adam* and *Eve*, which reproach'd *Cain* for his Offence, and which instructed *Noah* how he should build the Ark to save himself from the Deluge. When he came out of the Ark again, and was the Only Person with his Family that then remain'd, God did doubtless again make use of the same Voice in prescribing him Precepts, and making a fresh Covenant with him. God made a New and larger Covenant with *Abraham*, to whom he not only spoke in an Articulate Voice, but also appeared to him in the Valley of *Moriah*, tho' under what Form is not there said: Secondly, in confirming his Covenant with him under the Form of Fire; Thirdly, in a Vision; And lastly, In the Form of a Man attended with two Angels under the same disguise. He appear'd in a Dream to *Jacob* in *Bethel*, where he saw a Ladder whose Top reach'd unto the Heavens,

Angels

Angels ascending and descending upon it, and the Lord himself standing above it. Upon *Jacob's* return from *Padan-Aram*, the Lord appear'd to him again under the Form of a Man, and wrestled with him. The first time he appear'd to *Moses*, was under the Form of a Burning fiery Bush, from whence a Voice call'd to him, and sent him to deliver the People of *Israel*. He afterwards discoursed with him familiarly. All the People of *Israel* heard his Voice from Mount *Sinai* through the Cloud, with the Thundrings and Lightnings, when he distinctly pronounc'd the Law of the Ten Commandments to them. *Moses*, *Aaron*, *Nadab*, *Abihu*, and the Seventy Elders of the People of *Israel* being met together saw the God of *Israel*, under whose Feet was, as it were, a pav'd work of a Sapphire Stone, and as it were the Body of Heaven in its clearness. Yet they saw no Similitude, but only heard his Voice out of the midst of the Fire. *Moses* convers'd a long time with God on that Mountain, and there receiv'd the Law at his Hands. He there saw part of the Glory of the Lord. When the Tabernacle was built, the Lord descended upon it in the Form of a bright Pillar of Smoke, and *Moses* coming near it, heard the Voice which came out of the Tabernacle, and which spake to him in the Name of the Lord. After these Manners did he reveal to *Moses* all the Ceremonial, Judicial, and Moral Laws of the Jewish Religion. After *Moses* there appear'd no Prophet in *Israel* like to him, to whom God spake face to face, as a Man does to his Friend. God spake to the rest in Visions or in a Dream. *If there be any Prophet among you*, saith the Lord, *I will appear to him in a Vision, or I will speak to him in a Dream; but not as I have done to my servant Moses, who has been the most faithful in all my house, with whom I talk'd face to face, clearly without a Vail, and who saw the Glory of the Lord.*

Most of the Revelations which God has made to the Prophets among the Children of *Israel* since the time of *Moses*, have been by Inspiration, by Vision, or in a Dream. By Inspiration, when being full of the Holy Ghost, they Prophesied of things to come: By the Vision of the Day, when being awake, their Imagination represented to them certain Objects, which were the Figures and Representations of things to come: In a Dream, when in their Sleep they imagin'd that they saw either God, or an Angel speaking to them, or the things to come were represented to them under certain Types and Figures. They afterwards declar'd the Truths, that they knew, and the Event of some of their Prophecies was a Confirmation of the Truth of the rest. God did likewise make his Will to be known by the *Ephod*, or Breast-Plate of the High-Priest, where was the *Urim* and *Thummim*, that is, the Light and the Truth. The Scripture does not inform us in what manner this was done, the most common Opinion is, That it was by an extraordinary lustre and shining of the Precious Stones that were set in the Chafes of that Ornament. But I believe 'tis most likely, that the High-Priest, having the *Ephod* on, consulted the Lord, and receiv'd his Answer from the *Mercy-seat*, as 'tis hinted, *Numb. 27. 21. If there be any thing to be undertaken, the High-Priest Eleazar shall consult the Lord, and according to his answer shall the People go and come.* The High-Priest in consulting the Lord, and in receiving an answer to it, was to have the *Ephod* on. For this reason, *David* willing to know whether *Saul* would come to seek for him at *Keilah*, and whether he should be deliver'd into his hands by the People of that Place, bids the High-Priest *Abiathar* to put on his *Ephod*, and to ask Counsel of the Lord, who return'd him for answer, that he should be deliver'd into the hands of *Saul*, if he tarried in that place. 'Tis for this Cause, that the *Urim* and the *Thummim*, the Light and the Truth are said to be in the *Ephod*, because the High-Priest having this Ornament on him, receives from God the Light and the Truth which he declares to Men.

These are the Methods which God us'd in the *Old Testament* to Reveal some Truths to Men: He has discover'd them to 'em by little and little. The Covenant which he made with *Noah* was for the whole Race of Mankind, and only contains the Promise which he made, never to destroy them by a Universal Deluge again, and Prohibiting them from Eating Blood with the Flesh, and from being guilty of Murder. As for *Abraham*, God caus'd him to depart from his own Country that was full of Idolatry, makes himself known to him, Commands him to Worship him in a peculiar manner, Promises to give him the Land of *Canaan*, and that all the Earth should be Blessed through his Seed; and enjoyns him to observe *Circumcision*, as a token of his Covenant with him.

The Law which God gave to *Moses* and the *Israelites* was of a much larger extent. It contain'd a great many Moral Precepts suited to the Conduct of Human Life; many Ceremonial Laws proper for the Religion, and Judicial Laws adapted to the Civil Government of that People. In short, it compos'd the whole Body of the Religion and Polity of the Jewish People. The Prophets who came afterwards establish'd no New Laws, but only recommended to the Jews the Observation of the Old ones; gave them several Admonitions in the Name of the Lord, and foretold them of several things that should happen to them.



Whatever then of these Revelations God was minded should be preserv'd to us, is compris'd in the Books of the *Old Testament*. *Moses* is the first who wrote by the Order of God himself; not only the Precepts of the Law which he had receiv'd, but also the History of the Creation of the World, the principal Revolutions which happened, and the Revelations which God had made to other Men before him. Other Men inspir'd by God, have from time to time, since *Moses*, wrote the History of God's Dispensations towards the *Jews*, and some of the Prophets by God's express Order have left behind them the chief and most excellent of their Prophecies. 'Tis in these Works, which the *Jews* have with the utmost Care preserv'd, and which they have esteem'd as Divine, Sacred, and Penn'd by the Inspiration of God; 'tis in them, I say, may be seen the Revelations which God made to our Fathers, on different Occasions and in divers Manners.

The *Jews* pretend, that beside the *Written Law* left them by *Moses*, there is another *Oral Law* given to *Moses*, which they preserv'd by Tradition, and which informs them of a great many things which are not in the *Written Law*. But this is an *Hypothesis*, that has no Foundation. There is not the least mention made of this Law in any one place of the *Written Law*, nor is it ground'd on any credible Testimony. All their pretended Traditions cannot be traced so far back as the times of *Jesus Christ*; and the Collection which is made of them in their *Talmud*, contains abundance of Falsties, Fables, Absurdities and Fooleries. In the days of our Saviour, the *Jews* had indeed some Traditions, but such as were often contrary to the Law of God, as *Jesus Christ* objected to them. So that it would be unreasonable and groundless to make any of those Traditions to pass for the Word of God. The *Jews* might have retain'd some ancient Ceremonies, and one may make use of their Customs and Usages for the explaining several places of the Books of the *Old Testament*; but one cannot be certain of any Revelation upon their pretended Tradition, or *Oral Law*. We will therefore lay down this as a certain Maxim, That of all the Revelations which God made to Men in divers Manners before *Jesus Christ*, there are no other Authentic, and of which we may be ascertain'd, but only those that are contain'd in the Sacred Books of the *Old Testament*, and that the only way to be instructed therein, is to consult and meditate these Books.

### S E C T. III.

*Of Prophecy in particular, and the several sorts of it: The way to distinguish the False Prophets from the True.*

THE Name of *Prophet*, in Hebrew *Nabi*, has a more extensive Signification, than is commonly imagin'd. There was a time when the Prophets were usually styl'd *Seers*, in Hebrew *Roë*, as is observ'd in the first Book of *Samuel*, Ch. 9. Ver. 9. where 'tis said, That before time in Israel, when a man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come, let us go to the Seer, (*ROE*) for he that is now called a Prophet (*NABI*), was formerly called (*ROE*), a Seer. This is in a Parenthesis, which may have been insert'd in that Place, since the Book was compos'd; but let that be as it will, it shews that there was a time when the Name *Roë*, which signifies a Seer, was the most common Term among the Hebrews to denote a Prophet. That Title signifies nothing else than an enlighten'd, and clear-sighted Person, which might as well be applied to the Time past or Present, as to that which is to come. But still it was understood of such Persons who knew things which were unknown to other Men, and which God had Reveal'd to them after a peculiar Manner. Whereupon *Balaam* begins his Prophecy in these Terms, *Numb.* 24. 3. Behold, thus saith the man whose eyes are open; he which hath heard the words of God, who saw the Vision of the Almighty, falling in a Trance, but having his eyes open. Thus you see the Use and Signification of the Name *Seer* very properly denoted in this place.

The word *Nabi*, according to some, is deriv'd from *Noub*, which signifies to produce, to bud forth, and by a Metaphor to speak. In this Sense, a Prophet would be nothing else but an Orator, or a Preacher. Others derive it from the Root *Naba*, which among the Hebrews signifies to Prophecy, but with the *Arabians* it denotes, to be great, or advanc'd. By Custom, the Word *Nabi*, or Prophet, came to be given to those who speak in the Name of the Lord, to whom God reveals his Will that they might declare it to others. 'Tis in this Sense, That *Moses* is styl'd, The Prophet of the Lord, and *Aaron* is called, The Prophet of *Moses*. *Exod.* 7. 1. See, I have made thee a God to *Pharaoh*, and *Aaron* thy Brother shall be thy Prophet. *Aaron* shall speak in thy Name to *Pharaoh*, as the Prophets speak to other Men in the Name of God. So that Prophecy is not only the Knowledge and



and Prediction of future things known by Revelation; but likewise all that God makes known and reveals to Man after a special and peculiar Manner. Therefore, *To Propheſie* denotes, (1.) The Fore-telling an uncertain Futurity, not by Conjectures, but by a certain Knowledge and Foresight that they have of it. (2.) The discovering or declaring things paſt or preſent, which are obſcure and conceal'd; as when one goes to a Prophet, to know where one may find that which is loſt. After this manner *Samuel* Propheſied, when he inform'd *Saul*, that his Father's Aſſes were found again: And *Eliſha*, when he tells his Servant *Gehazi* all that had paſſ'd between him and *Naaman* the Syrian. After the ſame manner did our Bleſſed Saviour Propheſie, when he diſcovered ſuch Secrets as none elſe knew any thing of, as when he told the *Centurion*, that his Servant was healed, and his Apoſtles, that *Lazarus* was dead. (3.) To Propheſie, is to declare to Men, *Viva voce*, or by Writing, ſuch Truths as God has reveal'd after an eſpecial manner; either ſuch Truths as are above the reach of a humane Mind; or ſuch as might have been, or are already known by other ways; provided, that the Perſon who declares them, be aſcertain'd of them by Viſion or Inſpiration. In this Senſe, All thoſe to whom God reveals any Truths to be diſcovered to Men, are *Prophets*; All thoſe whom he Inſpires to proclaim Truths to Men, who either pronounce or write them by the Movement of that Inſpiration, and by a particular direction of the Holy Spirit, who guides their Minds, their Tongues and their Pens, may be called *Prophets*, and their Diſcourſes or their Works may be ſtyl'd *Prophecy*. 'Tis in this Senſe, That *Abraham*, *Moses*, and the other Patriarchs are ſtyl'd *Prophets* in the Sacred Scriptures. 'Tis in this Senſe, That the *Singers*, who ſung and plaid on Inſtruments, Hymns to the Praise of God, are ſtyl'd *Prophets*, 1 *Sam.* 10. 5. 1 *Chron.* 15. 24, 27. and Ch. 25. Ver. 1, 2, 3. 'Tis in this Senſe, That 'tis ſaid in the *Proverbs*, Ch. 29. 18. *Where there is no Prophecy*, [or as it is in our Engliſh Verſion, *where there is no Viſion,*] *the People periſh; Cum ceſſaverit Prophetia, diſſipabitur Populus.* 'Tis in this Senſe, That *Joſephus* has given the Name of *Prophets* to the Authors of the Sacred Books of the Old Teſtament, tho' ſome of thoſe Books be purely *Hiſtorical*. In the ſame Senſe, do the *Jews* give the Name of *Prophets* to the Authors of the Books of *Jeſhua*, *Samuel*, &c. and even the Books of thoſe whom we do in an eſpecial manner ſtyle *Prophets*, contain not only Predictions, but alſo Narrations of things paſt, and a great many Moral Inſtructions. 'Tis in this Senſe, That *Jeſus Chriſt* forewarns his Diſciples to beware of *False Prophets*, who appear'd in Sheep's Clothing, but inwardly are ravening Wolves. 'Tis in this Senſe, That *St. John Baptiſt* is call'd a *Prophet*, and even *more than a Prophet*, becauſe he was the Forerunner or Harbinger of the Son of God, and came to prepare his Ways before him, by his Preachings, and declaring to Men his Coming, which God had acquainted him with, and by Preaching up Repentance. 'Tis in this Senſe, That *St. Luke*, *Acts* 13. ſays, That there were in the Church of *Antioch*, *Prophets* and *Teachers*, among whom were *Barnabas*, and *Simeon* that was called *Niger*. 'Tis in this Senſe, That *St. Paul* reckons Prophecy as one of the Gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, 1 *Cor.* 12. 10. For the principal effect of this Gift of Prophecy, which he prefers to all other Spiritual Gifts in the 14th Chapter of the ſame Epiſtle, is, *To ſpeak to men for their Edification, Exhortation and Comfortation.* 'Tis a Gift which is not like that of Tongues; it is not a ſign to thoſe that believe not, but to thoſe that believe. 'Tis a Gift, by means of which, one that believes not, or is unlearned, is convinc'd of all, and is judg'd of all. He who has this Gift, reveals to others the Secrets of God. Theſe Prophets ought to ſpeak one after another in the Aſſembly, and ſubmit what they ſay to the Judgment of the reſt of the Prophets. If any one receives a new Revelation, he that is ſpeaking muſt hold his peace; and the laſt muſt ſpeak in his turn, that all may Learn and all may be Comforted. Thus you ſee, how *St. Paul* explains to us the Gift of Prophecy: He does not reſtrain it to a mere Prediction of things to come, but extends it to the Knowledge and Preaching of all the Truths which one knows either by Revelation or Inſpiration. Laſtly, 'tis in this Senſe, That *St. Peter*, 2 *Ep.* 1. 20, 21. ſays, That no Prophecy of Scripture is of any private Interpretation, i. e. is not of mere human Invention. For (as he preſently adds) the Prophecy came not in the old time by the Will of Man, but holy Men of God ſpoke as they were mov'd by the Holy Ghoſt. Theſe are the proper and natural Senſes, wherein the Words *Prophet*, *Propheſying*, and *Prophecy* are taken. There are indeed other improper Senſes of the Word, as when 'tis ſaid of *Saul* poſſeſſ'd and actuated by an Evil Spirit, 1 *Sam.* 18. 10. *That he propheſied in the miſt of the Houſe, and that David play'd upon the Harp as at other times*; becauſe he had extraordinary and violent Emotions, like to thoſe with which ſometimes the Prophets themſelves were mov'd by the Holy Ghoſt: Again, When 'tis ſaid, *Ecclus.* 48. 16. *That the Body of Eliſha propheſied after his Death, becauſe it wrought Miracles*; or laſtly, when Propheſying is taken for Divining, by gueſs and at random; as when the Soldiers

diers striking our Saviour, said to him, *Prophecie, who smote thee?* or else for Predicting and Foreseeing by Prudence, and comparing of the Conjectures, Dispositions and Appearances of things; as 'tis said in the *Proverbs*, Ch. 16. V. 10. *A Divine Sentence, or Divination, is in the Lips of the King, his Mouth transgresseth not in Judgment.* All these different Acceptations of the Word *Prophecy* are improper, and this Term according to its proper Sense ought to be understood of the Declaration which Men make in the Name of God, either by Word of Mouth or by Writing, of such Truths as God has reveal'd to or inspir'd them with after a peculiar manner; that by their Ministry others may be inform'd of them.

All Revelation is not Prophecy; For the particular Revelations which God has made to some Persons, the Admonitions which he gives them once or twice in their life, whether in a Dream, or by any other way, cannot be call'd *Prophecy*, nor can those who have receiv'd them be styl'd *Prophets*. If this were so, This Name must be bestow'd on *Abimilech*, and on *Laban*; the former of them was admonish'd in a Dream to restore to *Abraham*, his Wife *Sarah*, *Gen.* 20. 6. and the other, to do no harm to *Jacob*, *Gen.* 31. 24. So might *Pharaoh*, *Balthazar*, *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had Dreams, by which they were foretold of what should happen to them, be call'd *Prophets*. But Prophecy is a Grace or Favour which God grants to certain peculiar Persons of Revealing to, or Inspiring them with such Truths as they are to communicate to others for their Consolation and Instruction. Those to whom God vouchsafes this Favour consult him: He Reveals to them his Will in divers Manners; they answer and speak in his Name; and are for that reason styl'd *Prophets*. This is properly to be a Prophet, as St. *Augustin* has very well defin'd it, when he says, *Q. 19. in Exod. Nihil aliud esse Prophetam, nisi annuntiatorem verborum Dei hominibus, qui Deum vel non possunt, vel non merentur audire.*

The Prophecies differ; First, With respect to the manner wherein Truths are Reveal'd to the Prophets: Secondly, With respect to the manner wherein they Declare and Teach them to others: And Thirdly, In the very Nature of the Things which they Teach.

The Truth which God Reveal'd to the Prophets, were Reveal'd either *Mediately* or *Immediately* to them. *Mediately*, by the Ministry of Angels, as he declar'd to *Abraham*, and *Lor*, the Destruction of *Sodom* and *Gomorrhah*. *Immediate* Revelation is either *External* or *Internal*. *External*, When God by an Audible Voice informs the Prophet what he ought to say, what he ought to do, or what shall come to pass; or when he represents to him what he would have him know by Signs and Symbols. The *Internal* is made, either whilst one is a-sleep, or in an Extasie and Emotion which puts the Man beside himself, or else to Persons who are awake and in their right Senses. During Sleep, this Revelation happens in divers Manners, either by *Enigmatical* and *Symbolical Representations*, or by such as are clear and distinct; or when one Dreams, that he hears and sees an Angel, a Man, or God himself, who tells him so or so. In an *Extasie*, which happens, when a Man in a Swoon and beside himself, sees or hears such things as he remembers, and afterwards declares: Or when a Man perceives himself to be violently mov'd and agitated by an extraordinary Commotion, which heats his Imagination so much, that being no longer Master of his Thoughts or Expressions, he can do no more than lend (as it were) his Tongue, or his Pen, to the Holy Ghost, which fills him. This kind of Revelation was very common to the Ancient Prophets, who were subitanously fill'd with the Holy Ghost; which the Sacred Scriptures style, *Irruit super eum Spiritus Domini*, which seiz'd upon their Senses and Reason, and made them pronounce their Prophecies with violence and transport. This State or Condition of a Prophet, *Jeremiah* very elegantly compares to that of a Drunken Man. *I am* (says he, Ch. 23. ver. 9.) *like a drunken man, and like a man whom wine hath overcome, because of the Lord, and because of his holiness.* He gives us another description of the same thing, Ch. 20. ver. 7, 9. where he says, *O Lord thou hast deceiv'd me, and I was deceiv'd: Thou art stronger than I, and hast prevail'd. I said I will not make mention of the Lord, nor speak any more in his Name: But his word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my Bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and could not stay.* Lastly, God discovers Truths to Persons who are awake and in their right Senses, by Inspiration, two several ways, either when he represents to their Imagination and Mind in a clear and distinct manner, the Truths which they had no Knowledge of any other way, and causes them to declare or write them down; by an internal Inspiration which they cannot resist; as when *Amos* says, in the third Chapter of his Prophecy, Ver. 8. *The Lord hath spoken, Who can but Prophecie?* Or when the Holy Ghost guides and directs the Mind of him who speaks and writes, so that tho' at other times he knows what he writes



writes and speaks naturally, freely and without constraint; yet then the Holy Ghost does not permit him to write any thing contrary to Piety or Truth. The Jews, as we already observ'd, make a distinction between *Inspiration* and *Prophecy*. According to them, *Prophecy* is only a Thing Reveal'd to Man whilst Asleep or in a Swoon, who has a Vision wherein he perceives some body speaking to him; or sees the Representations and Images of something, or only hears a Voice. Whereas the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost is, When a Man being awake and undisturb'd, having all his Senses about him, speaks after his usual manner, without feeling any thing extraordinary in him; unless it be, that he is excited by the Spirit of the most High, who inlightens his Understanding, puts Words into his Mouth, and makes him to publish Praises and Thanksgivings to his God, or Instructions and Reproofs to Men, or to Foretell Things to come, his Mind and Reason being fortified by the Divine Assistance. These are the Words of Rabbi Kimchi, in his Preface to the *Psalms*. Rabbi Moses, the Son of Maimon, in *More Nivuchim*, Ch. 45. styles this Inspiration, the *Second Degree of Prophecy*, and defines it thus: "When a Man feels in himself a Power and Motion which stirs him up to speak, so that he says extraordinary things concerning Arts and Sciences, or sings Psalms or Hymns, or delivers Moral Precepts, very useful for the good Conduct of human Life; or speaks of that which relates to the Political State, or of what concerns Religion, being awake and in his right Mind; This (says he) is what we call speaking by the Holy Ghost." These Rabbies had great reason to reckon the Hymns and Songs among the effects of the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; for Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, the Authors of several of those Hymns, are called *Prophets*; and 'tis said, that they Prophesied when they sang the *Psalms*, 1 Chron. 25. 1, 2, 3. The Songs which we have in the Holy Scripture; as for instance, those in the Old Testament, of Moses and his Sister Miriam, of Moses alone, of Deborah and Barak, of Hannah, and of Isaiah; and in the New Testament, those of the Virgin Mary, Elizabeth, Zachariah, Simeon, &c. were all the Productions of the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. The Primitive Christians, among whom the Gift of Prophecy was very common, as St. Justin and St. Irenaeus testify, did recite and compose Songs *Ex tempore*. 'Tis of those Songs that St. Paul speaks in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Ch. 14. v. 26. where he says, *Every one hath a Psalm among you*. And this Custom lasted to Tertullian's time, who in his *Apologetic*, Ch. 39. observes, That the Christians recited Songs and Prayers of their own Composing. They had likewise *Extasies*, wherein God represented to their Imagination things to come; as for instance, St. Paul, who in an Extasie was caught up into the Third Heaven, 2 Cor. 12. and St. Peter, who in an Extasie saw a Vision, whereby he was inform'd, That he ought to admit the *Gentiles* to the Christian Faith, Acts 10. Agabus, Judas, Silas, the Daughters of Philip the Deacon, Ammias of Philadelphia, and Quadratus, are reckon'd among the Christian Prophets by an Ancient Anonymous Writer in Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist. B. 5. Ch. 17*. But the Extasies and Visions of those last Prophets were regular, and were not such Transports which the same Author calls *παρηγοριαι*, which were attended with Impudence and Confidence; which began in a voluntary Ignorance, and ended in an involuntary Shame; of which sort were the Prophecies and Extasies of the *Montanists*, which he rejects upon this Principle. For 'tis to be observ'd, That the true Prophets, tho' in an Extasie, never said any thing extravagantly, nor acted impertinently. The Spirit of God, who directed and govern'd them, being *Wisdom it self*, did never cause them to fall into such real Follies. Miltiades compos'd a Book on purpose to prove this against the *Montanists*; And St. Epiphanius observes in treating of their Heresie, that whatever the true Prophets said, had Sense and Connexion in it; and that a sure token, whereby to discern that a Man is no true Prophet, is, That he talks extravagantly and at random. St. Chrysostom, in the 29th Homily on the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, says, That Conjurers are distinguished from Prophets, in that the Conjuror is us'd to be out of his Wits, to be mov'd and agitated, and to tear himself, like a Madman; whereas, the Prophet has a sound, settled, and well temper'd Mind, and speaks with Prudence and Discretion. St. Jerom makes the same Remark in the Preface of his Commentary on *Nahum*. "He does not speak, (says he) in an Extasie, like Montanus, Priscus and Maximillian; but all his Prophecy is the effect of a Vision full of Light and Understanding." However, it cannot be deny'd, but that the true Prophets had sometimes Extasies and extraordinary Emotions, even such as were violent; but those Extasies never carried them out to do any thing extravagantly, nor to say or write any thing that was foolish; and herein their Extasies and Prophecies differ from those of the false Prophets.

There might likewise have been some Men who Prophesied without knowing it, because Prophecy was a Gift annexed to their Office. 'Tis thus, that the High-Priest



sometimes utter'd Oracles without thinking of it, and even whilst his Mind was intent upon something else. The Gospel affords us an instance of this in *Caiaphas*, who Prophesied without Dreaming of any such matter, by saying in the Council of the Chief Priests and Pharisees, wherein they resolv'd upon putting *Jesus Christ* to Death, *That it was expedient that one man should die for the people*, Joh. 11. 50. And in the 51st Verse, the Evangelist adds, *This he spake not of himself, but being High-Priest that year, he prophesied that Jesus Christ should die for that nation.* The Jews likewise foretold, without thinking of it, the Misfortunes which they should suffer upon the account of their putting *Jesus Christ* to Death, when they cried out, *His Blood be upon us and our Children.* [But this, with submission to Mr. *Du Pin*, and better Judgments, we think ought not to be look'd upon as a Prophecy, but an Imprecation of that sad Event, which our Saviour had foretold before, concerning the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Matth.* 24.]

In what manner soever the Prophets were informed by God of certain Truths, they might declare them to Men in different ways.

The first and most usual, is, When they told them by Word of Mouth what God had Revealed to them. This they did, sometimes by an express Command from God, who order'd them to go and tell what he had Reveal'd to them, to such a Prince or such a People; sometimes they did it, by being push'd on, or, as it were, forc'd by the Holy Ghost, who oblig'd them to speak; and more frequently, they did it voluntarily and freely, to Teach, Instruct, and Admonish others, to Communicate to them the Notices which God had reveal'd to them, and discharge their Office of a Prophet.

The second Method is, When they make known to Men what shall come to pass by such Signs and Actions as have some Relation to the Event. We meet with a great many Instances of this *Symbolical* and *Enigmatical* way of Prophecy in the Prophets. One tears his Mantle into twelve parts, as a Type of the Division of the twelve Tribes, *1 Kings*, Ch. 11. v. 30. Another makes use of Yokes and Bonds, as a Type of a future Captivity, *Jerem.* 27. Another draws upon a Slate, the Portrait of the Siege of *Jerusalem*, *Ezek.* 4. 1. Another walks Bare-foot and Naked, as a Sign or Type of the Desolation of *Egypt* and *Ethiopia*, *Is.* 20. 3. Another takes unto him a Whore for his Wife, to denote thereby the People of *Israel*, who had committed Spiritual Whoredom in departing from the Lord, *Hos.* 1. 2. In the *New Testament*, *Agabus* by binding his Hands and his Feet with *St. Paul's* Girdle, foretold that Apostle's Imprisonment, *Acts* 21. 11. The Prophets themselves did very often explain those Types and Figures, and made use of them only to strike the more forcibly on the Imagination of those to whom they spake.

The third Method, which the Prophets made use of to Communicate their Revelations to others, is, by committing them to Writing, either by the express Command of God, who order'd *Moses* to do it, *Exod.* 17. 14. *Deut.* 31. 19.—and *Isaiah*, *Is.* 8. 1.—30. 8. and *Jeremiah*, *Jer.* 30. 2.—36. 2, 28. —and *Habakkuk*, *Ch.* 2. v. 2. Or, by a secret Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, or by their own proper Motion, tho' afterward assisted by the Holy Ghost whilst they wrote.

Lastly, If we consider the Prophecies with respect to things Prophesied, there are as many kinds of them as there are Diversities of Truths, which may be Revealed. If we consider the Time, we may distinguish them into three sorts, *viz.* (1.) The Prophecies of things to come, which are those which by way of Eminence, are styl'd *Prophecies*. (2.) Those wherein things past are related: And (3.) Those that have respect to things present. If one would distinguish them according to the variety of the Subject-Matters Prophesied, they are such as are *Historical*, *Doctrinal*, and *Moral*; and those are either for Instruction, or Comfort, or Exhortation, or Threatning. All this is manifest, and we find a great many Instances of it in the Books of the Prophets.

What at present is necessary for us to Enquire into, is, To Examine, how we may distinguish the false from the true Prophecies. Now to know, whether a thing be truly Reveal'd or not, 'tis requisite, First, That he who says it, be assur'd that God Reveal'd it to him: Secondly, That we be satisfied, that the Person who declares or writes it, be a true Prophet: Thirdly, That we be assur'd, that that Prophet has declar'd such or such a thing just as 'tis Reveal'd.

As to the first of these Points; 'Tis no hard matter to comprehend, how the Prophets and Men Divinely inspired, could be assur'd that God Reveal'd Truths to them, when he did it by *external Methods*; for they were clear, sensible, and easie to be understood. A Prophet (for instance) hears a distinct Voice; he sees no body that Speaks, and cannot doubt but that God speaks to him: He sees one in the shape of Man, who talks with

with him, and afterwards vanishes out of his sight; A fiery Bush, out of which proceeds a Voice, &c. He is awake, in his right Senses, and that is enough. The Revelations which are made by *internal Methods* are more difficult to be discern'd, and may be more liable to Illusion. Dreams, Visions and Extasies may as well be the Effects of Nature, as the particular Operations of God; and Inspiration or the Assistance of the Divine Spirit, is neither felt nor distinguish'd; they who have it, are most commonly insensible of it. How then can a Prophet be assur'd of the Truth of those Kinds of Revelations? 'Tis true, there are indeed, Dreams, Visions and Extasies which are the Effects of Nature only; and others, which are the Effects of an extraordinary Operation of God; but there is a great deal of Difference between these two; and tho' Men of ordinary Capacities cannot discern this Difference, yet the Prophets, who were accustomed to them, could never be deceiv'd in the Case. They were convinc'd and persuaded of it by an internal Sensation; they immediately perceiv'd the Impress of the Divinity and the Hand of God in their Dreams, Visions and Extasies, just as we feel in our selves the different movements of our Souls, or as we discern on a sudden those with whom we are well acquainted, by seeing their Faces, or hearing their Voice, tho' those who are acquainted with them may be deceiv'd therein: Just as a Man who is perfectly vers'd in Coins, at one View distinguishes the Counterfeit from the True, tho' others may be cheated in them; Or as an expert Artist, at one glance, sees the difference between a false Impression and a true One, which others did not discover; Or lastly, as a skillful Critick discerns the different Style of two Authors, of which others are not sensible. There are a great many things of this Nature, of which the Men of an ordinary reach have no discernment, and which Persons of Skill and Experience discover immediately, rather by a long Habit, and an internal Sensation, than by Rules and Principles. The Case is the same, with respect to Inspiration, when 'tis made after a sensible manner. The Prophets knew when their Hearts and Souls were full of the Holy Ghost: They perceiv'd in themselves his Motions; they follow'd and suffer'd themselves to be lead by them. But when Inspiration is insensible, (as it happen'd to a great many Sacred Writers, who calmly, and without any extraordinary Emotion, wrote the things which they had either seen or heard) one is assur'd of this Inspiration, because one knows, (1.) That the Author who writes is inspir'd by the Holy Ghost, in what relates to Religion and Piety. (2.) That the Work which he writes ought to be Divinely Inspir'd, in order to make use of it as a Foundation of Religion. (3.) That this Work has been receiv'd and acknowledg'd as Divinely Inspir'd, by an infallible Authority; as for instance, by *Jesus Christ*, by his Apostles; and by the Universal, Catholick Church. This last Rule, which is unexceptionable, may be applied to all the Works which *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles have cited as Divinely Inspir'd; and by consequence to all the Books which the *Jews* look'd upon as Holy Scripture; and to all the Books which the Church of *Jesus Christ* has receiv'd and admitted into the number of *Canonical Books*.

The Rules whereby to know, whether he who declares a Truth in the Name of the Lord, be a true or a false Prophet, are set down in the Scriptures. For in the first place, 'tis said, Deut. 13. 1, 2, 3. *If there arise among you a Prophet, or a Dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign or a Wonder, and the Sign or the Wonder come to pass which he foretold; yet if he say, Come, let us go after strange Gods and serve them; thou shalt not hearken to that Prophet, or to that Dreamer of Dreams:* This is the first exclusive Rule. Whatever Man teaches or sets up another God, and another Religion, is not a true Prophet. When it happens by chance, that his Predictions come to pass, when he even works Miracles, he is not to be believ'd. Whoever, in the time of the *Old Law* taught or commanded any thing to be done, contrary to the Divine Precepts of the Law of *Moses*; Whoever under the *New Law*, teaches any other Doctrine than that of *Jesus Christ*, or Orders any thing contrary to its Principles, is a false Prophet which ought not to be hearken'd to (\*.) This Rule ought to be understood only of *Divine* and

[(\*) *Is a false Prophet which ought not to hearken'd to.*] We cannot forbear remarking, That this Rule, which the Doctor of the *Sorbonne* here lays down and explains, speaks much in the favour of the *Protestants*, and is very disadvantageous to the present Church of *Rome*. For if in that Church, there be such things Taught, Injoyn'd and Commanded, with respect to Faith, or Religious Worship, which are contrary to the Doctrine of *Christ*; then certainly, according to this Rule of *Du Pin*, none of the *Romanists*, who Teach and Maintain these Doctrines,

are true Prophets or Teachers, nor are they to be hearken'd to. Now that the Doctrines of *Transubstantiation*, *Purgatory*, *Worshipping of Images*, the *Invocations of Saints*, and the like, are not only contrary to the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles, but also Derogatory of the Honour and true Worship that is due to the true God, has been abundantly prov'd upon them by the ablest Writers of our Church. The Conclusion from these Premises is very obvious and easie to be drawn.]



*Moral Precepts*, for with respect to the *Ceremonial* and *Judicial* Precepts, there are some Instances, wherein the Prophets, by the Order of God himself, enjoyn'd them not to be observ'd. Thus *Circumcision*, tho' commanded, was not put into practice in the Wilderness for forty-years. *David* Eat the Shew-Bread, which it was not lawful for any to Eat beside the Priests alone. *Elijah* rais'd an Altar upon Mount *Carmel*, contrary to the expresse prohibition of the Law, &c.

The second Rule, is that which we find, *Deut.* 18. 21, 22. where 'tis said, *If thou say in thine heart, How shall we know the Word which the Lord hath not spoken? When a Prophet speaketh in the Name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the Prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: Thou shalt not be afraid of him.* This is the second exclusive Rule. God cannot be deceived in his Predictions. If a Prophet foretells a thing, and it does not come to pass, he is no true Prophet, the Lord has not spoken by his Mouth. On the other hand, the Token that a Man is a true Prophet, is, When whatever he Prophesies does certainly come to pass. For which Reason, *Samuel* was always look'd upon as a true Prophet, because all his Predictions were fulfilled. This Rule admits of one Difficulty, in that the true Prophets may sometimes foretell things that would happen, if there be no Alteration in the Case; and which do not come to pass, if any change has happen'd. God is not so far tied up to the Predictions of his Prophets, as not to alter the Course of Things, when there has happen'd any Change on Man's part. This is what the Prophet *Jeremiah* declares in a truly sublime manner, *Ch.* 18. v. 6, &c. *Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are ye in mine hand, O house of Israel. At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it: If that nation, against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant, I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build, and to plant it: If it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good, wherewith I said I would benefit them.* Thus the Event of the Prophecy of *Jonas*, Yet forty days and *Nineveh* shall be overthrow'n, was stopp'd by the Repentance of the *Ninevites*; and that of the Prophet *Isaiah* to King *Hezekiah*, that he should Die of the Disease under which he lay, was respited by the fervent Prayer of that King. But 'tis to be observed, That these kinds of Predictions are not absolute, but conditional: Tho' this Condition be not express'd, yet 'tis implied, and afterwards we know the Reason which has hinder'd the Event of the Prophecy. 'Tis this that justifies the Prophet, and demonstrates the Truth of his Prophecy, which would have been accomplish'd, if the Condition which attends it had not been perform'd. *Nineveh*, for instance, would have been destroy'd, if the *Ninevites* had not repented. Their Repentance is publick and known; 'tis that which prevented the Ruin of their City; and it cannot be from thence inferr'd, that *Jonas* was a false Prophet, as it might have been, if *Nineveh* had been spared, tho' the *Ninevites* had persever'd in their Irregularities.

The third Rule, whereby to know a true Prophet, is, The Reputation and the Probity of Manners of the Person who speaks in the Name of God. If he be an Impostor, if he be a Man that loves to be Brib'd, if he be a debauch'd Person, or one blinded with Interest, who acts for favour or affection to any Party, he is not to be Credited. 'Tis against such Prophets as these, that *Ezekiel* inveighs: Such Prophets who Prophesie out of their own hearts, that sow Pillows to all Armholes, and make Kerchiefs upon the head of every Stature to hunt Souls, who deceive the People for handfulls of Barley, and for pieces of Bread. Such Prophets, who, as *Micah* says, Eat the Flesh of the People, who fley them, who break their Bones, who cry, *Peace* to them who give 'em something, and to him that putteth not into their Mouths, they even prepare *War* against him. 'Tis likewise by their Works, that our Blessed Saviour says we may know the false Prophets: *A fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos.* But this Rule is not so general, but that it may admit of some Exceptions; especially in the Prophets, who swerved not nor departed from the Law and the Doctrine which they ought to Teach. In such a Case, we must, according to the Advice of our Saviour, harken to them, and believe what they say in publick, but not imitate their Actions. Which is chiefly the Case of such as are in Offices of Trust, and have the charge over the Practice and Conversations of others. How came it, (says *St. Basil*) That *Balaam* and *Caiaphas* Prophesied? 'Tis because both of them had Persons under their Charge; the one, as High-Priest, and the other as Prophet. It was not the Purity of their Hearts, nor the Disposition their Minds were in to receive their Impression from God, which furnish'd them with these Notices; but the Word of God was put into their Mouths, not for any desert they had, but upon the account of a peculiar Dispensation.

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The fourth Rule, whereby to discover a true Prophet, is, When God confirms his Mission and his Authority by Miracles. As for Instance, When God sent *Moses* to the People of *Israel*, he gave him the Power of working Wonders and Miracles, that so they might Credit what he should say. On the contrary, A false Prophet is known, when he is punished for having spoken in the Name of God; as when the false Prophet [*Jeroboam*,] who would have laid hands on the true Prophet, who had prophesied against *Bethel*, was punish'd upon the Spot, by losing the Use of his Arm,

1 Kings 13.

The fifth Rule is, When a Man is acknowledg'd and prov'd a Prophet; First, By the publick Suffrage, founded on the Event of his Predictions; as 'tis said of *Samuel*, 1 Sam. 3. 20. *All Israel from Dan to Beer-sheba knew that Samuel was a faithful Prophet of the Lord.* Secondly, By the Testimony of another Prophet, as when *Moses* declar'd to the People of *Israel*, that *Joshua* was fill'd with the Spirit of God, and that they ought to obey him, Numb. 27. 18, &c. Deut. 34. 9. Thirdly, By the Testimony of God himself, as when there was heard a Voice from Heaven, which said of *Jesus Christ*, *This is my beloved Son in whom I am well pleased*, Matth. 17. 5. Or by the Testimony of *Jesus Christ*, as when he says of *St. John Baptist*, *That he is a Prophet, nay more than a Prophet.* And when he cited the Authority of the Law of *Moses*, of the *Psalms* and the *Prophets* receiv'd by the *Jews*: Or by the Testimony of the *Apostles*, who quote the *Prophecies* and the *Sacred Writings*. And lastly, By the Testimony of the Church, who own'd such or such an Author to be a Prophet, such or such a Book to be Prophe-tical and of Divine Inspiration.

To conclude, The Ways whereby to be satisfied, that a Prophet has declar'd or taught such or such thing in the Name of God, are easie and obvious. If it were *viva voce* that he spake it, those who heard him were Ear-witnesses of it themselves; they who did not hear him, might be satisfied in the point by the relation of other credible Persons, by their Disciples, by those who succeeded them, and by a constant Tradition. If the Prophecy were committed to Writing, we are assur'd, that it belongs to that Prophet whose Name it bears, by the same means whereby we are assur'd, that all other Books are such or such an Author's; that is, by the Book it self which goes under his Name, by the Testimony of Ancient, Contemporary and Credible Writers, by the publick Assent; Lastly, By the Testimony of the Synagogue and the Church, who assure us, that such or such a Work is *Genuine*. But this we shall explain in another place more at large.

#### SECT. IV.

*The Succession of the True Prophets among the Jews. The Hypothesis of Father Simon, concerning the Writers of the Registers, and the publick Scribes, who were Divinely Inspir'd, Refuted.*

THE whole Bible is no more than one continued Train or Series of Prophecies; and all the famous Persons mention'd therein are so many Prophets. There were some of 'em before, some under the Law, and others under the Gospel. *Adam* in the State of Innocence, was highly favour'd with a familiar Converse with his God, and 'tis probable, that after his Fall he was not wholly depriv'd of Revelations, since he was oblig'd to instruct his Posterity. Among the *Antedeluvian* Patriarchs, the Scripture informs us, That *Enoch*, the seventh from *Adam*, who walk'd in the Ways of the Lord, was endued with the Gift of Prophecy: Περὶ ἧμων ἡ εὐχὴ τῶν ἁγίων ἑσθίουσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἕως λέων. *Noah*, a Just Man, receiv'd Instructions from Heaven for the Building of the Ark, and saving himself from the Universal Deluge. God, after the Flood, continu'd to instruct him. In cursing *Cham*, he foretold what should happen to his Posterity. *Abraham* had not only particular Revelations, but God honour'd him with a solemn and special Covenant, which he made with him and his Posterity. *Jacob*, upon his Death-Bed, utter'd admirable Prophecies concerning the Twelve Tribes which were to descend from his Twelve Sons. Among them *Joseph* excell'd in the Gift of Prophecy, making mention of the Departing of the Children of *Israel*, and giving them Commandment concerning his Bones, Heb. 11. 22. But *Moses* surpass'd all the Prophets that either went before or follow'd him to the time of *Jesus Christ*. The Excellency of *Moses*, above the rest of the Prophets, appears, First, From the manner

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wherein God spake to him, for God had spoken to other Prophets by Visions, or in a Dream, but to *Moses* he spake Face to Face without a Vail, without a Figure and without a Vision; and for this Reason, 'tis said, *Deut. 34. 10. That there arose not a Prophet since in Israel like unto Moses.* Secondly, In that Facility wherewith *Moses* made his Addresses to God, for he consulted him as often as he pleas'd, and God return'd him an answer. Thirdly, By the great number of Revelations, Laws, Commandments, and Instructions, which he receiv'd from God. Fourthly, By his Quality of *Legislator*, or rather *Promulgator* of the Law of God, which was peculiar to him, and to none other of the Prophets, who neither made nor prescrib'd any New Laws, but explain'd and amplified those of *Moses*. Fifthly, By the Title of *Deliverer* and *Leader* of the People of God. And Sixthly, By the Wonders and Miracles which he wrought, which exceeded both in number and excellency those of the other Prophets. This is expressly taken notice of at the end of *Deuteronomy*, Ch. 34. v. 10, 11, &c. *There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, in all the miracles and wonders which the Lord sent him to do in the land of Egypt, before Pharaoh and all his servants, and before all his land, and in all that mighty hand, and all that great fear which Moses wrought in the sight of all Israel.* It was in this that the Excellency of the Miracles of *Moses* did consist.

*Moses* had all the Signs which a Man could have of his being a True Prophet. He could not be deceiv'd in his Revelations; since God spake to him clearly, manifestly and familiarly, whilst he was awake. It can't be question'd, but that he declar'd truly and sincerely what had been told him by the Lord. His Integrity, the Signs and Wonders which God wrought by his hands for the Confirmation of his Laws and Prophecies, the Event which exactly agreed to what he had foretold, the Punishment of those who disobey'd him, and would not believe what he told them in the Name of God, or were for usurping the same Authority to themselves, are convincing Proofs of it. Lastly, One can't be ignorant of the things which *Moses* taught Men in the Name of God, nor of the Laws which he made, nor of the Actions which he did. They were publick, all the People of the *Jews* were Witnesses and Confidents of them: They have admitted and observ'd them, as receiv'd from God by the Ministry of *Moses*. Lastly, *Moses* committed them to Writing according to the Order which he had receiv'd for so doing from God, and by his Inspiration: His Books were kept carefully by the *Jews*, and at all times acknowledg'd to be the Books of *Moses*, as we shall in the sequel demonstrate. *Jesus Christ*, the Apostles, and the Church, have receiv'd them as Books Divinely Inspir'd. Who after this can question, Whether they are Divine and Sacred Books or no?

Since the time of *Moses*, God has rais'd up several Prophets in *Israel*. *Joshua* receiv'd the Spirit of Prophecy. *Moses* testifies so much of him, and he himself shews sufficiently in his Conduct, and in the Miracles which God wrought in his favour, that he was a Prophet. After *Joshua*, and in the times of the *Judges*, the Prophets were very scarce. However, some there were, among whom we may reckon especially the famous Prophetess *Deborah*, who prophesied and judg'd the People of *Israel* under a Palm-Tree, between *Ramah* and *Bethel*, on Mount *Ephraim*, *Judg. 4. 5.* To her we may joyn the Man of God, who spoke to *Eli* the High-Priest, and foretold him of the Evil that should happen to him and his House, *1 Sam. 2. 27.* *Samuel* was not only a great Prophet, acknowledg'd as such by all the People; but in his time, the Prophets began to be more common in *Israel*, and a great many of them were to be seen. Under the Reign of *Saul* there were so many Prophets, that we are told of whole Companies or Colleges of them. *Nathan*, *Gad*, *Asaph*, *Heman*, and *Jeduthun* flourish'd under the Reign of *David*; who was himself an excellent Prophet. Under the Reign of *Solomon*, who in Prophecy came not behind his Father; there is likewise mention made of a great many Prophets; such as, *Abijah*, *Shemaiah*, *Iddo*, *Azariah*, *Obed*, *Jehu*, &c. Under the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, *Solomon's* Successors down to the Captivity, we meet with abundance of Prophets, who were consulted with upon all considerable Undertakings, who foretold things to come, who instructed, reprov'd, exhorted, comforted, and threatned the Princes and People in the Name of God. *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and several of the Lesser Prophets, whose Writings we have by us, are of that number. *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* prophesied during the Captivity, and after it *Haggai*, *Zachariah*, *Ezrah*, *Nehemiah*, and *Malachy*, the last of the Prophets. This is the apparent Succession of the Prophets among the *Jews*. From that time there was not any remarkable One till the time of our Saviour. We must (no question) reckon among the Prophets, (by taking that Term in the general Sense, for all those to whom God has Reveal'd, or whom he has Inspir'd with Truths) all the Authors of the *Canonical Books*, tho'



tho' we do not know the Names of some of them ; since 'tis certain, as we shall hereafter prove, that those Books were Penn'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

But 'tis not at all necessary to suppose what Mr. *Simon* advances, viz. That there were always among the *Hebrews*, Prophets or publick Scribes Divinely Inspir'd, who kept publick Registers of the Histories and Affairs which concern'd the State, who are the Authors of all the Sacred Writings, and who had a Right of reducing them as they pleas'd ; to add to them, or take out of them what they thought convenient. This new Hypothesis is not founded on any solid Principle. There is no mention made in any place of Scripture of those publick Scribes Inspir'd by God ; they are no where styl'd Prophets. Among the Officers of the Household of *David*, there is mention made of *Jehosaphat* the Son of *Ahilud* the Recorder, 2 Sam. 8. 16. and of *Seraiah* the Secretary or Scribe. 'Tis likewise said, 1 Chron. 27. 32. That *Jehonathan*, *David's* Uncle was a Scribe ; but these Men are not call'd Prophets ; nor is it said, that they were Inspir'd by God to Write Memoirs. We are not assur'd, that the Journals of the History of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, of which mention is made in the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, were written by Prophets, and by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. And tho' this were so, it does not by any just Inference from thence follow, that all who wrote publick Registers and Memoirs among the *Jews*, were likewise Prophets, or Men Divinely Inspir'd. The Books of the Prophets, cited in the Books of the *Chronicles* were not according to all appearance Books purely Historical, as we have already observ'd : But tho' this were so, none doubts but that the Prophets might write Historical Books, and even might have Penn'd them by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost ; but from hence to conclude, that all the publick Scribes and Compilers of Registers among the *Jews* were Prophets, that there were always such from the time of *Moses*, under whom they began, to *Jesus Christ*, that they are the Authors of all the Sacred Books ; that they had a Right of adding to, retrenching from, and altering in them what they pleas'd and thought most convenient, is a consequence that is unaccountable. Let us see, whether it be founded on any other solid Reasons, and for this let us examine those which Mr. *Simon* produces in its Defence. He advances this Notion in the Preface of his Criticisms, but gives no proofs of it in that place, nor was it a proper place to do it in. In the first Chapter of his Criticisms, which is a kind of Second Preface, he only contents himself with saying, that he gives the title of Prophets to the Authors of the Bible, and with repeating what he had said in his Preface concerning the Usefulness of those publick Scribes, by supposing that there were such, without putting himself to the trouble of proving it. 'Tis in the second Chapter that he undertakes to demonstrate it, and his Reasons are these. In the first place, he observes, That the Commonwealth of the *Jews* never acknowledg'd any for its Head, but only God. From this Principle he concludes, That God himself gave them Laws by the Ministry of *Moses*, and the other Prophets who succeeded him. This Conclusion is certain and just, there was no need of proving it by a Principle more obscure than the Conclusion, which is taken from thence. But we are not concern'd to know, whether there were any Prophets among the *Jews* ; that is Self-Evident : What we are only concern'd to know, is, First, Whether there were always among the *Jews* publick Scribes, who kept the Registers of the Affairs, and the Histories of those Matters which had relation to their Polity and Government : Secondly, Whether those Scribes were Divinely Inspir'd : And Thirdly, Whether they were the Authors of the Books of the Bible. It lies upon Mr. *Simon* to prove these three Propositions, and not only to observe in general, that there were Prophets among the *Jews*. The second Remark, which Mr. *Simon* makes, is, That in well govern'd States, and especially in the East, there were always certain Persons, who took care to commit to Writing the most important Affairs of the Republick : I had thought that Mr. *Simon* would have concluded from thence, that therefore there were likewise such among the *Jews*. He disowns the Consequence, so that this Remark must only pass for a Similitude ; and he must seek out for other proofs, to shew there were among the *Jews* such publick Scribes. 'Tis very probable, (adds he) That *Moses* at the first Rise of the Jewish Polity established this sort of Scribes, which we may style publick or Divine, to distinguish them from other private Writers, who usually undertake to write the History of their Times, only through the Motives of Self-Interest. 'Tis not then a thing certain, that *Moses* establish'd those Scribes ; 'tis at best no more than a Conjecture ; 'Tis very probable. But upon what Grounds does Mr. *Simon* suppose this ? He gives us two Reasons for it in a Parenthesis : First, Because he had been preferred in the Egyptian Court, wherein there were Priests, whom they call'd Scribes, or Writers of Sacred Things. As if it were necessary, or so much as probable, That *Moses* had imitated and put into Practice among the *Jews* all that was practis'd among the *Egyptians*. He should have produc'd some Reason, or at



at least some Conjecture, to prove that he imitated them therein. But this Mr. *Simon* thinks not fit to do. The second Reason which he alledges to prove, That *Moses* establish'd this kind of *Scribes* among the *Jews*, is, That he was an exact Law-giver. Very well ! But does it follow, that a Man cannot be an exact Legislator without establishing such a Custom? *Lycurgus* was an exact Legislator; and yet by the Confession of Mr. *Simon* himself, he did not establish in his Republick such a sort of publick Scribes. But why should *Moses* establish them among the *Jews*, since he wrote himself the Laws and the History?

Let us now see, whether he is more lucky in the Testimonies which he produces. The First is, That of *Josephus*, who says; That among the *Jews*, every one was not allowed to write their Annals, but that that Task was reserv'd to the Prophets alone, who knew future things at a great distance from them by Divine Inspiration, and who likewise wrote what happened in their own times. As a Reply to this Authority, I had said; That *Josephus* by those Prophets only understood *Moses*, and the Persons who after him Penn'd the Books of the Old Testament. To this Mr. *Simon* replies, That the Reasons of *Josephus* are too large to be explain'd with such a Limitation. But this is a Matter of Fact, wherein we have nothing to do with Conjectures; we need only read the entire Passage of *Josephus*, which we have mention'd, to make it plain, that he speaks of no other Books but only those which in his time were acknowledg'd by the *Jews* as Canonical, and that nothing is more opposite to the Hypothesis of Mr. *Simon* than this passage. Mr. *Simon* supposes, That there were in the time of *Moses*, publick Scribes, who have cited the Memoirs out of which the *Pentateuch* was compos'd; and *Josephus* says expressly, That these Five Books were compos'd by *Moses*. Mr. *Simon* supposes, That the following Books are Ancient Memoirs or Records written from time to time by these publick Scribes, and afterwards collected by other publick Scribes; and *Josephus* supposes, That they were Penn'd, just as they are, by the Prophets, who liv'd in the time when the things which they wrote happen'd. Mr. *Simon* would have, That there were always in the Civil State of the *Jews*, some of those publick Writers Divinely Inspir'd: And *Josephus* positively says, That there was no continu'd Succession of Prophets after the Reign of *Artaxerxes*. Can any thing in the World be more contrary? But besides, the Prophets of *Josephus* are quite different from the publick Scribes of Mr. *Simon*: They are not Men commission'd over the Registers and establish'd to write History; but are Prophets, who from time to time, liv'd among the *Jews*, who took care to write the Occurrences of their times, and the Books which they wrote, are not in the least different from those which the *Jews* acknowledg'd as Canonical in *Josephus*'s time. From whence it follows, That this Passage is a very strong Proof of our Position, and destroys the Hypothesis of Mr. *Simon*. For we, with *Josephus*, maintain against Mr. *Simon*, That *Moses* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*; and that the other Authentic Books of the Old Testament were written by Men Inspir'd by God, or by Prophets who liv'd about the time, wherein the things happen'd which they have writ, altho' their Names be to us unknown. 'Tis to those Books, and not to the *Pentateuch*, that we ought to apply the Words of St. *Gregory* upon *Job*, which Mr. *Simon* apparently wrests in his first Chapter. St. *Gregory*'s Words are; *Quis hac scripserit, valde supervacue queritur; cum tamen Auctor Libri Spiritus Sanctus fideliter credatur; i. e.* 'Tis needless to ask who was the Writer, since we may safely believe the Holy Ghost to be the Author of the Book. Now that Father says this only upon the account of the Book of *Job*, whose Author is unknown.

The second Author which Mr. *Simon* produces in his Criticisms, to prove the Scribes, of whom he spake, to be Divinely Inspir'd, is *Eusebius Casariensis*. *Eusebius* (says he) confirms this Opinion, when he observes, That among the Hebrews it was not for all sorts of People to be Judges, who were Inspir'd by the Holy Ghost for the Writing of the Sacred Books, and who were not. In the Margin, he cites, [*Euseb. de Preparatione Evangelicâ*], that is, a large Book in Folio; where I have look'd for this passage, but could not find it. But suppose it were there, I cannot perceive that it has any thing to do with Mr. *Simon*'s Hypothesis. There were among the *Jews* Writers Divinely Inspir'd, who ever question'd it? It did not belong to all the World to determine which of them were Divinely Inspir'd, and which were not: This was reserv'd to others Person, who were likewise Divinely Inspir'd. I suppose all this to be true: Does it from thence follow, that the Books of *Moses* were made by the Register-Keepers? Does it follow, That those who were commissioned to write the History or publick Records, were Divinely Inspir'd? Does it follow, That all the Books of Scripture which we have, were no more than Abridgments of those Records? Besides, Mr. *Simon* could never have cited an Author more contrary to his Hypothesis, than *Eusebius* is; nay, even in this very Tract, *De Preparatione Evangelicâ*: For one of the Main Principles, which in several passages of that

Book,

Book, he establishes, is, The Authority and Antiquity of the Books of *Moses*, which he all along supposes to have been compos'd by that Prophet, just in the same manner wherein we at present have them. This is what he includes in Three Propositions, which he lays down at the beginning of the 14th Book. First, That *Moses* is more Ancient than any Greek Author. Secondly, That he wrote what he had learnt from his Ancestors. And Thirdly, That the *Jews* have added nothing to, or retrench'd any thing from the Writings which he left them. I leave the Learned to judge, whether these Principles of *Eusebius* have any resemblance to those of Mr. *Simon*.

The third Author, cited by Mr. *Simon*, is *Theodoret*. 'Tis true, this Father (as well as several other Authors) has acknowledg'd, That the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles* were compos'd from more Ancient Records. But this does not come up to the matter in Dispute. 'Tis own'd, That we are not ascertain'd who was the Author of these Books. 'Tis own'd, That they are a Collection drawn from more Ancient Records. But we ask Mr. *Simon*, Whether it does from hence follow, that the *Pentateuch*, and the other Books of the Bible are of the same Nature. This is what *Theodoret* never design'd to assert, since he owns, that *Moses* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*. 'Tis with this Concession, that he begins his Preface to the Book of *Kings*, out of which Mr. *Simon* has taken the passages which he relates. After (says *Theodoret*) having explain'd the Books of *Moses*, &c.

Mr. *Simon* in his Letter to Mr. the Abbot *P*—— adds to these Three Writers, the Author of the *Synopsis* attributed to St. *Athanasius*. This Author follows the Opinion of *Josephus*, and after having observ'd, that the first five Books of the Bible do doubtless belong to *Moses*, he says, That the following Books do not all of 'em belong to those under whose Names they go, but that they were Penn'd by Prophets, who liv'd one time after another. He lastly observes, in speaking of the *Chronicles*, that several Historical Books are therein cited. What signifies all this to Mr. *Simon's* Hypothesis? Have we not said the same thing? Does not all the World agree to it? Had Mr. *Simon* stuck to this, no body would have troubled themselves about him.

The last Author, which Mr. *Simon* cites to prove his Hypothesis, is, the Writer of the Chronicle of *Alexandria*. This Author, says, in a Passage; set down by Mr. *Simon*, That there were some Prophets who wrote their own Prophecies; as for instance, David the Book of Psalms, and Daniel his Prophecy: And that there were others who did not write themselves, but that there were Scribes in the Temple, who wrote (as 'twere in a Journal) the words of each Prophet.—— That the Books of the *Kings* were written piece-meal; that under Saul they wrote what happen'd in his time; and in the same manner what occur'd in the time of David, and the rest of the *Kings*: That the *Chronicles* are a Collection of the Registers and Records of the *Kings*: That *Moses* wrote the *Pentateuch*: That *Joshua* is the Author of the Book that goes under his Name: That the Book of *Judges* was written by the Scribes in the Temple, time after time, as well as the Book of *Ruth*; and that *Solomon* compos'd the *Proverbs*, the *Canticles*, and *Ecclesiastes*. The Hypothesis of this Author is very different from that of Mr. *Simon*. For (1.) he supposes, That *Moses* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and does not ascribe his Works to the publick Scribes, or to the Abbreviators. (2.) He does not say, That those publick Scribes were Inspir'd by God, and that themselves wrote the History. He supposes, That the Prophets dictated That as well as their Prophecy to them. (3.) He does not believe, that the Books of *Kings* and *Judges* were the very Originals of the Prophets, which were tack'd together; whereas Mr. *Simon* believes that those Books are abbreviated.

I will not stand to Answer the *Rabbies*, and other Authors, which Mr. *Simon* cites in his last Letter. 'Tis plain, that not one of the Authors cited by him are of his Mind. For in the first place, they all acknowledge, That the *Pentateuch* ought not to be attributed to the Scribes or Prophets, but only to *Moses*. Secondly, they say, That the following Books were written by Men Divinely Inspir'd, whom they style Prophets; but do not say, that these Prophets were Register-Keepers, or publick Scribes. Thirdly, they own, That there were Ancient Records or Histories, which are cited in the Book of *Kings* and in the *Chronicles*. No body questions it, I have often observ'd as much; and I have likewise drawn a Catalogue of those Books cited in the *Old Testament*. But it does not follow from this Principle, that all the Books of the Bible are no more than Abridgments of those Memoirs, and that they were compos'd a long time after. Mr. *Simon* gives those publick Scribes the Authority of altering, adding, or diminishing what they thought convenient in the Sacred Books. To this end, he cites Don *Isaac Abravenel*, a learned Spanish Jew, as if we were oblig'd to believe all that the *Rabbies* say to be as true as the Gospel. To this Jew, he joyns *Procopius* and *Theodoret*, who observe,



That the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, were taken out of several other Pieces of History. But let not Mr. *Simon* be offended, He always mistakes the point, for this is not the question in Dispute. We freely agree with him, That the Authors of the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, in compiling their History, made use of the Records, and the private Historians which they met with; just as *Titus Livius*, and *Mezeray*, made use of Ancient Historians in composing their History. But it cannot for that Reason be said, That they have alter'd or diminish'd those Ancient Histories, which still are in the same Condition in which they always were, nor that they had any right to do it, and much less that they could have made any considerable Alterations in, or Additions to, the Books of *Moses*. After this, Mr. *Simon* advances a very dangerous Maxim, which he covers with a seeming sort of Advantage. *It would be very dangerous* (says he) *to correct one Book of the Holy Scriptures by another, when they do not at all agree with one another.* He says Truth, when he asserts, That we ought not to Correct one Book of Scripture by another: But 'tis not true, That any two Books of Scripture do Clash with one another. There is not any real Contradiction between the Books of the Bible; if there be any in appearance, the Authors ought not to be charg'd with them, but our defective Understanding ought to be blam'd. 'Tis a very great Presumption, to suppose with Mr. *Simon*, That there are any real Contradictions in the Books of the Bible; That the Author of the *Chronicles* has related matters of Fact differently from what they are in the other Books of the Holy Scriptures; That the Genealogies and Chronology of the Scriptures are faulty, &c. *I know* (says Mr. *Simon*) *that in Deuteronomy we are expressly forbidden to add to or diminish the least tittle of the Word of God.* Here is positive Testimony against the Hypothesis of Mr. *Simon*. It seems, as if he ought, as a Reply to it, to produce some other passage of Scripture, which restrains this Prohibition only to private Persons, or which grants a contrary Allowance to the Prophets and publick Scribes. But Mr. *Simon* thinks it enough to cite the Author of the Book *Cozri*, to be of his Opinion; but to his Misfortune, we find that one who wrote Notes on that Book, has in the bottom of that Page, (which Mr. *Simon* cites,) these words: *That the Author of the Book COZRI does not speak of the Scripture it self, but only of the Exposition of the Commandments, which depended on the Judges of the Sanhedrim, who might enlarge or restrain them according to the difference of times and occasions.* What then will become of Mr. *Simon's* Reply? It was only established on the Authority of the Author of the Book *Cozri*; and 'tis found, that even this Author does not say, what Mr. *Simon* has made him say. Lastly, Mr. *Simon* to prove his Hypothesis, cites, the common Opinion of the Fathers, who suppose, that the Collection of the Old Testament, as we now have it, was compos'd by *Ezrah*, which (says he) confirms the Notion I have advanc'd. For *Ezrah* could not have re-established those Books, which according to them were adulterated during the Captivity, but as he was a Prophet or a publick Scribe; and also he is in Scripture styl'd THE SCRIBE, by way of Excellency. But I would fain know, What necessity there is that *Ezrah* should have re-establish'd the Holy Scriptures as a publick Scribe, or Register-Keeper. Is it not more probable that he did it, because he was order'd to re-establish the Laws and Religion of the Jews in their pristine Purity, as being their Head and their High-Priest? Tho' he is call'd a Scribe, yet 'tis not in Mr. *Simon's* Notion of the Word, but because he was well vers'd in the Law of the Lord. We need only read the passage in *Ezrah*, Ch. 7. v. 6. where 'tis said, *That Ezrah came up from Babylon, that he was a ready Scribe in the Law of Moses which God had given to the Children of Israel*: that is, He had a perfect Knowledge of that Law. The Word Scribe is taken in the same Sense, *Jer.* 8. 8. And it signifies nothing else in the *New Testament*, where this Title is given to all the Doctors of the Law.



## S E C T. V.

*The Belief of the Jews and Christians concerning the Inspiration of the Canonical Books of the Old Testament.*

IT cannot in the least be question'd, but that the *Jews* were persuaded, That the Books which were in their Canon were written by Prophets Divinely Inspir'd; That they were Sacred and Divine Books compos'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. They look'd upon the Law of *Moses* as the Law of God himself, and on the *Pentateuch*, as the Foundation of their Religion. They could not but know, That *Moses* was sent by God; That he receiv'd from him the Laws which he committed to Writing in these Books; That he convers'd familiarly with God, and That he was assisted and inspir'd in an extraordinary manner. The many Wonders and Miracles which God wrought by his hands, his continual Presence with and visible Protection of him; what they saw and heard from Mount *Sinai*; that Divine Wisdom and Gift of Prophecy which they perceiv'd in *Moses*, were sufficient Evidences to them that the Books which he left them were Penn'd by the Inspiration of the Spirit of God, of which he was full. 'Tis therefore with a great deal of Reason, that the most Ancient *Jews* have esteem'd the Law of *Moses*, as a Sacred Law, as a Law wholly Divine, which contain'd nothing but what was most certain and true, of whose Authority there was no room to doubt, to which nothing could be added, and from which nothing could be retrench'd.

As to the other Canonical Books, the Collection whereof was made in the time of *Ezrah*, it being so evident, as 'tis, that there were among the *Jews* so many Prophets and so many Prophetical Writings, it cannot be reasonably question'd, but that *Ezrah*, for the composing his Canon of Sacred Books, made choice of those among the Prophetical and Divinely-inspir'd Books which had always been acknowledg'd as such by Universal Consent among the *Jews*. The Synagogue always look'd upon all these Books which were in the Canon, as Prophetical and Divinely Inspir'd. It has distinguish'd them from all others that have not the same Authority, because it was not certain, whether they were written by Prophets, as *Josephus* informs us. 'Tis manifest, That this was the general receiv'd Opinion of all the *Jews*, whose Testimony cannot be rejected in such a Case as this, wherein we treat of the Books of their Ancestors which were preserv'd among them by Tradition, acknowledg'd at all times as Divine Writings; such as were Sacred, Prophetical and Inspir'd by God, the Foundation of their Religion, and the Rule of their Practice and Manners; and lastly, Such as they had so great a Veneration for, that (as *Josephus* says) they were accustomed from their Infancy to call them the Doctrine of God, and were ready to lay down their lives in the defence of them.

But no Christian can doubt of their Authority, after the Testimony of *Jesus Christ*, and the Apostles, who have acknowledg'd them as Sacred and Divinely-Inspir'd Writings, and cited them as such under the Name of Holy Scripture, which comprehends the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms. 'Tis upon the Evidence of these Books, that *Jesus Christ* proves himself to be the *Messiah*; 'tis by them that he confutes the *Jews*. He cites them, not as common Books, of a mere humane Composition, not only as true Histories, but also as Books Penn'd by the Order of God, and by Prophets. *Abraham* foresaw the day of his coming; *David* saw him in the Spirit; *Moses* gave Testimony of him; The Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, are full of Predictions concerning him: If we believe *Moses* and the Prophets, we shall believe in him, because they have spoken of him; and 'tis in him that their Prophecies are fulfill'd. Their Writings then are not the mere Productions and Inventions of Men: They must needs have been fill'd with the Holy Ghost, for to foresee and foretell things to come. When the *Jews* urg'd against him the Holy Scripture, he does not Reply that it was Fallible; he owns its Authority, he explains it; he proves that they do not understand it, and that this was the Cause of their Error. *Ye do err*, (says he) *not knowing the Scriptures*. He upbraids them for having violated it by their Tradition; and tells them, that all their Prevarication proceeded from the Non-observance of the Law. In a word, He all along mentions them as Divine and Sacred Books. 'Tis true, in some Points, he perfected the Law, and made Additions to its Precepts, as when he commands the Loving our Enemies, and the pardoning of Injuries: But this Perfection is not contrary to the

That the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, were taken out of several other Pieces of History. But let not Mr. *Simon* be offended, He always mistakes the point, for this is not the question in Dispute. We freely agree with him, That the Authors of the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, in compiling their History, made use of the Records, and the private Historians which they met with; just as *Titus Livius*, and *Mezeray*, made use of Ancient Historians in composing their History. But it cannot for that Reason be said, That they have alter'd or diminish'd those Ancient Histories, which still are in the same Condition in which they always were, nor that they had any right to do it, and much less that they could have made any considerable Alterations in, or Additions to, the Books of *Moses*. After this, Mr. *Simon* advances a very dangerous Maxim, which he covers with a seeming sort of Advantage. *It would be very dangerous* (says he) *to correct one Book of the Holy Scriptures by another, when they do not at all agree with one another.* He says Truth, when he asserts, That we ought not to Correct one Book of Scripture by another: But 'tis not true, That any two Books of Scripture do Clash with one another. There is not any real Contradiction between the Books of the Bible; if there be any in appearance, the Authors ought not to be charg'd with them, but our defective Understanding ought to be blam'd. 'Tis a very great Presumption, to suppose with Mr. *Simon*, That there are any real Contradictions in the Books of the Bible; That the Author of the *Chronicles* has related matters of Fact differently from what they are in the other Books of the Holy Scriptures; That the Genealogies and Chronology of the Scriptures are faulty, &c. I know (says Mr. *Simon*) that in Deuteronomy we are expressly forbidden to add to or diminish the least tittle of the Word of God. Here is positive Testimony against the Hypothesis of Mr. *Simon*. It seems, as if he ought, as a Reply to it, to produce some other passage of Scripture, which restrains this Prohibition only to private Persons, or which grants a contrary Allowance to the Prophets and publick Scribes. But Mr. *Simon* thinks it enough to cite the Author of the Book *Cozri*, to be of his Opinion; but to his Misfortune, we find that one who wrote Notes on that Book, has in the bottom of that Page, (which Mr. *Simon* cites,) these words: *That the Author of the Book Cozri does not speak of the Scripture it self, but only of the Exposition of the Commandments, which depended on the Judges of the Sanhedrim, who might enlarge or restrain them according to the difference of times and occasions.* What then will become of Mr. *Simon's* Reply? It was only established on the Authority of the Author of the Book *Cozri*; and 'tis found, that even this Author does not say, what Mr. *Simon* has made him say. Lastly, Mr. *Simon* to prove his Hypothesis, cites, the common Opinion of the Fathers, who suppose, that the Collection of the Old Testament, as we now have it, was compos'd by *Ezrah*, which (says he) confirms the Notion I have advanc'd. For *Ezrah* could not have re-established those Books, which according to them were adulterated during the Captivity, but as he was a Prophet or a publick Scribe; and also he is in Scripture styl'd THE SCRIBE, by way of Excellency. But I would fain know, What necessity there is that *Ezrah* should have re-establish'd the Holy Scriptures as a publick Scribe, or Register-Keeper. Is it not more probable that he did it, because he was order'd to re-establish the Laws and Religion of the Jews in their pristine Purity, as being their Head and their High-Priest? Tho' he is call'd a Scribe, yet 'tis not in Mr. *Simon's* Notion of the Word, but because he was well vers'd in the Law of the Lord. We need only read the passage in *Ezrah*, Ch. 7. v. 6. where 'tis said, *That Ezrah came up from Babylon, that he was a ready Scribe in the Law of Moses which God had given to the Children of Israel*: that is, He had a perfect Knowledge of that Law. The Word Scribe is taken in the same Sense, Jer. 8. 8. And it signifies nothing else in the New Testament, where this Title is given to all the Doctors of the Law.

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IT cannot in the least be question'd, but that the *Jews* were persuaded, That the Books which were in their Canon were written by Prophets Divinely Inspir'd ; That they were Sacred and Divine Books compos'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. They look'd upon the Law of *Moses* as the Law of God himself, and on the *Pentateuch*, as the Foundation of their Religion. They could not but know, That *Moses* was sent by God ; That he receiv'd from him the Laws which he committed to Writing in these Books ; That he convers'd familiarly with God, and That he was assist'd and inspir'd in an extraordinary manner. The many Wonders and Miracles which God wrought by his hands, his continual Presence with and visible Protection of him ; what they saw and heard from Mount *Sinai* ; that Divine Wisdom and Gift of Prophecy which they perceiv'd in *Moses*, were sufficient Evidences to them that the Books which he left them were Penn'd by the Inspiration of the Spirit of God, of which he was full. 'Tis therefore with a great deal of Reason, that the most Ancient *Jews* have esteem'd the Law of *Moses*, as a Sacred Law, as a Law wholly Divine, which contain'd nothing but what was most certain and true, of whose Authority there was no room to doubt, to which nothing could be added, and from which nothing could be retrench'd.

As to the other *Canonical Books*, the Collection whereof was made in the time of *Ezrah*, it being so evident, as 'tis, that there were among the *Jews* so many Prophets and so many Prophetical Writings, it cannot be reasonably question'd, but that *Ezrah*, for the composing his Canon of Sacred Books, made choice of those among the Prophetical and Divinely-inspir'd Books which had always been acknowledg'd as such by Universal Consent among the *Jews*. The Synagogue always look'd upon all these Books which were in the Canon, as Prophetical and Divinely Inspir'd. It has distinguish'd them from all others that have not the same Authority, because it was not certain, whether they were written by Prophets, as *Josephus* informs us. 'Tis manifest, That this was the general receiv'd Opinion of all the *Jews*, whose Testimony cannot be reject'd in such a Case as this, wherein we treat of the Books of their Ancestors which were preserv'd among them by Tradition, acknowledg'd at all times as Divine Writings ; such as were Sacred, Prophetical and Inspir'd by God, the Foundation of their Religion, and the Rule of their Practice and Manners ; and lastly, Such as they had so great a Veneration for, that (as *Josephus* says) they were accustomed from their Infancy to call them the Doctrine of God, and were ready to lay down their lives in the defence of them.

But no *Christian* can doubt of their Authority, after the Testimony of *Jesus Christ*, and the Apostles, who have acknowledg'd them as Sacred and Divinely-Inspir'd Writings, and cited them as such under the Name of Holy Scripture, which comprehends the Law, the Prophets, and the *Psalms*. 'Tis upon the Evidence of these Books, that *Jesus Christ* proves himself to be the *Messiah* ; 'tis by them that he confutes the *Jews*. He cites them, not as common Books, of a mere humane Composure, not only as true Histories, but also as Books Penn'd by the Order of God, and by Prophets. *Abraham* foresaw the day of his coming ; *David* saw him in the Spirit ; *Moses* gave Testimony of him ; The Law, the Prophets, and the *Psalms*, are full of Predictions concerning him : If we believe *Moses* and the Prophets, we shall believe in him, because they have spoken of him ; and 'tis in him that their Prophecies are fulfill'd. Their Writings then are not the mere Productions and Inventions of Men : They must needs have been fill'd with the Holy Ghost, for to foresee and foretell things to come. When the *Jews* urg'd against him the Holy Scripture, he does not Reply that it was Fallible ; he owns its Authority, he explains it ; he proves that they do not understand it, and that this was the Cause of their Error. *Ye do err*, (says he) *not knowing the Scriptures*. He upbraids them for having violated it by their Tradition ; and tells them, that all their Prevarication proceeded from the Non-observance of the Law. In a word, He all along mentions them as Divine and Sacred Books. 'Tis true, in some Points, he perfect'd the Law, and made Additions to its Precepts, as when he commands the Loving our Enemies, and the pardoning of Injuries : But this Perfection is not contrary to the



# 48 *A Compleat History of the Canon, &c.* Book I.

the Tenor of the Law, which he did not come to destroy, but to fulfill. οὐκ ἦλθον (says he, *Matth.* 5. 16.) καταλῦσαι τὸν νόμον, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι.

After the same manner have the Apostles look'd upon and made use of the Books of the *Old Testament*, to prove, That the Prophecies were fulfilled in the Person of *Jesus Christ*, and to Authorize the Gospel which they preach'd. *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Romans*, assures us, That the *Jews* had this advantage over the *Gentiles*, ἐν ᾧ ἐκείνοις τὰ λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ. that is, Because unto them were committed the Oracles of God. Those Oracles with which the *Jews* were instructed, were certainly the Books of the *Old Testament*, which the Apostle styles Λόγια τοῦ Θεοῦ. They were not the Work of Men, but the very Word of God. The same Apostle Writing to *Timothy*, 2 *Tim.* 3. 16, informs him, That the Holy Scripture, which he from a Child had learnt, was of Divine Inspiration. For whether these words, [πᾶσα γραφή θεοπνευμάτως ἐστὶν ὠφέλιμος] be translated according to the *Vulgar Latin*, which runs thus, *All Scripture which is Divinely Inspir'd, is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Piety and Righteousness*; which is likewise the Sense of the *Syriack* Version, and which may likewise be adapted to the *Greek* Words: Or whether they be explain'd *Verbatim*, by a *Subintelligitur* of the Verb ἔσται, (which is likewise a very strong proof of their Inspiration) according to our *English* Translation, *All Scripture is given by Inspiration of God, and is profitable, &c.* Yet from either of these Acceptations of the Words it follows, That the Holy Scripture of the *Old Testament* was written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. For as *St. Chrysostom* observes upon this place, this ought to be understood of all the Holy Scripture, which *St. Paul* mention'd; As if he should have said, *I know that from a Child thou hast been instructed in the Holy Scripture; all Scripture therefore is Divinely Inspir'd; make no question of it.* The Apostle *St. Peter* bears the same Testimony to all the Writings of the Prophets. "For we have (says he, 2 *Ep.* 1. 19, &c.) a most sure Word of Prophecy; whereunto ye do well to take heed, as unto a Light that shineth in a dark place, until the Day dawn, and the Day-Star arise in our Hearts: "Knowing this first, That no Prophecy of the Scripture is of any private Interpretation. For the Prophecy came not in old time by the Will of Man, but Holy Men of God spake as they were mov'd by the Holy Ghost." The Prophecies then of which *St. Peter* speaks in this place, are not only the Writings of those which are commonly call'd Prophets; but likewise all those which the *Jews* receiv'd, as being Penn'd by Holy Men of God, by the Motion of the Holy Ghost; that is, All the Books which they acknowledg'd as Canonical and Divinely Inspir'd.

The Primitive Church, instructed by *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles, had the same respect for those Books as the *Jews* themselves had. But it likewise receiv'd by an universal Consent, and by constant Tradition, the Gospels and Epistles of the Apostles, as being also Penn'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. 'Tis certain, That in those first times of Christianity, the Holy Ghost, in an extraordinary manner, assisted the Apostles and their Disciples in their Preaching. 'Tis for this Reason, That *Jesus Christ* sent them out in a particular manner; He told them, That they should be brought before Kings, Governors and Judges; they were not to take thought before-hand what they should say, but it should be given them in that hour which they ought to speak: Because it was not they that should speak, but the Spirit of God which should give them utterance. I do not aver, That the Apostles were Infallible and Divinely Inspir'd in all their Actions and Conversations, but I believe, that it cannot be question'd, (unless we would disannul the Promises of *Jesus Christ*) but that they were assisted in an extraordinary manner for the Preaching of the Gospel; so that it was next to impossible for them to teach any other Religion or Doctrine but what *Jesus Christ* had taught them. *He that heareth you, (says our Saviour) heareth me; he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth him that sent me.* The Primitive Christians were fully perswaded of this Truth, and so with an entire Submission received the Doctrine which the Apostles taught them, and look'd upon it as the Word of God and of *Jesus Christ* himself. Now if we may very justly and reasonably suppose, that the Apostles were guided, inspir'd, and directed after an extraordinary manner for the Preaching of the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*; with how much greater reason may the same thing be said of what they Wrote for the Instruction of the Faithful? and the rather, because their Writings were to remain as the perpetual Monuments of the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, and as the RULE OF FAITH to all Christians. If God had not directed and inspir'd them after an extraordinary manner, if he had permitted them to fall into Errors about Religion, he had (if we may so say) deceiv'd his Church, or at least left it under an almost inevitable danger of falling into Error; which would not have been consistent with his Wisdom, or that special Care that

that he ought to have for that Church which he has purchas'd with his own most precious Blood.

We cannot therefore doubt, but that the Gospels and the Epistles of the Apostles were written by the Direction and Inspiration of the Holy Ghost; and that all *Christians* are oblig'd to believe them to be the Word of God. 'Tis after this manner, that the Church has always look'd upon the Books of the *Old and New Testament*; and thus the Holy Fathers have spoken of them. "Read" (says St. *Clemens Romanus* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*) the Holy Scriptures, which are the Oracles of the Holy Ghost, and know that they contain nothing in them that is unreasonable, fabulous or false." St. *Justin*, in his second Apology, says, "That we ought not attribute what is said by the Prophets Inspir'd by the Holy Ghost to them, but to the Word of God which Inspires them." And in his Dialogue against *Trypho*, "It cannot be asserted (says he) that there are any Contradictions in the Holy Scripture, and if there be any seeming Ones, we should rather own, that 'tis because we cannot comprehend them." The same Father, whom we at present suppose to be the Author of the first Exhortation to the *Gentiles*, says, in that Work which goes under his Name, "That the Sacred Writers had no need of any Art to compose their Works, and that they did not write in a Spirit of Animosity and Dissension; but all that was requir'd on their part was, That they should have a purified Mind wherein to receive the Operation of the Holy Ghost, who descending from Heaven as a Musical-Bow, all Divine, made use of Upright Men, as of a Musical Instrument to reveal to us the Knowledge of Celestial and Divine Things. The Comparison is very neat:" 'Tis upon this Account, (adds he) "That they all spake and taught unanimously the same things, (as if they had all but one Mouth and one Tongue) concerning the Nature of God, the Creation of the World, the Formation of Man, the Immortality of the Soul, the future Judgment, and concerning all the other Truths, with which we ought to be acquainted, although they liv'd at different places and in different times.

St. *Irenaeus* in his Treatise against Heresies, B. 1. Ch. 46. and 47. asserts, "That we are oblig'd to believe the Holy Scripture to be perfect, being dictated by the Word of God, and by his Spirit: That 'tis wholly Spiritual, and that if there be any obscurity in it which we cannot clear up, we ought not to be too inquisitive into it. In another place, B. 3. Ch. 1. he informs us, "That the Gospel is convey'd to us by the Apostles who preach'd it at first, and which afterwards God order'd them to commit to Writing, to serve as the Foundation and Support of our Faith.— That all those who do not believe what is contain'd in the Scriptures, as the Hereticks for instance, put themselves under a State of Damnation.

St. *Clement of Alexandria*, in his Exhortation to the *Gentiles*, says, "That 'tis the Mouth of the Lord, and the Holy Ghost, which have pronounc'd what is contain'd in the Scripture: That God is our only Master, and that the Doctrine of the Scripture is truly Divine, as the Apostle St. *Paul* has said in his second Epistle to *Timothy*, where he recommends to him the Reading the Sacred Writings, the Name which they go under, because they consecrate and make Men like to God, and because those Books are call'd by the same Apostle, a Scripture Divinely Inspir'd, which is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, &c. In the sixth Book of his *Stromata*, he proves, "That the Scripture is necessary to demonstrate Things relating to Religion, and that 'tis the first Axiom or Principle in the business of Religion, which is unmonstrable, and which serves as a Demonstration of all the rest." *Tertullian* likewise in a great many Passages of his Works, proves, That the Books of the *Old and New Testament* are Divine, and Penn'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. *Origen* proves it expressly in his Fourth Book of his *Principia*, and observes in the fifth Book against *Celsus*, that the *Jews and Christians* are agreed as to this Truth, viz. That the Books of Scripture are Penn'd by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Lastly, An ancient Author, who wrote against *Artemon*, cited by *Eusebius*, Eccl. Hist. B. 5. Ch. 28. says, That those who do not believe the Books of the Scripture were dictated by the Holy Ghost are Infidels.

Thus you see several passages of the Fathers of the three first Centuries, concerning the Inspiration of the Sacred Books; which are enough to demonstrate what was the Opinion of the Primitive Church as to this matter. The Point is farther clear'd up by the Fathers of the following Centuries. I shall only cite some Passages, wherein they particularly explain the Nature of this Inspiration.

*Eusebius*, in the 14th Chapter of the 13th Book de *Preparatione Evangelicâ*, says, "That the Oracles of the *Hebrews* contain the Predictions, and the Divine Responses, and



“ and have a Divine Energy in them, far above Humane Composures, which shews, that God was the Author of them.

St. *Athanasius* in his Book *De Interpretatione Psalmorum*, written to *Marcellinus*, says, “ That all the Scripture of the Old and New Testament was compos’d by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost.

St. *Basil* says, “ That when we meet with any seeming contrariety in the Scripture, we are not to believe that there is any such, and are not presumptuously and rashly to condemn it upon that account.

St. *Ambrose*, in his Letter to *Justus*, which is the Eighth according to the last Edition, says, “ That several deny that our Divine Authors wrote with any Art, and we are much of the same Opinion. For they wrote not by Art, but by Grace; which is far above all Art, because they wrote what the Holy Ghost inspir’d them with.

St. *Jerom* in the Preface of his Commentary on the Epistle to *Philemon*, relates, and refutes the Opinion of those who suppos’d, That this Epistle was not St. *Paul*’s, or if it were, that it ought not to be reckon’d as Canonical, since it has nothing Doctrinal in it, but is only a Recommendatory Letter. “ Those (says he) who are not willing to receive the Epistle writ to *Philemon*, say, That *Jesus Christ* did not always speak by the Apostle St. *Paul*; That the Infirmary of Man is such, as not to be able always to bear up under the Presence of the Holy Ghost; that it cannot be consistent with the Necessities of humane Life: That there were some intervals, wherein St. *Paul* could not say, [*I live, but ’tis not I that live, but Jesus Christ who liveth in me;*] or as he says elsewhere, *Will you tempt Jesus Christ that speaketh in me?* Is there any thing of *Jesus Christ*, when he says, *When thou comest, bring the cloak which I left at Troas with Carpus;* or in the Epistle to the *Galatians*, *I would to God, that they were cut off who trouble you.* And in this very Epistle, *Prepare me also a lodging.* They likewise say, That this was not only by the Case of the Apostles, but also of the Prophets. They farther observe, “ That the Sign which St. *John Baptist* had receiv’d, whereby to know *Jesus Christ*, was not only the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon him, but also his Abiding in him; which shews, (say they) That the Holy Ghost descends upon several; but that it is the sole Prerogative of *Jesus Christ*, that he should abide in him. These are the Arguments which they make use of to shew, that the Epistle to *Philemon* is not St. *Paul*’s, or if it be, that it contains nothing in it for our Edification, and that several Authors have rejected it, because it was not written for Instruction, but only as a Recommendation. Those on the contrary, who maintain that ’tis Authentic, say, That it would never have been receiv’d by all the Churches, if it had not been believ’d to be St. *Paul*’s: That if the Reasons alledg’d were of any force, we must likewise reject the 2d. Epistle to *Timothy*, and that to the *Galatians*, from whence are cited Instances of an humane Infirmary. They likewise say, That several such things may be met with in the Epistle to the *Romans*, and in others, especially in the first to the *Corinthians*, where he speaks more freely, and as in ordinary Conversation, and where he makes use of this Expression, *I speak this and not the Lord.* According to this Notion of theirs we ought upon this account to say, That those Epistles are not St. *Paul*’s, or if they be receiv’d, we may as well receive that written to *Philemon*. But they are mightily mistaken, if they think it a fault, to buy Victuals, to provide a Lodging, to enquire after Cloths, and that the Holy Ghost is driven away, when we are never so little concern’d about our Bodily wants. The Holy Ghost is griev’d by our Sins, and not by our Deeds of Charity, which may render us the Children of God. This is not a place to Answer all those Objections, nor have we mention’d all that are started by them; but we shall only in general say, That if they do not believe, that smaller matters may have the same Author as things more sublime have, they should likewise, with *Valentinian*, *Marcian*, and *Appelles*, maintain, That he who Created Worms, Pismires, &c. is not the Creator of the Heaven, the Earth, the Sea, and of Angels. Is it not rather the Effect of one and the same Power to stoop to minute things, after having exercis’d his Mind on more Elevated Subjects.

St. *Epiphanius* relates in the Heresie of the *Anomians*, That those Hereticks, finding themselves press’d by the force of St. *Paul*’s Testimony, gave out, That he wrote those things as a Man; which he looks upon as Blasphemy. The same Father in the Heresie of the *Semi-Arians*, lays it down as a certain and unquestionable Axiom, That there is no Contrariety or Contradiction in the Words of the Scripture; tho’ there may seem to be something like it to those who are not sufficiently enlightned in their Understandings.



St. John Chrysostom, in his thirty seventh Homily on *Genesis*, says, "That whatever is contain'd in the Scripture is a Doctrine absolutely Divine, and that it is quite different from humane Composures: *Divina sunt Dogmata, non Humana*: He likewise says in several places, That the Words of the Scripture are the Oracles of the Holy Ghost; That 'tis the Holy Ghost that speaks in the Scripture; That 'tis not lawful to call any one of the things in question, which it contains.

St. Augustin, in a great many Places, establisheth the Inspiration and the Infallibility of the Canonical Books of the Holy Scripture. "The only way (says he, in the 11th Book *De Civit. Dei*, Ch. 2, 3.) to preserve us from Error, is to follow the Light of our Mediator. He spake at first by the Prophets, afterwards by himself, and lastly by his Apostles, whatever he thought to be requisite. And he has likewise compos'd a Scripture, which we ought to believe, in those things which we could not have known of our selves. For if by Testimony we are inform'd of those things which we do not apprehend by our Senses, and if, with respect to Corporeal and Sensible things which we have not seen, we give Credit to those that have seen them; we ought likewise with respect to things which are only conceiv'd by the Mind, and which are above our Understandings, to believe those who have been inform'd of them by a Spiritual Light, or who have even seen them by that help. Being fully persuaded of this Principle, he very often says, That he pays this respect only to the Holy Scriptures and to the Canonical Writings, so as to believe that their Authors were not guilty of any Error: Whereas with regard to all other Writings of an humane Composure, he believes, That there may be Errors in them, and that he has the Liberty of judging concerning them. He very frequently repeats this Principle, thereby declaring, that he look'd upon all that was contain'd in the Scripture to be the Work of God, who alone is infallible, and to whom alone we owe an entire Submission and Faith. For this Reason, in his Book concerning the Harmony or Concord of the Evangelists, he lays it down as a thing certain, That there is not any real Contradiction in the Narrations of the Evangelists: because 'tis Jesus Christ who is their Head, and whose Members they are; 'tis he who speaks, and they have written nothing but what he has shewn and told them. "For (says this Father) whatever he was willing that we should read concerning his Words and Actions, he commanded them to write down as by his own hands. Whoever shall rightly comprehend the Harmony of this Union, and the Ministry of several Members under one and the same Head, when he reads in the Gospel what the Disciples of Jesus Christ relate, will have the same Thoughts of it, and look upon it as if Penn'd by the very hand of Jesus Christ himself.

Theodoret, in his Preface upon the *Psalms* observes, That the Historical Books of the Bible are no less Prophetical than the rest. "We ought (says he) to take notice, That the Property of Prophecy is not only to foretell things to come, but likewise to relate things past and present. Thus, (for instance) the Divine Moses has related to us whatever the God of the World had done from the very beginning of it, being instructed therein, not so much by Men, as by the Grace of the Holy Ghost. — Holy David also made mention in his *Psalms*, of the Wonders which God had wrought for his People, and those which he would do for them in time to come. There are indeed those who assert, That all the *Psalms* were not Penn'd by that pious Prince, but that several of them were Compos'd by other hands. Upon this Subject, I shall be silent, and it signifies but little to me, whether they were all His, or whether other Persons Compos'd some of them, since 'tis evident, that they were all written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. For we are very well satisfied, That David was a Prophet, and that those of whom mention is made in the *Chronicles*, were likewise Prophets. Now the Property of Prophets, is, That their Tongue be the Organ of the Holy Ghost, according as 'tis written in the *Psalms*; *My Tongue is as the Pen of a ready Writer*.

In short, That I may not tire my Reader with the Citation of abundance of other Passages which would be needless, since 'tis a Truth which all the Catholick Writers do attest, I shall only bring one Passage more of St. Gregory, taken out of the Preface of his Commentary on the Book of *Job*, where he thus expresses himself. "Tis needless to enquire who compos'd the Book of *Job*, since none of the Faithful question but that the Holy Ghost was the Author of it. 'Tis the Holy Ghost who really Penn'd it, since he dictated the Words of it to them who wrote it. 'Tis the Spirit of God who wrote it, since he was the Inspirer of this Work, and made use of the Words which we read therein, thereby to transmit to us the Actions which we may Imitate. To which this Pope, adds, That 'tis, as if having receiv'd a

" Letter

" Letter from some excellent hand, we puzzle our Brains with searching what kind of Pen was made use of in Writing it.

Every Christian then ought to believe, That all the *Canonical Books* of the *Old* and the *New Testament*, were written by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who has guided the Thoughts and the Pen of those who wrote them in such a manner, that they have not fallen into any Error concerning Religion, Faith, Good Manners, and the Historical Matters of Fact on which Religion is established. So that every Christian is oblig'd to believe what is contain'd in those Books, and no Person has liberty of denying or doubting of any of the Truths of this Nature which are establish'd on such a Foundation.

## S E C T. VI.

*Questions that may be rais'd about the Inspiration of the Sacred Books.  
The First, Whether the Words and Expressions of them are Inspir'd.*

THIS Axiom or Principle being granted, one may raise several Questions on this Subject, about which the Divines are not agreed.

In the first place, 'tis demanded, Whether the Holy Ghost did not only Inspire into the Sacred Writers, the Thoughts and Subject-Matter, but also the Words, Expression and Style, so that they had nothing else to do than to follow its Impression, without any Liberty or Freedom of their own. There are some Divines who have carried the Inspiration of the Sacred Books so far as this; but 'tis more probable, that it is not so.

For (1.) 'Tis a Supposition altogether needless, to establish the Truth and Infallibility of the things contain'd in the Holy Writings. 'Tis enough, that the Thoughts were Inspir'd, there is no necessity that the Words should be so too.

2. The difference of Style to be observ'd between the Sacred Writers, is a sufficient Demonstration, That the Holy Ghost is not the Author of the Expressions. For as there is no Diversity nor Contradiction in the things which those different Authors have written, because it was the Holy Ghost who Inspir'd those things into them, it seems as if there ought not to have been any between the Expressions of different Penmen, if the Holy Ghost were the Author of them. But this difference is so plain and evident, that none can question it. St. Jerom has even observ'd it among the Prophets. He says, That *Amos* was no Orator, but had a very clear insight into, and knowledge of things. *Amos Prophetæ fuit imperitus Sermone; sed non Scientiâ.* He spake after a mean and clownish way, because he was a Shepherd; whereas *Isaiah*, who was a Man of Quality, spake in a more noble and lofty manner, as the same St. Jerom observes: And the Reasons, which he assigns, Why the knowledge of both was equal, but not the Style, is this, That the same Spirit spake by the Mouth of all the Prophets: *Idem enim qui per omnes Prophetas in eo Spiritus Sanctus loquebatur.* He likewise observes on the third Chapter of that Prophet, That he has compar'd the Anger of God to the Roaring of a Lion; because being a Shepherd, he knew nothing more terrible than a Lion, and therefore made use of the Terms of his own Art: *Diximus illum artis suæ usum sermonibus, ut quia Pastor gregum nihil terribilius Leone cognoverit, iram Domini Leonibus compararet.* This very difference of Style has been taken notice of by several, in the Evangelists, and in the Epistles of the Apostles, where 'tis very visible.

3. One and the same thing is express'd in different Terms, in different Books, and by different Authors. As for instance, The Commandments of God are not express'd in the same Terms in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*. The *Evangelists* themselves, in relating the Sayings of *Jesus Christ*, do not keep exactly to the same Terms, tho' they do to the same Sense. Some have omitted, what others have substituted; Some follow one Order, others another. All this proves, That the Terms, the Style, and the Order are none of the Holy Ghost's, but the Authors. We need only to read upon this Head, the Reflections of St. *Augustin*, in his second Book concerning the Harmony or Concord of the Evangelists. His Words are as follow. " We cannot call " it a Contradiction, when one Evangelist relates a thing which another passes over " in silence.— This we ought to understand here of all other such like instances; " that so we may not be astonish'd to see that each Evangelist makes his Narration, as " if



“ if nothing were omitted therein. For having pass’d by in silence what he had no Mind to say, he joyns what he is willing to utter, to what he had already related; so that it seems as if those things had a Connexion with one another. But when one says things which another has omitted, by regarding the Series of the History, we may discover the place where he has omitted them.—— It is no Contrariety between the Evangelists, for one to observe one order in his Words, and another to follow a different method, nor for one to omit the Expressions which another relates; for each wrote according to the best of his memory, and as he thought convenient; the one in a more abridg’d Style, and another in a more copious manner; and yet ’tis plain, that the Thought was the same. This farther proves, what is likewise to our Subject; that if this happens in the truth of the Gospel, which has acquir’d the highest degree of Authority; the Word of God which is Eternal and Immutable, having been dispensed by the Creature with external Signs, and by the Speech of Men, we ought not to charge the Lye upon different Persons, who relate one and the same thing which they have seen or heard, in more or fewer words; whether by changing the Order of the Expressions, or by substituting others of the same Sense and Meaning; whether one has forgot or omitted any Circumstance, or added some thing for an Illustration. But if any one should say, That the Evangelists ought at least to have received from the Holy Ghost the Gift of not differing from one another, neither in the Terms, nor in the Order, nor in the Number, he does not conceive what use may be made of this difference to shelter those Persons from the Imputation of a Lye, who relate a thing after a different manner. For it being unlawful to say, or cry out, that any one of the Evangelists has been a Liar, tho’ there be some difference in their way of relating things, it ought no more to be said, that that Man is a Liar, whose case is much like to theirs, in relating that which he has recollected. This likewise gives us to understand, That the Veracity of any Doctrine does not consist in the Agreement of the same Terms, but in the Knowledge of the Truth of Things; it being plain, that Men who agree in things and thought, do teach the same Truths tho’ they speak differently.—— It signifies nothing what order each Person observes, nor in what part he has plac’d a thing; whether he reassumes what he has omitted, or by way of Anticipation, relates what happen’d afterwards; provided, that the things which they relate be not contradictory, it being not in any Man’s power to make one thing, or another, to present it self to his Mind. So that ’tis probable, That each Evangelist thought it his Duty to relate things in the Order which God was pleas’d to furnish his Memory with, especially such things wherein the Order made no alteration in the Authority, or the Truth of the Gospel. As to the Reason, why the Holy Ghost, (who dispenses his Gifts as he pleases, and who doubtless governs and directs the Minds of the Saints who have compos’d those Books, which ought to have so much Authority) has yet permitted them to follow a different Order in their Narration: Those who will enquire nicely into it, may by the Divine assistance discover it.—— Lastly, St. *Augustin* says very neatly, that we ought not to heed the Terms, but to mind only the Thought and the Meaning which those Terms ought to express; and that a Man does not Lye, when he relates the same thing which another has said, tho’ it be express’d in other Terms: That we ought not to lie at the catch for Words, *Miseri Auctores Voluminum*; nor suppose, that the Truth is fasten’d to the strokes of Letters; since not only in Words, but even in all other Signs of the Cogitations of the Soul, regard ought only to be had to the thing it self.

4. Neither the Holy Scripture, nor Tradition inform us of any thing else about the Inspiration of the Sacred Writings, but only that those who Penn’d them, were directed and inspir’d by the Holy Ghost; that they could not be deceived, and that we are oblig’d to believe, that the things which they Taught us are true, and reveal’d by God to them. This is what gives them an Infallible Authority. But as to the Terms, ’tis not necessary that they should be Inspir’d: A thing may be express’d in different Terms, and yet be the very same, and of the same Nature. The Holy Scripture is as much the Word of God in faithful Translations, as ’tis in the Originals. When the Apostles Preach’d, they preach’d the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, tho’ they did not make use of the same Words as *Jesus Christ* did. The Holy Ghost, with which they were fill’d, had instructed them in all Truth, but did not at every instant suggest to them all the Expressions which they were to make use of.

5. I might here produce the Opinions of several Divines, both Modern and Ancient, who are of the same Mind: But, to avoid Prolixity, I shall only produce that of a considerable Writer of the Ninth Century; viz. *Agobardus*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, who in



his Answer to *Fredegisus*, discussing this very Question concerning the Inspiration of the Sacred Writings, says, That 'tis absurd to imagine that the Holy Ghost did inspire the Apostles and Prophets with the Expressions and Words which they made use of. For the proof of this, he alledges the Example of *Moses*, who says, That he was slow of Speech, and slow of Tongue. He produces the Testimony of *St. Jerom*, who declares, That there is a difference of Style between the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles; some of whom have wrote more nobly and eloquently, others with less State and Politeness, and sometimes the same Author has writ differently in different Writings. This difference cannot be attributed to the Holy Ghost, but to Men; and by consequence, 'tis they, not the Holy Ghost, which are the Authors of the Words and Expressions which they make use of; tho' 'tis he who inspires them with the Subject-Matter, and with the Sense that they ought to write.

## S E C T. VII.

*The Second Question concerning the Inspiration of the Sacred Books. After what manner God has Inspir'd the Sacred Penmen with the things they have written.*

THE Second Question which may be raised, is, about the manner wherein God Inspir'd the Authors (who wrote those Books) with the things that are contain'd in them. Whether he Inspir'd into them all the Articles immediately and particularly, so that they had no freedom of acting according to their own Understandings; or whether he made use of them by directing and rectifying them, that they might not fall into any Error. There are four sorts of things contain'd in the Holy Scripture: Matters of Fact, Doctrinal Points, Moral Precepts, and Prophecies.

Some Authors pretend, That they are only the Law, the Prophecies, and the Mysteries, which were immediately reveal'd to the Sacred Writers, and that the Histories and Moral Exhortations which the Authors knew of themselves, were not dictat'd nor inspir'd by the Holy Ghost. This is the Opinion of *Cornelius à Lapide* in his Commentary on the 2d Epistle to *Timothy*. "Observe, (says this Jesuit) That the Holy Ghost did not dictate after the same manner all that is contain'd in the Holy Scripture. For he reveal'd and dictat'd *verbatim* the Law and the Prophecies to *Moses* and the Prophets; but as for the Histories and Moral Exhortations, which the Holy Penmen had seen or heard of, it was not necessary that they should be Inspir'd into them by the Holy Ghost, since they knew them of themselves. 'Tis thus, *St. John*, C. 19. v. 35. says, That he wrote what he had seen; and *St. Luke*, in the beginning of his Gospel, says, That he wrote what he had heard and receiv'd by Tradition from the Apostles." It may be alledg'd for the Confirmation of this Opinion, That it was needless that Persons who knew a thing by having heard or seen it evidently, should be Inspir'd in order to write it: That those who copied or abridg'd the Ancient Records, had no need of the Assistance of the Holy Ghost for doing it. Now there are a great many Books of the Old Testament which are no more than Abridgments of other larger Records. The Gospels are only the Relation of the Actions and Discourses of *Jesus Christ*, related by those who had heard them themselves, as *St. Luke* testifies in the beginning of his Gospel.

Other Authors carry the Point farther, and say, That the Prophecies themselves were not Inspir'd into the Prophets at the time when they wrote them; but that they only recollected such things as they had seen or heard whilst asleep or awake. Nay, it often fell out, that what the Prophets said naturally and with Inspiration, was a real Prophecy, tho' in a different Sense than that wherein the Prophet took it. There are Instances of this in the *Psalms*, and the very same thing is observ'd in the Gospel, of *Caiaphas*, who being High-Priest, Prophesied contrary to his Intention, by pronouncing concerning *Jesus Christ*, That it was expedient that one Man should die for the People; which had a quite different meaning in his Mouth, from that which the Evangelist gives it, and which the Holy Ghost, who made use of him, intended it.

'Tis easie to solve all these Difficulties by explaining what is meant by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. For if we take this Phrase for a new Revelation of a thing that was not known before to the Understanding, we might truly say, That most of the Histories related in the Books of the Holy Scripture, by those who saw, read or heard of them,

them, are not Inspir'd according to this Sense; no more are the Moral Precepts which were known to the Authors by the Light of Nature or by Instruction, nor even the Prophecies which the Prophets had receiv'd before they wrote them, and of which they only give an Historical Relation. In this Sense there are none Inspir'd, but such Truths as were reveal'd to the Prophets and Sacred Writers in the very moment when they compos'd them. But 'tis not in this Sense, That the Word INSPIRATION ought to be taken, when we treat concerning all the Sacred Books; It ought only to be understood of a particular direction and assistance of the Holy Ghost, which guides the Mind of him who writes, so that he does not suffer him to be deceived. For this purpose, two things are requisite: First, That the Will be rightly inclin'd, and that he who writes, wills constantly to speak the Truth, and will not tell a Lye, that is, not advance a Fal- sity which he knows to be so. Secondly, That his Understanding be clear, so that he cannot be mistaken in taking a Falshood for a Truth. The Holy Ghost has wrought these two things in the Sacred Writers. He has Inspir'd into them a firm, steady and infallible Will to speak the Truth, and has fill'd their Understandings with so much Light, that they cannot be deceiv'd in relating things which they already know. This is a very clear Notion of *Inspiration*, and which is sufficient to establish the Infal- lible and Sovereign Authority of the Holy Scripture. 'Tis not only, as some would have it, *Pius Animi motus*, *A mere pious Motion of the Soul*, like to that of other Wri- ters: But 'tis an especial Assistance of the Holy Ghost, which renders them Infal- lible, and takes away all doubt or scruple of the Truth of those things which they have written.

S E C T. VIII.

*The Third Question: Whether all that is contain'd in the Holy Scripture in general; even Matters of Fact, and such as have no relation to Religion, but are only Points of Philosophy, are Divinely Inspir'd.*

AS to this Third Question, there are some Authors who have ventur'd to advance; That the Holy Ghost did not Inspire or Assist in an extraordinary manner the Sacred Writers in things which had nothing to do with Religion. This is the Opinion of *Henry Holden*, Doctor of the Faculty at *Paris*, whose celebrated Treatise concerning the *Analysis of Faith*, had the Approbation of Mr. *Coquelin*, Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and the King's Censor of Books, in the last Edition that was made of it. That Doctor's Words are these, *Book 1. Ch. 5. Pag. 60.* "The Fourth thing (says he, speaking of "the Scripture) is, That the extraordinary Assistance granted to the Author of each "Book, receiv'd in the Church as the Word of God, does not extend it self, but only "to such things as are purely *Doctrinal*, or have some near and necessary relation to "*Doctrine*; but in things which are not so design'd by the Author, and which are re- "lated after another manner, we believe that God only assisted them, as he does other "Writers who are endued with a great deal of Piety." Divers Arguments may be brought to confirm this Opinion, which several have maintain'd since *St. Jerom's* time, as may be perceiv'd in the Passage we just now cited.

They say, (1.) That the Scripture being design'd to instruct us in Religion, and not in human and *Philosophical* Truths, which were not necessary to be known, 'tis not pro- bable, that God concern'd himself with those things.

2. That, as it may be said, that the Apostles were not Infalible in all that they spake, but only in what they Preach'd concerning the Christian Religion and Morality, the same ought to be said of their Writings.

3. That it is improper to require an extraordinary Assistance of the Holy Ghost in trivial Matters, such as those are which *St. Jerom* has taken notice of in his Preface on the Epistle to *Philemon*, and a great many others.

4. That there are some Contradictions between the Sacred Writers in certain matters of Fact of little Consequence, as in *Chronology* between the Books of *Kings*, and the *Chronicles*, and even between the *Evangelists* themselves in some Circumstances of the Actions of *Jesus Christ*.

5. That in the Sacred Writings 'tis sometimes observable, that the Authors of them are not certain, as to the exactness of Number and Time; whereupon they express them-



themselves after an indefinite manner of Speaking. As for instance, *Luk. 1. 36. Mary abode with Elizabeth about three months*: *John 2. 6. There were set six water-pots of stone, containing two or three firkins apiece*: *Ibid. Ch. 6. V. 10. They were about five thousand*: *V. 19. When they had rowed about five and twenty or thirty furlongs*: *Ch. 19. V. 14. It was about the sixth hour of the day*: *Acts 1. 15. They were about an hundred and twenty*. Now, (say they) If those things were dictated by the Holy Ghost, since the certain and limited number is always present to him, he would not have fail'd of Inspiring it into the Writers, and would never have left them under an uncertainty.

6. There are in those Books several very Erroneous Opinions in *Philosophy*; or such as we may justly call in question; such for instance, as these, That the *Moon* is a great Luminary or Light, very near as big as the *Sun*: That the *Sun* stood still: That the *Earth* is fix'd: That the Heavens are solid, &c. A gross and palpable mistake of this Nature is to be met with in the seventh Chapter of the first Book of *Kings*, where 'tis said; That the great Vessel plac'd at the Entrance of the Temple, and call'd the *Molten Sea*, was ten Cubits in Diameter, and thirty in Circumference. *Geometricians* can demonstrate, that this Dimension is not exact; for in a round Vessel, whose Diameter is ten Cubits, there are necessarily above one and thirty in Circumference.

7. There are mistakes of the memory in the Citations of Holy Scripture. *St. Jerom* owns as much himself on the 5th Chapter of the Prophet *Micah*, where he says, "That there are some who pretend, that in almost all the Passages of the *Old Testament* cited in the *New*, either the Order of the Words is chang'd, or the Words are different, and even the Sense too; The Apostles and Evangelists having not taken the Passages out of the Books themselves, but trusting to their Memory which was treacherous." This is what he shews at large in his 101st Letter to *Pammachius*, concerning the best method of Translations: Where he produces a great many of those Citations, wherein the Apostles and Evangelists did not quote the Words, but the Sense of the Prophecies, or wherein one Prophet is sometimes quoted for another; as in *St. Matth. Ch. 2. V. 25. He shall be called a Nazarene*, which is not to be met with in any of the Prophecies: *Ibid. Ch. 27. Ver. 9. A Passage of Zechariah*, cited under *Jeremiah's* Name; and a Passage out of *Micah* concerning *Bethlehem*, quite different from the Genuine one in the 2d Chapter of the same Gospel. *St. Mark* likewise cites the Prophet *Isaiab* instead of *Malachy, Ch. 1. Ver. 2. The same Evangelist* says, That our Saviour was fastened to the Cross about the third, and *St. John, Ch. 19. about the sixth hour. St. Luke, Ch. 23. Ver. 36. places a Cainan between Arphaxad and Sala*, which is a feign'd Person. Some Persons do farther observe, That in the Discourse of *St. Stephen*, related in the *Acts*, there are several Circumstances contrary to the Truth of History, which can only be attributed to a defect of Memory: As for instance, That *Jacob* went into *Egypt* with all his Family, which consisted of seventy five Persons; whereas they were only Seventy as appears from the first Chapter of *Exodus*: That *Jacob* and the Patriarchs were Buried at *Sychem*, in the Sepulchre which *Abraham* bought of the Sons of *Emmor* the Son of *Sychem*: Now it was in *Hebron*, that *Abraham* bought a Sepulchre of *Ephron* the Son of *Zohar, Gen. 23. And it was not he, but his Grandson Jacob, who bought that of the Sons of Emmor, who was not the Son, but the Father of Sychem, Gen. 33.* Several Learned Interpreters seem to agree in this Notion. For before *Grotius, Capel, and Episcopius, Erasmus* on the second Chapter of *St. Matthew*, was of the same Opinion: His Words are these; "St. *Jerom* (says he) can't endure, that it should be said, That there is any Falsity in the Evangelists: But the Case is not the same with respect to the faults of the Memory; for the Authority of the Scripture is not shaken, tho' the Authors vary in the Words or in the Sense; provided, that the Essence of the things of which they treat, and on which our Salvation depends, be made clear. And as that Spirit which govern'd the Minds of the Apostles, has permitted that they should be ignorant of certain things, that they should be subject to Errour, and that they should Err; either in their Judgment or in their Will, and yet this should not be prejudicial to the Gospel: Even so he might have so order'd the Organ of the Apostles Memory, that tho' something might have escap'd it, yet it does not derogate from the Credit of the Holy Scripture; but rather increases it, by being a convincing Argument against those who might have said, That they had all written by laying their Heads together. Which might happen in putting one Name for another, as *St. Jerom* owns, that it has happen'd, or if a thing be not related Methodically.

8. The Apostles own'd that they spake sometimes of their own Heads. *St. Paul, 1 Corinth. 7. 10, 12. makes a distinction betwixt what the Lord had commanded, and his own Advice. Unto the married, I command, yet not I, but the Lord: But to the rest* *Speak*



*Speak I, not the Lord.* St. Basil, in the fifth Book against *Eunomius*, makes use of this Instance, to shew that the Holy Ghost is God, because the Words of the Holy Ghost are styled the Words of God: Whereas, the Sayings of Men are distinguished from those of God. *Origen* in the sixteenth Homily on the Book of *Numbers*, observes, That the Discourse of *Jonas* is rather his own than God's, and that *Moses* himself made the Commandments by his own Authority, which God did not approve of; As for instance, That of *Divorce*, which was made only for the Hardness of the Children of *Israel's* Hearts. Which is likewise observ'd by St. *Ambrose*, in the eighth Book of his Commentary on St. *Luke*, Ch. 16. It may be likewise added, That St. *Paul* repents in his 2d Epistle to the *Corinthians*, of what he had written in the first; and that he owns, That he speaks as a Man provok'd, in making mention of his Revelations.

9. The Apostles were subject to Error, even after the Descent of the Holy Ghost. St. *Peter* was deceiv'd in being willing to constrain the *Gentiles* to observe the Customs of the *Jews*. A Synod was forc'd to be call'd to decide the Question concerning the Observation of the Law; each of 'em singly was not sufficiently Inspir'd to determine it. The Catholick Church it self, and a General Council, by the Concession of all the World, may Err in Facts and Matters which relate not to Religion. Lastly, 'tis only *Jesus Christ* who is the Truth it self, who is not subject to Error in any Case whatever.

Notwithstanding all these specious Arguments, yet it is more safe and more conformable to Tradition, to maintain, that all the Holy Scripture is Penn'd by the Direction of the Holy Ghost; and that there is neither Error nor Contradiction in any of the Sacred Books. 'Tis after this manner, that all the Ancient Fathers, whose principal Passages we have cited, have spoken of them. St. *Jerom* himself is of the same Mind, and in exprefs Terms refutes the contrary Opinion: And St. *Augustin*, in the 11th Book against *Faustus*, Ch. 5. declares positively against it, where he says, That 'tis not Lawful, when we meet with any thing in the Canonical Books which seems to us absurd, to say, that the Author of that Book has swerv'd from the Truth; but it must rather be said, That the Copy is faulty, or that the Interpreter is mistaken, or that we do not understand it; and that it is by no means lawful for us to doubt of the Truth of all that is contain'd therein. "For otherwise (says he) there would be no Book to direct the Infirmary of humane Ignorance, if the sound Authority of the Canonical Books be intirely rejected thro' Contempt, or call'd in question by some scruple or other." He also observes in the second Book concerning the Harmony of the Evangelists, that it cannot possibly be, That the Evangelists should say one thing for another through defect of Memory: That 'tis requisite that the Gospel should be free from all Faults, not only from those wherein one falls, that has an intention of Lying, but also from those that happen through the fault of the Memory. They do not oppose against us the Authority of any one Father to establish their contrary Opinion; so that all we have to do, is to Examine, Whether the Arguments which they propose to support it, be of force enough to carry the day from such an Authority.

Their first Argument is not Conclusive. 'Tis true indeed, That the main End of the Holy Scripture is to instruct us in the Truths of Religion: But it does not from thence follow, that there may be some Falsities mix'd with those Truths. On the contrary, 'tis because it does instruct us in the Truths of Religion, that 'tis requisite there should be no Falsities mix'd with those Truths: Because, if this were so, what was False would be prejudicial to what is True, and the Error might make us doubt of the Truth. The Infidels, who should see in those Books any palpable Falsities, with respect to Historical Matters, would thence conclude, That there might be likewise some in Religion; and some daring Spirits under this pretence, would give themselves the liberty of doubting of those Historical Matters of Fact which serve as the Foundation of the Truths of Religion. For who shall distinguish, Whether a matter of Fact has any Connexion with Religion or no? Who shall determine, Whether a Truth be a Religious or a Philosophical Truth? Whether it be a Truth of Christian, or only of Political Morality? It would be therefore very dangerous for Religion, if there were any Errors in the Scripture, of what Nature soever they may be.

The second Argument supposes, That there are Errors in the Writings of the Apostles, as well as in their Discourses. But there is a great deal of difference between them. To be Infallible in all their Conversations, it would have been requisite, that the Holy Ghost should have inspired and directed them in their Thoughts, Words and Actions: If this had been so, they would have been *impeccable*: But they were not so, as themselves acknowledg'd, nor was it necessary that they should be so; because their Preachings being sufficiently distinguish'd from their familiar and ordinary Conversations, they could not be deceiv'd therein; And the Faults which they may have been

guilty of, or the Errors which they might have fallen into with respect to the things of this life, had no Connexion with their Doctrine. Nor are there any in their Writings, which were compos'd for the Instruction of the Church, which were to be the Rule of Faith, and esteem'd in the Church as Divine Books. Every one sees of what fatal Consequence it would have been, if there had been any one Error in them.

St. *Jerom* has furnish'd us with a Reply to the Third Objection, which was started, and for a Solution of it, 'tis sufficient to say, That 'tis not unworthy of the Holy Ghost to direct the Minds of Men, so that they may not be deceiv'd in the most minute Matters.

In Answer to the Fourth, We deny that there any real Contradictions between the Writers and the Sacred Books; they are only seeming ones, which are reconcilable. Tho' one cannot discover the Means of reconciling them, yet it does not necessarily follow that one of them is mistaken. We may suppose, that there is a Means of reconciling them, which we know not of, or that there is some mistake crept into the Text of one or other of them, through the Carelessness of the Transcribers.

The Fifth has no difficulty at all in it. 'Tis no Falshy at all in the *Canonical* Writers to say, *About such or such a time, or there were about such or such a number.* 'Tis the usual way of Speaking. The Holy Ghost, 'tis true, knew the number exactly; but did not think it requisite to reveal it to the Writer. He judg'd it more natural to leave him to speak as he usually speaks, and as he would have spoken of himself.

The like Answer may be given to the Sixth Objection. The Holy Scripture being not intended to teach us Truths purely *Philosophical*, has spoken of those things according to the ordinary way of speaking, and, *Ad Hominum Captum*, as Men conceiv'd of things. This is St. *Augustin's* Remark in the second Book concerning the Literal Exposition of the Book of *Genesis*, Ch. 9. where, having debated this Question, he concludes in these Terms: *To sum up all in a word, our Authors were well acquainted with what is true concerning the Form or Figure of Heaven; but the Spirit of God, who spake by them, was not minded to teach Men those things, because they were of no Advantage to them for their everlasting Salvation.* In the same Book, Ch. 10. he observes the same thing concerning the Motion of Heaven.

Now tho' it might happen, that the Sacred Writers in speaking of them according to the ordinary and common way of Discourse, do not say exactly the Truth, yet it cannot be said, that their Expression is false, because 'tis conformable to the common receiv'd Opinion of Mankind. But to make use thereof to establish this Opinion as Infallible, would be such an extravagance as could not be allow'd. For it cannot be said, That the Holy Ghost has reveal'd to the Writer the exact Truth of these things, since he only leaves him to speak after the ordinary manner of Speech. Do not we see, that even the *Copernicans* and *Cartesians* speak as others do concerning the Motion of the Earth, and the Souls of Beasts in their ordinary Discourse, though they think otherwise, and they cannot for that be charg'd with Error or Lying. The Application of this Rule is easily made to the forecited Instances.

The Seventh Objection we must divide into two Parts. The First, is, That the Apostles and Evangelists have not always cited the proper Words of the Prophets, that they have chang'd the Order of them, but have still retain'd the same Sense of them, either by abridging them, or else because they cited them *Memoriter*, and without consulting the Books. This is what St. *Jerom* proves in his Letter to *Pammachius*, and we agree with him therein: But there is no Error in this, as the same Father takes notice, and as we have prov'd at large in treating of the foregoing Question. The Second is, That those Sacred Authors were deceiv'd in citing one Prophet for another, or in quoting a Passage that is no where to be found; or lastly, In relating *Memoriter*, a matter of Fact quite otherwise than it is. St. *Jerom* is not of this Mind, we do not assent to it, and the Arguments produc'd for it are not conclusive.

We have already answer'd the Objections which are taken from the Citations of several Prophecies by the Evangelists, which are not to be met with in the Prophets of the *Old Testament*, which they cite: And we have shewn, that there are several ways of Solving this difficulty, without charging an Error upon the Evangelists. Interpreters have likewise produc'd several Solutions of the difference which is between the Evangelists concerning the hour of *Christs Crucifixion*. Tho' those should not be satisfactory, yet it would be more requisite to say, That 'tis a fault of the Transcriber in St. *Mark*, who has put one number for another, as St. *Jerom* believes, than from thence to suppose any Contradiction between the Evangelists. It is not altogether certain, that *Cainan* is a feign'd Person, since 'tis in the  
Version



Version of the Seventy (\*.) Nor is it any more certain, that this Name was in the Genealogy of St. Luke, but rather added afterwards to the Text from the Version of the Old Testament by the Seventy. We may likewise justify the Circumstances of the Narration of St. Stephen, tho' there is no need of it, because there may happen to be Errors in the Speeches of Men, related in the Sacred Books. St. Stephen follows the Version of the Seventy in the number of the Family of Jacob (†.) Tho' it were plain, that this Version is faulty, yet it may be made use of without being Deceiv'd; and this Maxim may serve as an Answer to all the Objections that may be started about the Passages of Scripture cited in the New Testament from the Version of the Seventy. We can neither conclude, That the Version of the Seventy is Infallible, nor that the Sacred Writers were deceiv'd in citing it. For they were oblig'd to Cite them according to a common and authorized Version, they could not alter it without being blam'd for so doing. That this was exact or no, they were not to be responsible for; their design was not to Criticise on the Passages they cited, but advantageously to make use of them for a proof of what they advanced, as taken out of the common receiv'd and authoriz'd Version. As to the other Difficulty that is started, upon the Narration of St. Stephen, concerning the Sepulchre of the Patriarchs, we may easily restore the Text, and reconcile it with the Truth, by supposing that the Word *Abraham* was added thereto, or rather by substituting that of *Jacob*, and by translating the Text thus: *They were buried in the Sepulchre which Jacob the Grandson of Abraham had bought for a sum of Money of the Sons of Emmor the Father of Sychem.* Or we may rather illustrate, St. Stephen's thought (which was abridg'd in this place) after this manner. *Jacob died; and our Fathers, and were carried over into Sychem, and were laid (Jacob) in the Sepulchre which Abraham bought (of the Sons of Heth, or Ephron, Gen. 23. 49.) for a sum of Money (and the rest of the Patriarchs, [according to Bishop Kiddar's Explication] in that which Jacob bought) of the Sons of Emmor (the Father) of Sychem, Gen. 33.* St. Stephen making his Speech *Extempore* and in hast, has joyn'd these two things into one, which 'tis easie to illustrate and explain, by comparing them with the History of the Old Testament. Thus his Narration has nothing of Falsity in it; it is only a little confus'd, as it might well be, considering the Circumstances wherein it was made. In a word, Without entering into the particulars of these kinds of Objections, for which we may meet Solutions enough in the Commentators on the Holy Scripture, it may in general be said, That if there were any such slight Faults as these in the Text, 'tis more credible that they are crept in through the fault of the Transcribers, than through the Inadvertency or Forgetfulness of the Authors. 'Tis safer and more reasonable to incline to this Opinion.

The Eighth Objection is grounded on an *Equivocation*; Tho' the Holy Ghost inspir'd the Apostles in all that they wrote, yet there are some things which they enjoyn'd in

(\*) [It is not altogether certain that Cainan is a feign'd person, since 'tis in the Version of the Seventy.] The learned Dr. Kiddar, the present Bishop of Bath and Wells; in his *Demonstration of the Messias*, Part II. Ch. 10. cites the Words of the Seventy Interpreters about this Matter at length, Pag. 369. Καὶ Ἰσὺν Ἀρραξὰδ ἐστὶν τεταύωσα πέντε ἐν τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ Κανὰν καὶ Ἰσὺν Κανὰν, &c. But for all this, he grants, That this second *Cainan*, mention'd, Luk. 3. 36. is a Supernumerary Name. For this Concession, he brings in as Evidence, not only the Account of *Moses* according to the Hebrew Text, but also of *Berosus* quoted by *Eusebius*, *Præpar. l. 9. c. 16.* of *Josephus*, *Antiq. Jud. l. 1. c. 7.* of *R. David Gamiz*, and of the Author of *Seder Olam Zuta*: And to them joyns the Testimony of the Ancient Writers of the Church, viz. *Theophilus Antiochenus ad Autolych. lib. 3.* *Eusebius Chron. lib. 1.* and *St. Jerom* in a great many places of his Writings. Most of these Authors he produces a-fresh, to prove, That the second *Cainan* was not in the Text of the Ancient *Septuagint*, but inserted afterwards. However that be; the Bishop proceeds farther, and proves from the Testimony of *Irenæus*, *l. 3. c. 33.* and from an Ancient Copy of the Greek, written above 1200 years ago, and a Latin Version also of great Antiquity, (both in the University of Cambridge) that the Evangelist ought not to be charg'd with having inserted this second *Cainan*: Since in both of these Copies it is left out.]

(†) [St. Stephen follows the Version of the Seventy in the Number of the Family of Jacob.] The fore-mention'd Bishop in the same Treatise, Ch. 4. goes another way to justify this Narration of St. Stephen from Fallshood. In order to this, he reflects first upon the Account which *Moses* gives, and then upon the Design and Words of *Stephen*; from both which, he proves, that St. Stephen was not mistaken. He says, That *Moses* reckon'd Seventy, and St. Stephen Seventy five Souls; and yet no Contradiction in these two Accounts. *Moses* tells us, That *Jacob* with his Family, being Seventy Persons, went down into Egypt: St. Stephen says, *Joseph sent and called his Father Jacob to him and all his kindred, Threescore and fifteen Souls.* Now, to reconcile this seeming difference, the Bishop says, That out of the Seventy we must take Six Persons, viz. *Joseph*, his Wife, and two Sons, who were already in Egypt, and *Hezron* and *Hamel*, who were not yet born; and then there will remain but Sixty four, to which if we add the Eleven Wives of *Joseph's* Brethren, the number will be exactly Seventy five, according to St. Stephen's Account. And that the Wives of the 11 Patriarchs were included in the number of *Jacob's* Household, he proves from the Expression of *Stephen*, πᾶσιν καὶ συγγένειαι αὐτῶν, which is Parallel to a Passage of *Josephus Antiqu. l. 2. c. 3.* who reports *Joseph's* Words to his Brethren thus, Αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν ἑταίρων καὶ συγγένειαι καὶ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ τέκνα, καὶ πᾶσιν καὶ συγγένειαι αὐτῶν ἀγαλαβώσας, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ μετὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς.]



the Name of God, and others which they settled and advis'd themselves. The former are *Jure Divino*, the Commandments of God; the latter, are humane Precepts or Admonitions; but both are true. Thus St. Paul in his Epistle to the *Corinthians* makes a distinction between the Commandment of God, who orders Persons who are married not to depart, and the Advice of Virginity which he gives to others: But it does not from hence follow, that he was mistaken in giving this Advice, and that it was not agreeable to the Truth, nor inspir'd by the Holy Ghost. On the contrary, St. Paul says immediately, *Puto autem quod & ego Spiritum Dei habeam; And I believe that I have also the Spirit of God.* 'Tis in this Sense, That the Fathers who have been cited, have spoken. We ought to make a distinction in Scripture between the *Eternal Laws* of God, and the *Positive Laws*, whether *Divine* or *Humane*. The former are perpetual, and are liable to no Exception or Change: The others are only to continue for a time, may be chang'd and are liable to Exceptions; Such is the Law of *Divorce*, granted only for a time, for the hardness of the Hearts of the People of *Israel*: But both of 'em have their Truth, and may have been dictated by the Holy Ghost. The two Passages of the 2d Epistle to the *Corinthians* have no great difficulty in them. St. Paul, properly speaking, did not repent of having reprov'd the *Corinthians* sharply, but was displeas'd and sorry that he had any occasion for it. 'Tis a tender Sense of Compassion towards them, which had nothing of ill in it. And when he says, *Quasi in insipientia dico, I speak as a Fool*; 'tis not that he says any thing foolishly, but acts in outward appearance, like those foolish Persons who magnifie themselves by an Air of Vain-glory. He owns, That this Action was a sort of Folly in other Circumstances, and if he had not been constrain'd to defend himself. For this Reason he adds, *Factus sum Insipiens, vos me coegistis; I am become a Fool in glorying, ye have compell'd me*: I have done a thing which might have pass'd for foolishness, had not you forc'd me to do it.

To conclude, as a Reply to the last Objection, we do not at all pretend, That the Apostles were absolutely Infallible. St. Peter himself might be deceiv'd; tho' as *Tertullian* observes, *Conversacionis fuit vitium, non Prædicationis; It was a fault in his Conversation, rather than an Error in his Preaching.* In short, we own, That in the difficulties that did arise, they might be confirm'd and enlighten'd by a mutual Conference. The Holy Ghost, who acted upon them in a natural way, was not minded to reveal to them certain things immediately, without the usual Assistances: On the contrary, He would that they should make use of them, and by this means he guided them into all Truth. One of the most effectual of these Methods, was to confer with one another about the Debates that should happen, and afterwards to determine the Case with an unanimous Consent. This is what they did, and in determining it did declare, That what they did was by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost: *Visum est Spiritui Sancto, & nobis; It seemed Good to the Holy Ghost, and to us.*

'Tis true, The Church and a General Council may Err in Matters of Fact not Reveal'd; but the Case is not the same with the Holy Scripture. For the Church is only as it were the Trustee of the Doctrine which it receiv'd from *Jesus Christ* and the Apostles. The Church has no longer any new Revelation, that is Authentic and publicly known, and consequently no Infallible Authority concerning all new Matters of Fact, and which are not Reveal'd. But 'tis otherwise with the Holy Scripture, which in its Original was Penn'd by the Inspiration of God, to serve as an Infallible Rule of Faith. There is not any among the Sons of Men, that is Infallible of himself, but *Jesus Christ* alone; but Men may likewise arrive to it by Grace, by the Inspiration and Guidance of the Holy Ghost: And 'tis thus that the Church has always believ'd of the Authors of all the *Canonical Books*.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Authors of the Books of the Old Testament.

S E C T. I.

Of the Author of the Pentateuch: Arguments to prove Moses the Author of it: The Objections against it Answer'd: The Names of the Five Books of the Pentateuch: At what Time they were Compos'd.

OF all the Paradoxes that have been rais'd in this our Age, there is none in my Mind, more rash and dangerous, than the Opinion of those, who have been so bold as to deny *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*. For can any thing be more rash, than to deny a Matter of Fact, which is founded on the express Passages of Holy Scripture, on the Authority of *Jesus Christ*, on the Universal Consent of all Nations, and on the Authentic Testimonies of the most Ancient Authors? And is there any thing more dangerous, than to confront Antiquity, and consequently to subvert the Authority of those Books, which are as it were the Foundation of our Religion? 'Tis certain, That *Moses* was the *Legislator*, and the *Leader* of the *Jews*: 'Tis that which none ever doubted of. No more can it be denied, That he committed to Writing the *Law* which he gave to them in the Name of God. The Question is to know, Whether the five Books of the *Pentateuch* were really Penn'd by *Moses*, or whether they are the Work of some more modern Writer, who compos'd them from Ancient Records, which he collected together, and digested into that Form wherein they are at Present.

The first Author that has rais'd any Scruples on this Subject, is *Rabbi Aben-Ezrah* (a), who liv'd in the Twelfth Century. For in Explaining these Words of *Deuteronomy*; *This is what Moses spake to the Israelites on the other side of Jordan*: He not only makes use of this Passage to shew, That this Book does not belong to *Moses*, but likewise produces the strongest Arguments that can be, to prove, That the *Pentateuch* was not his. You will (says he) know the Truth, if you comprehend the Mystery of the Number Twelve: *Moses wrote the Law: The Canaanites were then in the Land: On the Mount of the Lord it shall be seen: His Bedstead was of Iron*. These are Words taken out of some Passages of the *Pentateuch*, which are made use of to shew, that it does not belong to *Moses*. 'Tis chiefly on the Authority and Arguments of this *Rabbi*, That *Hobbes*, *La Pereirere*, and *Spinoza* (b) go upon, to maintain, That *Moses* was not the Author of the *Pentateuch*. The Hypothesis of Mr. *Simon* does not much differ from that of these Authors (c); since he says, That *Moses* only wrote the *Law* and the *Commandments*;

(a) *Is Rabbi Aben-Ezrah.* Mr. *Simon* pretends, this *Rabbi* was never of this Opinion, and that those who have cited him to Authorize their Paradox, never understood him. However, 'tis certain, that instead of Solving this Difficulty which is rais'd on those Words of *Deuteronomy*, *On the other side, or, Beyond Jordan*, to shew, that it was not *Moses's*, he produces others which seem to corroborate this Opinion. Which has occasion'd all others who have wrote on this Subject before Mr. *Simon*, to believe, that *Aben-Ezrah* was of that Mind.

(b) *Hobbes, La Pereirere, and Spinoza.* The former of these in his Treatise Intitul'd, *The Leviathan*, Part 3. Ch. 23. where he maintains, That the Books of *Moses* were so call'd, because of the History of *Moses*, though he owns, that perhaps he might have written what is said in that Book; and that he wrote the Book of the *Law*, which is comprehended

in *Deuteronomy*, from Ch. 11. to Ch. 27. *La Pereirere*, who is the Author of the Book concerning the *Præadamites*, asserts, That the Books of *Moses*, wherein he wrote at large the History of the *Jews*, are lost, and that we have only Scraps and Extracts of them: *Spinoza* attributes the *Pentateuch*, and the other Historical Books of the *Old Testament*, to one and the same Author, whom he supposes to be *Ezrah*.

(c) *The Hypothesis of Mr. Simon does not much differ from that of these Authors.* See how he explains himself in the first Chapter of his Critical History, Pag. 3. according to the Edition of *Leers*. In supposing these publick Scribes, we shall ascribe to them the Historical part of those Books, and to *Moses* the *Laws* and the *Ordinances*; and 'tis this the *Holy Scripture* styles the *Law* of *Moses*: So that in this Sense we may say, that all the *Pentateuch* is truly *Moses's*, because those who made the Collection of it, lived in his time, and

ments; That the History was Writ since the time of *Moses*, by the Publick Scribes in the Authentic Acts; but that the *Pentateuch* is a more Modern Piece compos'd from these Ancient Records.

Mr. *Le Clerc*, in refuting the Hypothesis of Mr. *Simon* (d), has asserted, That the *Pentateuch* was a great deal more Modern than *Moses*, and that it may be conjectur'd to have been compos'd by a Jewish Priest, sent from *Babylon* to instruct the New Inhabitants of *Palestine*, about the Eighteenth year of the Reign of *Josiah*, and that this Work was afterwards approv'd of by the Priests who were at *Jerusalem*, who found nothing in it but what was Pious, and conformable to the Law of God, and to the Truth of History. But he has himself acknowledg'd upon what a slight Foundation this imaginary Hypothesis is built, and has maintain'd that *Moses* was the Author of the *Pentateuch* in his *Prologomena before Genesis*. We shall hereafter examine the Reasons which those Authors have allieg'd to destroy the Antiquity of the *Pentateuch*; and at present shall lay down those which establish it, and which demonstrate it to be the Work of *Moses*. We will prove this first, of the entire *Pentateuch* in general, and then of each of the Five Books in particular.

'Tis certain, That the Term [LAW,] in an especial manner, agrees with the *Pentateuch*, and that the Jews have so call'd the Collection of the Five Books of which 'tis compos'd. If we can therefore prove, that *Moses* wrote the Law taken in this Sense, there will be no Scruple made but that he was the Author of the *Pentateuch*. It must likewise pass for a thing Self-evident, That the Book which the Hebrews call'd *MISNE TORAH*, and the Greeks, *Deuteronomy*; that is, *The Repetition of the Law*, or the Second Law, supposes another written Law, which is not different from that which is in the Four foregoing Books. So that if 'tis prov'd, That *Moses* wrote *Deuteronomy*,

and did it only by his Order. He says the same thing, Ch. 2. p. 17. 'Tis therefore very probable, that there were since the time of *Moses*, such Prophets as these which the State had need of to collect the Acts of what occur'd in the Republick. This being suppos'd, we shall distinguish in the Five Books of the Law, that which was penn'd by *Moses*, from that which was written by the Prophets or publick Scribes. We shall attribute to *Moses* the Commandments and Ordinances which he gave the People; whereas we shall reckon those publick Scribes to be the Authors of the greatest part of the History. In the 7th Chap. pag. 50. he adds, Besides, as to what concerns the Books of *Moses*, as they are in the Collection that we have at present, the Additions that are made to the Ancient Records hinder us from discerning what is truly his, from that which was added by those who succeeded him, or by the Authors of the last Collection. However, this Collection being no more than an Abridgment of the Ancient Records, we cannot be very well assur'd, that the Genealogies therein contain'd are of their full extent.

From these Positions of Mr. *Simon*, it follows; first, That *Moses* is not the Author of the greatest part of the *Pentateuch*; for the contest here is not about some Passages of little or no consequence, but about the Body and the principal part of the *Pentateuch*. *Moses*, according to him, having only compos'd the Laws and the Ordinances, has nothing to do with the rest: And so the History of the Creation and the Deluge, in one word, all *Genesis*, and all that is Historical, is not *Moses's*. Let not Mr. *Simon* say any more to us, as he has done already, Pag. 3. That it may be affirm'd, that the whole *Pentateuch* was *Moses's*; because they who made the Collection of it liv'd in his time, and did it by his Order. For would it not be ridiculous in him to attribute to *Moses* that which was the Work of the Publick Scribes of his time? If this were so, one might attribute to the Kings and Princes all the publick Records which were made in their Time and by their Order. But what is the most surprizing, is, That this Mr. *Simon*, or at least, one of his most zealous Defenders, abandons this very Hypothesis, and owns that there is no proof at all, that there were in *Moses's* time publick Scribes Divinely Inspir'd. This Remark is in a Note, which is Pag. 17. of the Edi-

tion of his Criticisms, which we have hitherto cited. We meet (says the Author of this Note) with these publick Scribes among the Jews in the times of the Kings, — But we see nothing of them in the Books of *Moses*. The Author of the Answer to a Letter which *Spanhemius* wrote against Mr. *Simon*, owns the same thing. If you ask me now, (says he, p. 627.) What is my Opinion concerning the publick Scribes; to this I answer, That it would be a very hard case to reject them absolutely. — Yet I cannot be entirely of his mind, concerning the time wherein he pretends that these Prophets were established in the Jewish State: For the Reasons which he offers, and even most of the Authorities do suppose, that this happen'd after the time of *Moses*. If this Letter were Mr. *Simon's*, as the World suppos'd it to be, he could never justify himself for having acted unfairly in a business of the highest consequence in Religion, since he would have establish'd all the Truth of the *Pentateuch* on a Hypothesis, which himself owns to be false, or at best uncertain. But suppose this Letter to be none of his, it proves at least, that those who most favour his Hypothesis, do sincerely own, that there is no proof, that there were any publick Scribes Divinely Inspir'd in the time of *Moses*; and consequently, That Mr. *Simon* founding the Authority of the *Pentateuch* on this Hypothesis, has made choice of a very slight Foundation, even by the Concession of those Critics who are most wedded to his Interests. Nor does Mr. *Simon* himself urge this Conjecture any farther than as a thing probable. Secondly, Mr. *Simon* subverts himself what he has said concerning the Antiquity and Authority of the *Pentateuch*, by asserting confidently in the third passage already cited, That the *Pentateuch*, as 'tis at present, is only a Collection or Abridgment of the Ancient Records made in the time of *Moses*; and that 'tis impossible to distinguish which is Ancient, and which not. Does he not here expressly deny *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*, which is a more Ancient Book than that we have.

(d) Mr. *Le Clerc* refuting the Hypothesis of Mr. *Simon*.] In the Sentiments of the Dutch Divines, Pag. 128, &c. But he teaches the contrary in the Third Dissertation of his *Prolegomena to Genesis*.



it will from thence follow, That the Four preceding Books, of which *Deuteronomy* is an Abridgment, wherein the same Laws are repeated in the same Terms, are likewise *His*. Now nothing is more easie, than to prove from very plain Passages of Scripture, That the *Law* and *Deuteronomy* are the Writings of *Moses*.

'Tis said in the 31st Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, Ver. 9. That *Moses* wrote this *Law*, and deliver'd it unto the Priests the sons of *Levi*, who bare the *Ark* of the Covenant of the Lord. And Ver. 24, 25, 26. That when he had made an end of writing the words of this *Law* in a book untill they were finish'd, he commanded the *Levites* to take this *Law*, and put it in the side of the *Ark* of the Covenant of the Lord their God. In the 17th Chapter of the same Book, the Kings who should hereafter Reign in *Israel*, were enjoyn'd, immediately upon their Accession to the Throne, to write him a Copy of this *Law* in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests, the *Levites*. These Passages are a clear proof, That *Moses* wrote himself a Copy of the *Law*; That he gave it to the Priests to keep, and to the *Levites* to lay up in the side of the *Ark*, that it might serve as an Original and Authentic Record, from whence the Kings were to transcribe Copies, for a Rule of their Conduct. Now in these Passages, we must of necessity understand by the Word *Law*, the Whole *Pentateuch*, or at least the Book of *Deuteronomy*: For mention is made of a Book, which contains all the Precepts and Ordinances of the Lord, as well Moral as Ceremonial, and wherein one may Learn what ought to be put into Practice. Since the King is recommended, Ver. 19. To read it all the days of his life, that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, and to keep all the words of this *Law*, and these Statutes to do them. A Copy of it was put into the side of the *Ark*, to be a witness against the Children of *Israel*, if they did any thing contrary to the Commandments of God. But tho' these Passages should not be understood of the whole *Pentateuch*; yet still 'tis plain, that mention is therein made of *Deuteronomy*, which was writ down in this Copy, which is fully denoted by these Terms: *Deuteronomy*, or the Repetition of the *Law*, this *Law*, the words of this *Law*: This cannot be understood of any thing less than the whole *Law*, or the Entire Book of *Deuteronomy*. Now whether we suppose it of the whole *Law*, or of *Deuteronomy* only, it thence follows, That *Moses* is the Author of the whole *Pentateuch*, because the Book of *Deuteronomy* supposes, that the other Four Books were compos'd, and were manifestly Penn'd by the same Author.

This Remark may likewise be confirm'd by the History related in the 22th and 23th Chapters of the second Book of *Kings*, and in the 34th Chapter of the second Book of *Chronicles*, where 'tis said, That in the time of King *Josiah*, *Hilkiah* the High-Priest found in the Temple, the Book of the *Law* of the Lord, written by the hand of *Moses*, as is intimated in the *Chronicles*; which Expression might incline one to believe, that it was the very Copy it self which *Moses* wrote with his own hand. But tho' this were not so, yet it cannot be question'd, but that this Book of the *Law*, found in the House of the Lord, was one of those which were preserv'd in the Temple by the Priests; and that if these words, [*Per manum Moysi*] do not denote, that this was the Copy written by *Moses*'s own hand; yet they do intimate at least, that this Book had been compos'd by *Moses*. What remains upon us, is to shew, That this Copy contain'd either the whole *Law*, or at least *Deuteronomy*. This is what all Expositors are agreed in, and what the History it self sufficiently demonstrate, to us.

Immediately after the Death of *Moses*, *Joshua* had in his Custody the whole *Law* of that Legislator, as is observ'd in the beginning of the Book of *Joshua*, Ch. 1. 7, 8. where God speaks to *Joshua* after this manner; Be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayst observe to do according to all the *Law* which *Moses* my servant commanded thee: Turn not from it to the right hand or to the left, that thou mayst prosper whithersoever thou goest. This Book of the *Law* shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayst observe to do according to all that is written therein. Thus you see, 'tis a Volume of the *Law* containing all the Precepts and Ordinances of the Lord; which answers to the *Pentateuch*, and consequently of It these Words ought to be understood, as well as those of Chap. 23. Ver. 6. Be ye therefore (says *Joshua* to the *Israelites*) very courageous to keep and to do all that is written in the Book of the *Law* of *Moses*, that ye turn not aside therefrom, to the right hand or to the left. To these Passages we may add King *David*'s Advice to his Son *Solomon*, 1 Kings 2. 3. Keep the Charge of the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways, to keep his Statutes and his Commandments; and his Judgments and his Testimonies, as it is written in the *Law* of *Moses*: And those Words; 2 Kings 21. 8. If they will observe to do according to all that I have commanded them; and according to all the *Law*, that my servant *Moses* commanded them: Also those in 2 Chron. 23. 18. To offer the Burnt-Offerings of the Lord; as it is written in the *Law* of *Moses*; Ibid. Ch. 33. V. 8: If they will take heed to do all that I have commanded them; according to the

*the whole Law, and the Statutes and the Ordinances which I gave them by the hand of Moses.* In all these Places, mention is made of the *Whole Law*, and of all the Commandments, as well those that relate to Morality, as the Ceremonial and Judicial Law: In a Word, of all that the *Jews*, properly speaking, call'd the *LAW*, viz. The *Pentateuch*. Now 'tis said in all those places, that it is *Moses's*, that he was the Author of it, and that he penn'd it,

But should any one pretend against so much probability as this, That in those early times, the Law of *Moses* was a different Composure from that of the *Pentateuch*, yet no Man can deny, but that in *Ezrah's* time, the Law was the same with the *Pentateuch* which we have by us at present, and that even then this Law was attributed to *Moses*. In the first Book of *Ezrah*, Ch. 7. 'Tis said, *That Ezrah was a ready Scribe in the Law of Moses, which the Lord God of Israel had given them*: And in the 2d Book of *Ezrah*, (which in our English Bibles, goes under the Name of *Nehemiah*) Ch. 8. where 'tis related, That the Law was read in the Audience of the People, 'tis not only call'd the Law of *Moses*, but 'tis likewise said to be the Law which God gave them by the hand of *Moses*. The same thing is to be met with in the 14th Chapter of *Ecclesiasticus*. Lastly, In several places of the Old Testament, the particular Books of the *Pentateuch*, are cited under *Moses's* Name.

If we turn to the *New Testament*, we shall there find this Truth establish'd still more clearly, by the Testimony of *Jesus Christ* and the Apostles. For in the first place, our Saviour does frequently style the *Whole Pentateuch*, *The Law of Moses*, particularly, *Luk. 24. 44.* where he distinguishes the Books of the *Old Testament* into three Classes; *The Law of Moses, the Prophets, and the Psalms*: And a little before in the same Chapter, *V. 27.* 'tis said, *That Jesus Christ explain'd the Scriptures to his Disciples as going to Emmaus, beginning at Moses, and all the Prophets*: *Moses* then was the most Ancient Jewish Author, and the Books of the *Pentateuch* were own'd to be *His*, as the Books of the Prophets were acknowledg'd to be *Theirs*. In *St. John's Gospel*, Ch. 1. Ver. 45. *Philip* tells *Nathanael*; *We have found him of whom Moses in the Law, and the Prophets did write*. These Passages do clearly prove two things, (1.) That *Jesus Christ* meant by the Law the whole *Pentateuch*; for the Law, as distinguish'd from the *Prophets* and the *Psalms*, did certainly in our Saviour's time, comprehend the *Pentateuch*, which was the same with that we have at present: (2.) That *Moses* was the Author of the Law that goes under his Name, since 'tis call'd his Law, and said to be written by him. In *St. John's Gospel*, Ch. 1. V. 17. 'tis said, *The Law was given by Moses, but Grace and Truth came by Jesus Christ*. In the 5th Chapter of the same Gospel, V. 39. 'tis said, *Search the Scriptures*.— And then it follows, Ver. 46, 47. *If ye had believ'd Moses, ye would have believed me, for he wrote of me: But if ye believe not his Writings, How shall ye believe my Words? Moses did therefore write, and he wrote those Books which the Jews read as his, Joh. 7. 19.* 'Tis said, *Did not Moses give you the Law? Acts 15. 21.* The Apostle *St. James* says, *That Moses of old time hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the Synagogues every Sabbath day*: And *St. Paul* asserts the same thing, *2 Cor. 3. 15.* where he says, that they read *Moses* to the Jews in reading the Law to them, as was practis'd till that time, *Usque in hodiernum diem*, (says he) *cum legitur Moyses*. They did not doubt then but that the *Pentateuch* was *Moses's*, since they affirm, that they who did read it, did read *Moses*.

Having thus produc'd the Passages which prove in General, that *Moses* is the Author of the Law, or the whole *Pentateuch*, we must now shew, That each Book in particular is attributed to him, and cited under his Name in the *Old and New Testament*. This will not only prove, That *Moses* wrote a Law, but likewise, that that very Law which was penn'd by *Moses*, is the very same that we have at present: Since these are the very Books that are cited, and in which we may meet with the Passages that are taken thence.

We will begin with the Book of *Deuteronomy*, which is cited oftner than any other; because being an Abridgment of all the Law, compos'd for the common use of the People of *Israel*, it was more natural to cite it than the rest. The beginning of this Book shews, that *Moses* was the Author of it. It was Customary among the Ancients to put the Names of the Authors at the beginning of their Works; That of *Moses* is in the first Verse of *Deuteronomy*, *These are the Words which Moses spake unto all Israel, &c.* Afterwards *Moses* is from time to time nam'd as the Author of what is contain'd in this Book, V. 5. 'tis said, *Moses began to declare this Law, saying*. Ch. 4. Ver. 8. *What Nation is there so great, that hath Statutes and Judgments so righteous, as all this Law which I set before you this day?* 'Tis *Moses* that speaks, Ch. 31. Ver. 9. *Moses wrote this Law, and deliver'd it to the Priests the Sons of Levi*: And Ver. 32. *Moses therefore wrote this song*  
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the same day, and taught it the Children of Israel: And lastly, Ver. 24. When Moses had made an end of writing the words of this Law in a Book, until they were finish'd. This ought to be understood of the Book it self where this is written; therefore Moses is the Author of it. 'Tis likewise cited under his Name in other Books of Holy Writ; as Joshua 8. 30, 31. where 'tis said, That Joshua built an Altar to the Lord in Mount Ebal, as Moses the Servant of the Lord commanded the Children of Israel, as it is written in the Book of the Law of Moses; herein he refers to Deut. 27. 5. where this was order'd by Moses. In 2 Kings 14. 7. and 2 Chron. 25. 4. This Passage of Deut. 24. 16. [The fathers shall not die for the Children, neither shall the children die for the fathers] is cited as taken out of the Book of the Law of Moses: *Ex Libro Legis Moysi*. In the Book of Nehemiah, Ch. 13. it is ordered, That the Moabites and the Ammonites should be separated from the Congregation of God, as they read in the Book of Moses, in the Audience of the People. Now this was ordered, Deut. 23. 3. An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the Congregation of the Lord, even to their tenth generation. The Prophet Baruch, in the two first Chapters of his Prophecy, describing the Calamities which befell the Israelites, who did not observe the Law of Moses, places among those which were foretold in the Law; this dreadful Accident, That a man should eat the flesh of his own son, and the flesh of his own daughter, Bar. 2. 3. A Curse that was predicted, Deut. 28. 53. 'Tis likewise of these Curses that Daniel speaks in the 9th and 13th Chapters of his Prophecy, and which he says were foretold in the Law of Moses. There are likewise in the Books of the New Testament, a great many Laws cited under the Name of Moses, which are taken out of *Deuteronomy*; And among others, the Law concerning the Bill of Divorce; That which obliges the Brother to Marry the Wife of his Brother, dying without Issue; That which condemns an Adulteress to be Ston'd to Death; The Precept of not Muzzling the Mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the Corn; And the Law of Condemning no Person but by the Testimony of two or three Witnesses. All these Ordinances are cited in the New Testament as being Moses's, and as they are to be met with in *Deuteronomy*. After this, can any one Question, Whether that Book be really his or no? For if it be Evidence enough, that a Book is such or such an Author's, because 'tis cited once or twice under his Name by a credible Person, What ought we to say of a Work cited so often under the Name of Moses by Infallible Authors, whose Authority we must not call in question? Now having once prov'd, That *Deuteronomy* belongs to Moses, it follows, as we before observ'd, That the other four Books of the Law are likewise His.

But they are likewise cited in particular, in a great many places of the other Books of Holy Scriptures; 2 Chron. 24. 9. 'Tis said, That Moses order'd a Collection of Money to be gathered to be laid in the Tabernacle, which is order'd, Exod. 30. 12. and Numb. 1. 2. The Ceremonies of the Passover, of which mention is made in the same Chapter of *Chronicles*, and in *Ezrah*, Ch. 3. are taken out of *Exodus* and *Leviticus*. What is said in the 8th Chapter of *Ezrah*, concerning the Feast of the Tabernacles, is taken out of the 23th Chapter of *Leviticus*. The Law of Marriage between Kindred enjoin'd, Numb. 36. 6. is cited, Tobit 7. 13. *Genesis* is quoted seldomer than the other Books; but all the Holy Scripture supposes it, and the principal Points of History which it contains are frequently cited. The 77th, 104th, 105th, and 135th *Psalms*, contain an Abstract of all the History of the *Pentateuch*, which is manifestly taken from the *Pentateuch* it self. In the New Testament, the Ceremony for purifying a Leprous Person, *Levit.* 14. is order'd by Jesus Christ as a Commandment of Moses, written in the Law, *Matth.* 8. 4. *Mar.* 1. 44. The Commandment of Honouring one's Father and Mother, is recited *Mar.* 7. 10. in the same terms wherein 'tis express'd, *Exod.* 20. In the 12th Chapter, Ver. 26. of the same Gospel, these words of *Exodus*, Ch. 3. Ver. 6. *I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob*, are cited as taken from the Book of Moses. The Law of Purification, mention'd *Luke* 2. is taken word for word out of *Exod.* 13. And *Levit.* 12. St. Paul, *Rom.* 10. 5. cites a Passage out of *Levit.* 18. 5: in these words; *Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the Law, That the man who doth those things shall live by them*: We might still multiply passages of this Nature, but those already cited are more than sufficient to shew: (1.) That Moses wrote the Law of the Jews: (2.) That by the Law we are to understand the *Pentateuch*: (3.) That not only *Deuteronomy*, but likewise all the other Books of the *Pentateuch* are cited in the Scripture, as the Books and Law of Moses: (4.) That this has pass'd for a certain and an unquestionable Truth: And (5.) That Moses was not only believ'd to be the Author of the things contain'd in those Books, but of the Books themselves, so that when we read them, we may say we read Moses.



This is what the constant and perpetual Tradition of the *Jews* (who have always acknowledged, that these Books were the Authentic Works of *Moses*) does in a most convincing manner establish. The Testimony of that People is entirely decisive of this Point. They were the Trustees and Guardians of these Books. They have with the utmost care, even almost to Superstition, preserved them: These were their publick and Authentic Books, which contain'd their Religion and Laws, by which they were govern'd. 'Tis impossible that they should have taken the Books of another for those of *Moses*, that they should have lost them which he had left 'em, and that they should have permitted others to have been foisted into their stead. It being therefore evident, That all the *Jewish* Nation did always acknowledge the *Pentateuch* to be the Genuine Work of *Moses*, 'tis Presumption to call them into Question. Lastly, 'tis manifest, That this was not only the constant Belief of the *Jews*, but the whole World also look'd upon *Moses* as the Author of the *Jewish* Law and Religion. This is the Universal Consent of all Nations and Men, the general and constant Opinion of all People, and none ever doubted of it before these last times.

After this, it seems altogether needless to produce the Testimony of Prophane Authors, who have acknowledg'd *Moses* to be the Legislator of the *Jews*, and the Author of the History and Laws related in the *Pentateuch*; or who have had some Knowledge of these Books, and have cited something out of them to this purpose. *Sanchoniathon* of *Berytus*, is commonly cited, whom they pretend to be a *Phœnician* Author, more ancient than the *Trojan War*. *Eusebius* in his Books *de Preparatione Evangelicâ*, makes mention of several Fragments of the Greek Version of this Work, made by *Philo Byblius*. *Porphyry* likewise speaks of this Author, and says, That he made use of the Memoirs of *Jerubbaal* Priest of *Jevo*, whom some believe to be *Gideon*: But I am of Opinion, That no Assurance can be had of the Antiquity of *Sanchoniathon*, and there is less certainty that he ever saw the Books of *Moses*. 'Tis pretended, That *Hesiod* and *Homer* took several things out of the Books of *Moses*: This may be true for ought we know; but yet 'tis not so certain, as that any convincing Argument can be rais'd from thence. The same thing is said by guess of several Philosophers, but of none with so much probability as of *Plato*, as might be prov'd by the Relation there is between a great many Points of his Philosophy, and the Theology of *Moses*; which made *Numerius* say, That this Philosopher was the *Athenian Moses*. There are likewise several among the Learned, who maintain, That all the Religions of the Pagans have founded their Theology on the Books of *Moses*, whose Histories they have chang'd to accommodate them to the Fable. They pretend for instance, That the *Adonis* of the *Phœnicians*; That the *Osiris*, *Serapis*, *Anubis*, and the other Deities of the *Egyptians*; That the *Zoroaster* of the *Persians*, and the Gods of the *Eastern* Parts; That the *Apollo*, *Priapus*, *Æsculapius*, *Prometheus*, *Mercury*, and the other Deities of the *Greeks*; That the *Janus*, *Faunus*, *Vertumnus*, and *Evander* of the *Latins*; in a word, That all the Fabulous Deities were *Moses*, whose History they disguis'd. But these are such Conjectures as can hardly pass for Probabilities, much less can they be look'd upon as Demonstrations of a Truth which is very evident without them. Therefore waving those uncertain and loose kinds of proof, we may more reasonably make use of the Authority of those Writers who cite *Moses*. The first of these is *Manetho*, an Ancient Historiographer of *Egypt*, whose Testimony is related by *Josephus* in his first Book against *Appion*, where he says, That *Moses* is the Author of the *Jewish* Laws and Oeconomy. Several other Authors do likewise make *Moses* to be the Author of the Laws of the *Jews* (c); as for instance, *Philochorus*, who liv'd in the time of *Ptolomey Philopator*, *Polemon*, who liv'd under *Ptolomey Epiphanes*, *Eupolemus*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Apollonius Molo*; without mentioning *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pompeius Trogus*, *Strabo*, *Appion*, *Nicholas Damensis*, *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, *Juvenal*, *Plutarch*, *Longinus*, *Numerius*, *Porphyry*, *Pollio*, and a great many other more modern Writers who have made mention of *Moses* and his Writings.

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(c) Make *Moses* to be the Author of the Laws of the *Jews*.] The Testimony of *Philochorus* is related in the Exhortation to the *Gentiles* attributed to *St. Justin*. *Polemon* is cited by the same Author. *Eupolemus* by *Alexander Polyhistor*, who is likewise mention'd by *Eusebius* in the ninth Book of his *Evangelical Preparation*. *Apollonius Molo*, by *Josephus* in his second Book against *Appion*. *Castor of Rhodes*, is cited by the Author of the Exhortation to the *Gentiles*. *Diodorus Siculus* is quoted by the same Author, and by *St. Cyril* in his first Book against *Julian*, tho' in

our Copies, he does not speak of *Moses*, but of *Mneues*, which is the *Egyptian Osiris*. *Cheremon*, the Author of the History of *Egypt* is cited by *Josephus*. *Trogus Pompeius*, abridg'd by *Justin the Historian*, makes *Moses* to be the Author of the Laws of the *Jews*. *Nicholas Damensis* is cited by *Josephus Mendesium* by the Author of the Exhortation to the *Gentiles*; by *Tatian*, *Eusebius*, and *St. Cyril*. *Strabo* makes *Moses* the Author of the Religion and Laws of the *Jews*. *Appion*, tho' the *Jews* Enemy, supposes, That *Moses* is the Author of their Laws. *Juvenal* speaks

The *Samaritan Pentateuch* is still a stronger Evidence of the Antiquity of the *Pentateuch*. Sacred History informs us, That in the time of *Jeroboam*, the Ten Tribes separated themselves from those of *Judah* and *Benjamin*. From that time, the Children of *Israel* were divided into two Kingdoms; that of *Israel*, and that of *Judah*. The Ten Tribes preserv'd the Books of the *Pentateuch*, and own'd none else. *Shalmaneser* subdued them, and carried the Inhabitants of that Country into Captivity, and plac'd in their stead Idolatrous People, call'd *Cuthians*, who inhabited *Samaria*. The Men of *Cuth* being infested by wild Beasts, because of the contempt they cast upon the Religion of the true God, sent for an *Israelite* Priest, who should teach them the Law and the Worship of that God, whose Anger they would appease. This Priest, gave them the *Pentateuch*, before the *Jews* were carried away Captive to *Babylon*. The *Samaritans* always preserv'd their *Pentateuch* writ in the Ancient *Hebrew* Character, as we shall hereafter shew; whereas the *Jews* chang'd those Ancient Characters, and took up with those of the *Chaldeans*, which have been in use among the *Jews* ever since. Upon this Narration, the following Remarks may be made. First, That the *Pentateuch* was common to the *Jews* and the *Israelites*; whereas the other Sacred Books were peculiar to the *Jews*; from whence it follows, that it is more Ancient than the Division of the Ten Tribes. Secondly, That the *Pentateuch* of the *Samaritans* is written in the Ancient Characters, different from the *Chaldee* which *Ezrah* made use of, and consequently it preceded the time of the Captivity. Thirdly, That both the *Israelites* and *Jews* look'd upon the *Pentateuch* as the Work of *Moses*, and as the Foundation of their Religion and Government. Fourthly, That the *Samaritans* did not receive their *Pentateuch* from the *Jews*, but from an *Israelite* Priest, and consequently, That the *Pentateuch* was not compos'd by *Ezrah* after the Captivity, since the *Israelites* and *Samaritans* had written long before in Characters which were not in use among the *Hebrews* in the time of *Ezrah*. The Version of the Seventy, which is certainly very Ancient, is likewise a Proof, That the Books of the *Pentateuch* are *Moses's*. In a word, All those who have made mention of the *Pentateuch*, both *Jews* and *Christians*, have taken it for a thing granted, that these Books were his. 'Tis very presumptuous then, to oppose such weak Conjectures to so great Authorities and to the Universal Consent of all Mankind. 'Tis no less than striking at the Foundations of our Religion; for one of the greatest Proofs we have of the Truth of it, is its Antiquity, which is chiefly founded on the Antiquity of the Books of the Law. Now, If they are not *Moses's*, if his Name is falsely affix'd to them, What Proof shall we have of their Antiquity? This is to give the Atheists an occasion of ridiculing them, and of looking upon them as fabulous Books, and full of Fictions, invented by the Modern *Jews* since the Captivity.

We cannot therefore but disapprove of their Opinion, who in these last times have ventur'd to maintain, That the Books of the *Pentateuch* are not *Moses's*, and who have been forc'd to prove it by Conjectures of so little Solidity, that 'tis impossible for any one of Sense to be of their Mind. For tho' all that they alledge were true, they would only prove, that the Books of *Moses* have underwent the same Fate, that has happen'd to the Books of almost all the Ancient Writers; that is, they have added to, or chang'd in them, some Words, Names, and Expressions, to render the Narration the more intelligible to those who liv'd in After-Ages. For instance, They have sometimes chang'd the Ancient Names of Towns into those they have since been call'd by, because they were not known by their Ancient Name: There have been likewise inserted in the Ancient Works, some short Notes, to illustrate what is therein said by the Author. Lastly, They have supplid it with some necessary Matters of Fact, thereby to give the finishing stroke to an History. These are usual things; we meet with instances of them in the Books of *Homer*, *Herodotus*, and almost all the Ancient Historians, and yet no body has ever thought that their Books ought to be rejected upon that account, as if they were not theirs under whose Names they went. We only say, That these things were either alter'd or added. Why then should not the same be said of the Books of the *Pentateuch*, which are more apparently *Moses's*, than

speaks of the Volumes of *Moses*, *Sayr*. 14. *Tradidit arcano quodcumque volumine Moses*. *Ptolomey* of *Alexandria*, styles him the Legillator of the *Jews*. *Pliny*, *Tacitus*, *Justin the Historian*, have consider'd him under the same Character. *Numenius* has observ'd, That *Plato* was the *Athenian Moses*. *Longinus*, and *Moses* commends the beginning of *Genesis*, and produces it as an instance of the Sublime Style, calling the Author of these Words, the Wise Legillator of the *Jews*. *Porphyry* and *Julian*, Writing against the *Christian* Religion, have acknow-

ledg'd, That the Books of the *Pentateuch* were *Moses's*. To these Authors we must add those who have related Histories manifestly taken out of the *Pentateuch*, as *Hecataeus*, *Berosus*, *Abidenus*, *Manetio*, *Eupolemus*, *Alexander Polyhistor*, *Ariapanus*, *Demetrius the Jew*, and others cited by *Josephus* in his first Book against *Apion*, by the Author of the Exhortation to the Gentiles, by *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, and by *Eusebius* in his Books de *Præpar. Evan*. We say nothing of *Josephus*, *Philo*, and other *Jews*, who all attest this Truth.

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the *Iliad* and *Odyssees* are *Homer's*, or the Histories of *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* are theirs? If we examine all the Reasons that are urg'd against the Antiquity of the *Pentateuch*, tho' we should suppose them to be all unanswerable, (which they are not, as we shall shew immediately) yet we shall see that they prove no more than this, *viz.* That some Names of Cities and Countries are chang'd, some Words inserted to illustrate difficult Places; And lastly, That the Narration of the Death of *Moses* has been added, as being necessary to compleat the History of the *Pentateuch*. But whereas this general Reply may not perhaps be satisfactory, let us enter upon the particulars of these Objections; and in the first place propose them in their full force, then afterwards answer them at large. All then that has been, or can be said to make this Opinion [*That Moses is not the Author of the Pentateuch*] in the least probable, is as follows.

'Tis agreed, That he was the Leader and Legislator of the *Jewish* People; 'tis likewise granted, That he committed to Writing the Laws which he gave them in the Name of God, and even some part of their History. But this does not come up to the State of the Question. We are to know, Whether there were an Author of the Five Books of the *Pentateuch* in the Form wherein we have 'em now, or whether they were compos'd by a more Modern Author from Ancient Records. That they go under the Name of *Moses* is not sufficient to prove that he was the Author of them: For besides That, several Books go under the Names of very Ancient Authors, which are none of theirs, (as of *Mercurius Trismegistus*, *Hidaspes*, and the *Sibyls*.) There are several Reasons why the Books of the *Pentateuch* may lawfully go under the Name of *Moses*, either because they contain his History, or because they were compos'd out of his Memoirs. The Title and the Name which is given them ought not then to be any prejudice or byass to us. We must consult the Work it self, and examine, Whether one may not draw several Deductions from thence to demonstrate evidently that it is not *Moses's*.

The principal Reasons whereby to shew, that any Work is not his, whose Name it bears, are, (1.) When things are related therein that have happen'd since the Death of him who is suppos'd to be the Author of it. (2.) When the Names of Towns and Countries are made use of, which were not in use till long after the time wherein 'tis suppos'd that it was written. (3.) When the Name of him who is said to be the Author of it, is mention'd in the third Person, and when such things are said of him, which an Author ought not to say of himself. (4.) When the Style shews that the Work was compos'd by a more Modern Author. (5.) When it appears by the Diversity of Style, and the want of Method, that 'tis a Composition taken out of several Ancient Records. And (6.) Lastly, When the Reasons alledg'd to prove, that 'tis such or such an Author's, are unwarrantable. These are the Maxims on which one may reject any Work. 'Tis pretended that they may be applied to the *Pentateuch*; and this we are now to examine.

I. In the first place, There are in it several Matters of Fact which did not happen till after *Moses*. The Death and Burial of *Moses* are related in the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*; *Moses* could not be the Author of it. For to say, That he wrote those things by a Spirit of Prophecy, is a groundless Supposition, of which there is not the least sign in the Text, and which cannot be applied to the last Verses, where 'tis said, *That there arose not a Prophet since in Israel like unto Moses*: Which Words do certainly suppose, That there was some considerable time between the Death of *Moses* and the compiling of this Book.

In the 12th Chapter of *Genesis*, V. 6. it is observ'd in a Parenthesis, that at the time when the things related there, happen'd, *The Canaanites were in the Land: Chanaanæus autem erat in terrâ illâ*. This Remark supposes, That the Author of that Book wrote in a time when the *Canaanites* were not in *Palestine*, otherwise this Note had been needless: Now they were not driven out till a long time after the Death of *Moses*. It cannot be said, that the Author was minded to observe, That ever since that time the *Canaanites* dwelt in that Land: For to denote in *Hebrew*, ever since, the Particle *meaz* or *minaz*, should have been made use of, and not the Particle *az*, which is in that place.

In the 36th Chapter of *Genesis*, V. 31. 'tis written; *These are the Kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reign'd any King over the Children of Israel*: And afterwards follow the Names of Eight of those Kings of *Edom* who succeeded one another, and the Names of several Princes of the Race of *Esau*. From this place they conclude, (1.) That the Author liv'd in the time when there were Kings in *Israel*, since he denotes the time when the *Israelites* began to have Kings, by the *Epocha*, at which those of *Edom*, whose Names he sets down, ended. (2.) The Number of the Generations of

of the Kings of *Edom* is double to that of the Generations from *Jacob*, *Eſau's* Brother, to *Mofes*: For in this place is a Succeſſion of Eight Kings, without taking in *Eſau* or *Beor*; whereas from *Jacob* to *Mofes* there are but Four Generations, and there are but Eight from *Jacob* to *Obed*, the Grandfather of *David*. Which ſhews, That 'tis very probable, that the laſt Kings of *Edom* ſet down in this place, did reign ſince the time of *Mofes*. And (3.) The Author having enumerated the Eight Kings of *Idumea* or *Edom*, ſpeaks of their Dukes or Princes. Now they had no Dukes or Princes inſtead of Kings till a great while after, as appears, 1 *Chron.* 1. 51.

In the 2d Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, V. 12. 'Tis ſaid, That the *Horims* alſo dwelt in *Seir* before-time, but the Children of *Eſau* ſucceeded them, when they had deſtroy'd them from before them, and dwelt in their Country, as *Israel* did unto the Land of his Poſſeſſion which God gave unto them. Now an Author, who relates ſuch a thing as this, ought of neceſſity to have liv'd after that the *Israelites* had deſtroy'd the Inhabitants of the Land of *Canaan*, and took poſſeſſion thereof. But this cannot be truly ſaid of *Mofes*.

'Tis ſaid, *Exodus* 16. 35. That the Children of *Israel* did eat *Manna* forty years, untill they came to a Land inhabited: They did eat *Manna*, untill they came unto the Borders of the Land of *Canaan*. Now *Mofes* died before the forty years were expir'd. Nor does the next Verſe ſeem to belong to *Mofes*: Now an *Omer*, ſays the Author, is The tenth part of an *Ephah*. In the time when any meaſure is in uſe, one would hardly think it worth while to ſet down in an Hiſtory, what it contains. 'Tis becauſe it is out of Uſe, that we enquire how much it contains, and make Remarks of this Nature.

*Deuteronomy* begins thus: Theſe be the words which *Mofes* ſpoke unto all *Israel*, on the other ſide or beyond *Jordan*: *Trans Jordanem*. It ſeems by this word *Beyond*, that this Book was written in *Paleſtine*, in reſpect of which the Wilderneſs in which the *Israelites* were, is beyond *Jordan*. Now *Mofes* having not paſſ'd *Jordan*, could never have written after this manner. The Hebrew Term *Beheber*, ſignifies always *beyond*, and it was thus tranſlated by the Seventy.

In the ſame Book, Ch. 3. V. 10, 11. where mention is made of *Og* King of *Baſhan*; 'tis ſaid, that he only remain'd of the Race of Giants, and that his Bedſteed of Iron was ſtill to be ſeen, in *Rabbath* of the Children of *Ammon*, being Nine Cubits long, and Four broad. From theſe Words ſeveral Inferences are drawn to prove, That *Deuteronomy* is of later date than *Mofes*. For (1.) Why ſhould *Mofes* ſpeak of this Bedſteed, to prove the bigneſs of *Og* in a time when all the *Israelites* might have ſeen this Giant? It is highly probable, that this was written by an Author who lived when they had no knowledge of this King. (2.) Why was not this Bedſteed in *Baſhan*, but in *Rabbath* of the Children of *Ammon*? (3.) This Bedſteed was not diſcover'd till *David's* time, who ſubdued the *Ammonites*, and took *Rabbath*, as 'tis related, 2 *Sam.* 12. 29.

In *Deuteronomy*, Ch. 3. V. 14. 'tis ſaid, That *Jair* the ſon of *Manaſſeh* took all the Country of *Argob*, unto the Coaſts of *Geshuri* and *Maachathi*, and called them after his own Name, *Baſhan-Havoth-Jair*, that is, the Cities of *Jair*, unto this day: An Expreſſion which plainly denotes the Author to be more Modern than *Mofes*.

II. In the ſecond place, We meet in the *Pentateuch* with a great many Names of Cities and Countries, which were not ſo call'd till after the time of *Mofes*. The moſt obſervable, are as follow: *NINEVEH*; *Gen.* 10. 11. to which *Ninus* gave this Name, who according to the moſt probable Opinion, did not live till about the time of *Deborah*.—*UR OF THE CHALDEES*, mention'd, *Gen.* 11. 28, 31. Now the Name of the *Chaldeans* was not known in *Mofes's* time, and this Country was then call'd *Padan-Aram*.—*DAN*, *Ibid.* Ch. 14. V. 14. where 'tis ſaid, That *Abraham* purſu'd the Kings who had taken away his Nephew *Lot*, as far as *Dan*. Now the Name of *Dan* was not given to this place, till a long time after, when ſix hundred Men of the Tribe of *Dan* took *Laiſh*, and call'd it after the Name of *Dan* their Father, as 'tis related, *Judg.* 18. 29. and it cannot be queſtion'd, but that the Author of *Genesis* ſpeaks of this City, becauſe it lay in the Road by which *Abraham* went in purſuit of his Enemies.——*THE MOUNT OF MORIAH*, *Gen.* 22. The Name which that Mount ſeems not to have had till after the Temple was built upon it. However this be, yet it is obſerv'd in that paſſage, that this Mount was ſo called unto this day, which ſuppoſes a time at a great diſtance off.——*HEBRON*, *Gen.* 37. 14. The Name of a City which was given to it after the Death of *Mofes*, by *Hebron*, the Son of *Caleb*, to whom *Joſhua* gave it: It was call'd before *Kirjath-Arba*, as is hinted, *Jof.* 14. 15.——*THE LAND OF THE HEBREWS*, when *Joſeph* ſays, *Gen.* 40. 15. That he was ſtolen away out of the Land of the *HEBREWS*. Now how could *Joſeph* in his time call the Land of *Canaan* the Land of the *Hebrews*, ſince *Jacob* his Father was only in Poſſeſſion of a Sepulchre which *Abraham* had bought, and



where he Sojourn'd as a Stranger. The Author then of this Book has certainly made *Joseph* speak, after the manner wherein they spake at the time when he wrote it. Now it could not be *Moses*, since in his time the Land of *Canaan* was not called the Land of the *Hebrews*, who were not then in Possession of it; therefore it must have been a Writer who liv'd since that time.—— THE TOWER OF EDAR, or of the *Flock*, beyond which it is said, *Gen.* 35. 21. That the *Israelites* pitch'd their Tents. This was the Name of a Tower which was on one of the Gates of *Jerusalem*, which is call'd the Gate of the *Flock*, *Micah* 4. 8. and the *Sheep-Gate*, *Nehem.* 3. 1. The Author then intended to say, That *Jacob* stretcht out his Tents beyond the Place where the Tower of *Edar* was built, in the time when he wrote this History: And consequently it was written since *Jerusalem* was built, and belong'd to the *Israelites*.—— The Term *NABI*, to signifie a Prophet, a Word not in use till afterwards; the Prophets being formerly call'd *ROE*, *Seers*, as is observ'd, *1 Sam.* 9. 9.

III. In the third Place, When *Moses* is spoken of in the *Pentateuch*, 'tis always in the third Person, and such things are said of him as he could not well have said of himself. Is it probable, That he should call himself, *The Man of God*, *Deuter.* 33. 1. *The meekest man upon earth*, *Numb.* 12. 3? Such Praises as these do not sound well in the Mouth of an Author. Who would believe that a Man in his life-time, after he had given us the Genealogy of himself, would add these Words, *Exod.* 6. 26, 27. *These are That Aaron and Moses, to whom the Lord said, Bring out the children of Israel from the Land of Egypt, according to their armies: These are they who spake to Pharaoh King of Egypt, to bring out the children of Israel from Egypt; these are That Moses and Aaron?* Is it credible that Persons who are alive should speak thus of themselves? Could *Moses* in his life-time, say, *That after his death there arose not a Prophet like to him in Israel?* Does not this plainly suppose, That there were other Prophets in *Israel* at different times after his Death?

IV. In the fourth Place, Several things are observ'd in the *Pentateuch*, from which 'tis thought it may be inferr'd, That 'tis a Collection taken out of various Records. 'Tis pretended that there is a Notorious Variety of Style in it, which shews, That the whole cannot be the same Author's: That sometimes Matters of Consequence are related in a few Words, and very briefly; Sometimes Matters of little moment are very much enlarg'd upon: That there are frequent Repetitions of one and the same thing related in a different manner: That there is no Method observ'd: That what follows, ought sometimes to have been before; and things are plac'd first, which according to the Method of the Narration ought to have been last. They produce a great many instances of these things, and think that from thence they may boldly conclude, That the *Pentateuch* is not the Original Piece of one and the same Ancient Author, but a Collection made time after time from several Records which were copied or abridg'd out of which to make a compleat Body of History. Mr. *Simon* pretends, That this Confusion and Repetition proceeded from this, viz. That formerly they wrote Books on small Leaves, which they roll'd one upon another round a small stick, without stitching them together; and that so far as they did not take much care to preserve the Order of these ancient Peaves or Rolls, it happen'd, that the ranging of those matters receiv'd some Alteration. He adds, That 'tis very probable, That those who have join'd the Ancient Records together, to preserve the body of the Canonical Books which are now remaining, never put themselves to the trouble of striking out several Synonymous Terms which were in their Copies, and which might likewise have been added for a farther illustration. In a word, they assert, That 'tis so certain, that *Moses* is not the Author of the *Pentateuch*, as we now have it, that therein are cited several Books which were compos'd by *Moses*; as for instance, the Book of the Covenant, *Exod.* 24. 7. The Book of the Wars of the Lord, *Numb.* 21. 14. That wherein he wrote the War of *Amalek*, of which mention is made, *Exod.* 17. 14. The Book of the Encampments of the Children of *Israel* in the Wilderness, *Numb.* 33. 2. The Book of the Law of God, *Deut.* 31. 9. and a Song, *Deut.* 32. 'Tis therefore probable, That the Books of the *Pentateuch* are rather a Copy made from the Original Books of *Moses*, than the Work of *Moses* himself.

V. Lastly, There are no Arguments to prove *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*: Those alledg'd do only prove, That he was the Legillator of the People of *Israel*, That he gave them Laws in the Name of the Lord, That he wrote them down, as also several of his memorable Actions: But they do not prove, That he was the Author of the Five Books of the *Pentateuch* as it is at present. It likewise seems, as if one could shew,

shew, that the Places where 'tis said, That God commanded Moses to write the Law, and that Moses wrote it, are not meant of the *Pentateuch*; but of several particular Ordinances, or of some small part of the Law. For First, As to that mention'd in the 24th and 34th Chapters of *Deuteronomy*, which is call'd the Book of the Covenant, which Moses read in the Audience of all the People, this could not be the *Pentateuch*, which could not have been compos'd till a long time after; and there is not the least probability, that Moses did read these five whole Books to the People. The Law of which he speaks in the 27th Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, and which God commanded to be written on Stones, ought to be restrain'd to the Curses and Blessings which were written on Stones, and pronounc'd on Mount *Ebal*, as appears by the 14th Verse of that Chapter, and by *Josh. 8. 34.* In a word, That of which mention is made, *Deuter. 28. 58, 61. Ibid. Ch. 29. Ver. 20, 27. and Ch. 31. Ver. 9. 26.* which was laid in the Tabernacle in the side of the Ark, was not compos'd of the five Books of the *Pentateuch*, but only of the chief Ordinances contain'd in *Deuteronomy*, or at most, only that single Book.

These are almost all the Objections that have hitherto been rais'd, against Moses's being the Author of the *Pentateuch*: Let us now take them all under Examination one after the other, with the Answers that have usually been return'd to them.

Two Answers are return'd to the first Objection rais'd from the Narration of the Death of Moses. The former is that of *Philo*, *Josephus*, and the other Jews, who are of Opinion, That Moses wrote it by a Spirit of Prophecy: The second, which is the more common and sounder Reply, is, That this Narration was added either by *Joshua*, or by *Ezrah*, or by the Synagogue of the Jews, to render the History of the *Pentateuch* the more compleat. It must be own'd, That the former of these Answers is by no means probable, and that the latter ought to be adher'd to. But tho' this last Chapter had been added, it cannot from thence be concluded, that all the rest of the *Pentateuch* is not Moses's.

Tho' these Words, *Gen. 12. 6. Canaanus autem erat in terrâ illâ*, were to be taken in that Sense which the Objection would have them to be of; yet we might reasonably say, that this *Parenthesis* has been added since the time of Moses. This is usual, and it often happens, that these kinds of Explications which are set at first in the Margin to illustrate the Text, have afterwards been by way of *Parenthesis*, inserted into it. But there is no occasion here of having recourse to this Solution, and we may very well say, that those Words do not signify that the Canaanites were formerly in that Land, but that they were even then there, that is, that Moses speaking of Abraham's passage through the Land of *Sichem*, observes, That at that time the Canaanites were in that Country. This Sense is natural and unforc'd; for the Hebrew Particle *az*, may signify either one or other, as *Aben-Ezrah* has observ'd. This last Sense seems more natural, because 'tis not likely, that an Author, who wrote in a time and Country, when all the World knew that the Israelites had dispossest the Canaanites, should think it adviseable to observe as a thing unknown, that the Canaanites were then in the Land which the Israelites were in possession of: Whereas 'tis very natural, That Moses writing at a time wherein it was proper to advertise the Israelites, that their Fathers once convers'd with the Canaanites, should observe, that when Abraham arriv'd in that Country he found it already inhabited by those People.

The Passage of the 36th Chapter of *Genesis* concerning the Kings of *Idumea* or *Edom*, is somewhat more difficult. Some say, That Moses spake in this place by a Spirit of Prophecy of the Kings that should reign in *Israel*; God having certainly reveal'd to him that the Israelites should have a King, as 'tis said expressly, *Deut. 17. 14.* The Eight Kings of the *Idumeans*, of whom mention is made, might have reign'd between *Esaü* and Moses's time, and the rather because they were not the Sons who succeeded their Fathers, but Persons of different Countries, who seiz'd upon the Government one after another. The Dukes or Princes of *Edom*, mention'd in the same place, did not succeed those Kings, but govern'd at the same time in different Places. As to *Deuteronom. 2. 12.* where 'tis said, That the Children of *Esaü* dwelt in *Seir*, after they had destroy'd the *Horims* from before them, as the Children of *Israel* did to the Land of their Possession, it may be explain'd of the Land which the Tribes of *Reuben* and *Gad*, and part of the Tribe of *Manasseh* had taken from the *Amorites* and the Men of *Bashan*, after they had destroy'd them. But tho' we should own, That these Words of the first Passage, *Before there was any King in Israel*; and those of the second, *As the Israelites had done to the Land of their possession*, are added, yet no inconvenience would ensue, because they are such Explications as do not make part of the History.



*Moses* might very well say, that the *Israelites* should eat *Manna* for forty years, since he very well knew, and as it appears from *Numb.* 14. 33. that the *Israelites* were to wander during that time in the Wilderness. However, *Exod.* 16. 35. 'Tis mention'd as a thing past: *The Children of Israel did eat Manna for forty years, &c.* which seems to suppose that the forty years were expired; and that they had left off eating of *Manna*; which happen'd after the Death of *Moses*, as 'tis related, *Josh.* 5. 12. So that it is most probable, that this also is an Addition.

As for the next Verse, where 'tis said, That an *Omer* is the tenth part of an *Ephah*, there is no need of having recourse to the same Solution, since this Remark might very well be *Moses's*, and no reason why it should be another's rather than his, nor any proof, that the *Ephah* was better known than the *Omer* in the Infancy of the Jewish Commonwealth.

The Difficulty that arises about the beginning of *Deuteronomy*, is solv'd by the double Acceptation of the Particle *BEHEBER*, which literally signifies only in the Passage of; which may as well be render'd on this side, as well as on that side, as *Pagninus Buxtorf*, and all the Learned *Hebricians* do acknowledge. The *Hebrews* had no other Word whereby to express, on this side, and it must necessarily be taken in this Sense, *Deut.* 3. 8. Where *Moses* says, That the *Israelites* took the country of the two Kings of the *Amorites*, which were on this side *Jordan*. For tho' we should suppose, That some other Author and not *Moses* wrote this; yet since he brings in *Moses* speaking in the Land of the *Moabites*, he must have made him say on this side, and not on that side *Jordan*. 'Tis certain, That the Book of *Joshua* was written on this side *Jordan*: Yet 'tis said, *Ch.* 9. *Ver.* 1. That the Kings of *Palestine* were in the passage, [*BEHEBER*] of *Jordan*; which some have render'd beyond, tho' it ought to be understood on this side, (as our *English Bibles* have it) since they were on the same side of *Jordan* as the *Israelites* were. *Gen.* 50. *Ver.* 10. 'tis said, That *Joseph* and his Brethren went up from *Egypt*, and came to the Threshing Floor of *Atad*, which is [*BEHEBER*], in the passage over *Jordan*, to celebrate the funeral Solemnities of *Jacob*. Now in going up from *Egypt*, the Threshing Floor of *Atad* is on this side, and not beyond *Jordan*. *HEBER* signifies both on this and on that side: Thus, *1 Sam.* 14. 14. *Saul* says to his People, Be ye on one side, and I and *Jonathan* my Son will be on the other side: And *1 Kings* 4. 24. 'tis said, That *Solomon* had Dominion over all the Region which was on the side of the River, that is, of *Euphrates*; which ought to be render'd on this side, since the *Euphrates* was the Boundary of his Empire. The *Hebrew Word* [*BEHEBER*] being then an Equivocal Term, it may as well signify on this, as on that side. The Seventy, who have render'd it, *near, beyond*, regarded the time wherein they wrote, when the Place where *Moses* had given his Laws was look'd upon as being beyond *Jordan*, with respect to the Land of *Canaan*. Thus this Objection, which seem'd of such force has really no difficulty at all in it.

There is nothing in it extraordinary, that *Moses* in speaking of the Giant *Og*, King of *Bashan*, has produc'd as a proof of the bigness of his stature, his Iron Bedstead; whether because it was some time since that King was killed when *Moses* wrote this, or rather to make Posterity give the more credit to what he said about him. 'Tis thus, That the Historians of our times, in speaking of any new thing that has happen'd extraordinary, tho' well known in their time, do say, we have such or such an Evidence of the Truth of what we assert; they keep such or such a Monster in such or such a place. As to what is added, That this Iron Bedstead in *Moses's* time was in *Bashan*, and not in *Rabbath*, 'tis pure conjecture; for why could not the *Ammonites* have it in the days of *Moses*?

It may be, that these words, *Deut.* 3. 14. spoken of the Cities of *Fair*, (so call'd unto this day) is a Parenthesis added afterwards: Tho' 'tis not impossible, but *Moses* might have made use of this Expression, because there was some space between the Division of the Country of *Bashan* and the time when *Moses* wrote.

The other Objections taken from the Names of Towns and Countries, which they pretend were not in use till after the Death of *Moses*, are still of less force. It is very likely, That the Ancient Names which *Moses* made use of have been changed, that his Narration might be render'd the more intelligible to such as were no longer acquainted with the Ancient Names of those Towns and Countries; but this is not true of all those that have been alludg'd. For in the first place, As to *NINEVEH*, 'tis not at all probable, that *Ninus* liv'd not till about the time of *Deborah*: 'Tis a great deal more likely that he liv'd in *Abraham's* days, where the Chronologers place him. There is no proof at all, that the Name of *CHALDEANS* was not in use in the time of *Moses*. 'Tis true, He speaks of *Abraham's* time, but he might have made use of a Term which was not in use till afterwards, and might say, that *Abraham* came out of the City *Ur*, which

which was in the Country of the *Chaldeans*, that is, in the Country which since belong'd to the *Chaldeans*. 'Tis enough, That this was its Name in the time of *Moses*. The Name of *DAN* was not wholly unknown in *Moses's* days. The River of *JORDAN*, according to *St. Jerom*, was so call'd, because it deriv'd it's Stream from two Heads, of which one was call'd *Jor*, and the other *Dan* or *Dannah*, of which mention is made, *Joshua* 15. 49. It is therefore possible, That in *Moses's* time, there was a Place call'd *Dan* in that part where *Abraham* fell upon the Kings, who had carry'd away *Lot*. However, 'tis more probable, That the Name of *Dan* was given to that Town which formerly was call'd *Laish*. As to the Name of *MORIAH*, 'tis said expressly in *Genesis*, That this Mountain was so call'd, because of the Answer which *Abraham* return'd to his Son, *God will provide*, and *Moses* writing a long time after, might have observ'd, that it still went under that Name even in his days. 'Tis no where said in Scripture, That the City of *HEBRON* was so call'd from one of the Sons of *Caleb*. It is indeed said, *Josh. 14. 15.* That this City was formerly call'd *Kirjath-Arba*, and *1 Chron. 2.* That *Caleb* was the Son of *Marekiah* the Father of *Hebron*. But *Hebron* perhaps in this place is the Name of a Country, and *Father* is put for *King*, as in the 21<sup>st</sup> Verse of the same Chapter, *Machir* is call'd the Father of *Gilead*. So that nothing can be infer'd from these two places, and it may be, that the City of *Hebron*, which was formerly call'd *Kirjath-Arba*, was nam'd *Hebron* in the time of *Moses*; and 'tis probable it was so, since *Josh. 10. 3, 5.* mention is made of the Country of *Hebron*, and of a King of *Hebron*, who was one of those that was vanquish'd by the *Israelites* in the days of *Joshua*. But tho' it should be suppos'd, that it took its Name from one of the Descendants of *Caleb*, which is not at all likely, yet we might without any inconvenience, say, That the Ancient Name was chang'd in this Place. *Joseph* being in *Egypt*, says, That he was carried away out of THE LAND OF THE HEBREWS, because in reality, that was the Name of that Region of the Land of *Canaan*, where *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, his Fathers, who were call'd *Hebrews*, had their Abode. *St. Jerom* observes, That the Tower of *EDAR*, of which mention is made, *Gen. 35. 21.* was not in *Jerusalem* over the Gate of *Edar*, but near to *Bethlehem*. Lastly, 'tis not said, *1 Sam. 9.* That the Name *NABI* was not in use among the *Hebrews* at the first, but only there was a time when they commonly made use of the term *ROE*, which signifies a *Seer*. Now, this was not in *Moses's* but in *Samuel's* time, and the Name *Nabi* was always in use among the *Hebrews*, tho' it was not so common among the *Vulgar*.

It ought not to be wonder'd at, that *Moses* always speaks of himself in the Third Person; 'Tis customary among most Historians to speak of themselves after this manner, tho' they had a share in the History which they relate. *Xenophon*, *Cesar*, *Josephus*, and several other Historians have done thus. *St. John* in his Gospel speaks likewise of himself in the Third Person. This is that Disciple, (says he) whom *Jesus* lov'd: And in another place, What if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee? *St. Matthew* relating his own Conversion, speaks of himself in the Third Person; and 'tis said, That *St. Luke* was one of the two Disciples whom *Jesus* met with in going to *Emmaus*. The Commendations which *Moses* bestows on himself are not extravagant: It was requisite, that he should take notice in his Books, of the Favours which God had granted him; and that he should declare, That he was the Man or the Prophet sent forth from God, and that he spake to them in his Name. He might likewise without any breach of Modesty, call himself the meekest of men, to signify, That it was not he who reveng'd himself on those who rebell'd against him, but God who espous'd his Cause. What is said at the end of the Genealogy of *Moses* and *Aaron*, This is that *Moses* and *Aaron*, is there plac'd, that so Posterity might give the more heed to their Persons and their History. As for the other Words taken out of the last Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, That there arose not in *Israel* any Prophet since like unto *Moses*, they are part of a Discourse which we have already observ'd to have been added.

The Objections which are made in the last place, to shew, That the *Pentateuch* is a Collection of several Records, are very weak, and make as much against, as for the Hypothesis, which they are minded to establish upon it. For is it credible, That an Author who makes an Abridgment of an History, should often repeat the same things? That he should keep no Order, and not have the same Style throughout? On the contrary, Would not the Abbreviators have studied to relate things in a few Words, without Repetitions, in Order, and after a Uniform Manner? The contrary Defects are a great deal more incident to the first Authors of a Narration, who relate simply the things which they know. These Kinds of Repetitions are common among the Ancients, and particularly among such as have been the first Writers of History or



Fable; and they are very rare in Historians who have wrote upon the Memoirs of others; because the former wrote plainly, as they spake, without meditation; whereas on the contrary, the latter having all their matter ready prepar'd, took care to range it methodically. The Repetitions that are to be met with in the *Pentateuch* are often necessary, to explain the particulars of a thing, which it was requisite at first to relate in general Terms. 'Tis for this Reason, That the Particulars of the Creation of the World, which were related in the first Chapter of *Genesis*, are resum'd in the second. The Repetition of the same Words was according to the Genius of the *Hebrews*, and even that of the Ancients. 'Tis not at all true, That there is so little Order and Method as they would make one believe to be in the Books of the *Pentateuch*; and tho' there was less Order in them than there really is, it would rather be a Demonstration that they belong to *Moses*, who wrote without Art, and without Method, as they do who write the Memoirs of things, wherein they have a share. The Conjecture of the Rolls is a Chimæra (f), which makes nothing against our Assertion. For how confus'd soever those Leaves were, the Abbreviators should have rang'd them, and reduc'd them into Order. Lastly, 'Tis not true that there was any considerable difference of Style in the *Pentateuch*: On the contrary, We discover throughout, the Genius of one and the same Author. If he sometimes insists less on the things which he relates, 'tis because the Subject so requires it, or else because he did not think it proper to enlarge any farther; and this cannot be term'd a difference in Style, when all the rest agrees. Thus the particular Objections of Mr. *Simon* are very frivolous (g), and have no Foundation.

Tho'

(f) *The Conjecture of the Rolls is a Chimæra.*] Mr. *Simon* pretends, that what I call a *Chimæra*, is a thing very Ancient, and has been likewise observ'd by several Learned Critics. 'Tis his Business then to produce his Proofs, I do not say of the Antiquity of the Rolls; (for 'tis certain, that they wrote formerly on Leaves roll'd up) but of the Use that they made of them: He ought to shew by convincing Instances, that these Rolls were frequently the Cause of the Transpositions, and he should apply this Conjecture to the Examples of Scripture which he cites. This is what we desire him to do, and which he has not dar'd to undertake, being only content to say in general, *That it may be so.* I add, that this Conjecture makes nothing against our Assertion, because how confus'd soever those Leaves were, the Abbreviators should have rang'd and reduc'd them into Order. Mr. *Simon* replies to this, *That it is needless to speak of the Abbreviators, since those Leaves were put out of order a long time after the Collection of the Abridgments.* 'Tis true indeed, I thought that Mr. *Simon* had spoken of the Originals or Memoirs, from which he pretends, that the Abridgment of the Books of the Bible was made; and to me it seems, that thus it ought to be understood, when he says, *Page 35. I question at least, whether one can attribute to Moses, and to the publick Scribes of his time, that defect of Method, that is to be met with in several places of the Pentateuch: 'Tis more probable, that since in those times they wrote Books on small Rolls, or distinct Leaves, which were Roll'd one upon another, the Order of these Leaves was transpos'd.* It was very probable, That these Words, in that time, had some relation to the time of *Moses*, and of the Publick Scribes. But since Mr. *Simon* understands it of a time that succeed'd the Abridgments, 'tis for him to shew, that the defect of Order, which is (as he pretends) in the *Pentateuch*, proceeds from the transposition of these Rolls. This is what he cannot prove, and we desire him to apply this Conjecture to the Instances which he produces; since one may reduce to its Order, by Reading it, a Printed Leaf, which was transpos'd. And consequently, this Second Principle, is not only not well establish'd, but likewise is of no Use. As to the repetition of Synonymous Terms, from whence

he pretends to infer, that 'tis a sign, that the Books of the Bible were compos'd from several Ancient Records, 'tis a false conjecture; for 'tis more probable, these Repetitions proceeded from an Author who writes naturally things by way of *Memorandum*, than from an Abbreviator, who would have made a Series of History without repeating the same Things or the same Words. Besides, the Repetitions which Mr. *Simon* alleges are not needless, and serve either to illustrate what has been said, or to add some Circumstance to it, and to give a greater Force and Energy to what was written. 'Tis very rare but we meet with the like Repetitions in most Authors, and chiefly in those who write the Histories of their own times with a great deal of plainness and simplicity.

(g) *Thus the particular Objections of Mr. Simon are very frivolous.*] He starts another Objection against me, which I must not leave unanswered, since he makes use of a Principle which I own, and charges me for having laid down in my Preface, and in other Passages of my Book, certain Rules which seem to prove, that one ought to conclude from the Additions that are in the *Pentateuch*, that this Work is Spurious. For I had said in the first part of my Preface, *That it commonly happens that Impostors relate such things as have happen'd since their Death, and speak of Towns and People which were not known in the time of those Authors.* From hence Mr. *Simon* concludes, that since I have own'd, That there are such Additions in the *Pentateuch*, a Follower of *Spinoza* may thence infer, that according to my Rule, the *Pentateuch* is a Spurious Piece. But 'tis easie to shew him, That he has not rightly understood the Sense of the Rule which I laid down. For if he had only regarded the General Reflexion which I made in my Preface upon the Rules of Criticism, which I propos'd, he would never have made such a manifest abuse of this: I desire him therefore to mind these Words. *It may be said, That all the Rules which I have produced, are convincing or probable, according to different Degrees, and that the Chief Rule is the Determination of Equity and Prudence; according to which, the Reasons of both sides are ballanced, by mustering up together all the Conjectures that are Pro and Con.*

This

Tho' there were other Books of *Moses* cited in the *Pentateuch*, yet this would be no proof that it was not his, since every day an Author, and particularly an Historian, cites the Books or Records which he has made. But 'tis not certain, as we have already observ'd in the 8th Section of the first Chapter, that mention is made in those places of particular Books, and such as are different from those that compose the *Pentateuch*. We have there explain'd what we may understand by the *Book of the Wars of the Lord*, and shewn, that the Book of the Covenant of the Lord, is only a part of the Laws related in *Exodus*; and so is the History of the War of *Amalek*, and of the Encampments of the Children of *Israel* in the Wilderness, which are not distinct from what is written concerning them in the Books of *Exodus* and *Numbers*. So that this is so far from being an Argument, that the *Pentateuch* is not *Moses's*, that on the contrary, we may from thence conclude, that 'tis his Work, since the things which he has written, and which God commanded him to write, are contain'd therein. 'Tis true, The Term Law, is sometimes to be understood only of a Part of the Law; but this very part of the Law that God commanded *Moses* to Write, is written and related in the *Pentateuch*. *Moses* did not write all at once, and at one and the same time, the whole Five Books of the *Pentateuch*, but did it at several times, and upon several occasions; and at last he made a kind of Recapitulation or Abridgment of them in *Deuteronomy*, which he drew up a little before his Death near *Jordan*. Now, 'tis plainly said, (as we have already shewn) that *Moses* wrote *Deuteronomy*, and consequently one cannot doubt but that the other Books of the Law were his, when we only mind what is said of them in *Deuteronomy*.

This general Rule is the Foundation of Rational Criticism, and all other Rules are mis-us'd when this is laid aside. Let us apply it to the Question in Dispute. There are in the *Pentateuch*, several Terms, several Names of Towns, and several Matters of Fact which cannot be *Moses's*. Must we from thence rashly conclude, That it is not *Moses's*, because 'tis one of the Marks of a Spurious Piece, to find in it such things as have happen'd since the Death of the Author to whom it is ascrib'd, and such Names of Towns and People as were not known in his time? Or on the other side, Does it follow, because the *Pentateuch* is *Moses's*, tho' these Additions are to be met with therein, that the Rule which we have laid down is false? These two Consequences are ill drawn, the Rule is good, and the Books of the *Pentateuch* may be *Moses's* notwithstanding. The Rule is good, but then a right use ought to be made of it. When we have no certain Proofs of the Antiquity of a Book, and there are other Conjectures besides to incline us to doubt thereof, we ought according to this Rule to say, that it is Spurious. But when 'tis evident, that such or such a Piece is such or such an Author's, when there are a great many manifest Proofs which clearly shew it, we ought necessarily to conclude, that these Words, Terms and Names have been added. Lastly, When there are Arguments on both sides, we ought to balance and weigh them one against the other, and to be determin'd on that side, on which is the greatest Probability. These are the true Rules of Criticism, which Mr. *Simon* has not heeded, when he charges me so unjustly with having prescrib'd Rules so favourable to the Followers of *Spinoza*. They are not my Rules, which almost all the Critics before me have prescrib'd, but they are his Reasonings and Inferences that have been so favourable to the Followers of *Spinoza*. They are his Conjectures, Objections, and Hypothesis, which serve to confirm them in their Error. Lastly, There are a great many passages of his Book that strike at the Authority of the Holy Scripture. When he asks me, *What Answer I will make to a Follower of Spinoza, who to prove, That the five Books of Moses are not his, shall make use of the same Arguments, that I use, to shew, that the Liturgy which the Eastern People read under the Name of St. James, is not really his.* I will return him this Answer, That I have not the same Reasons to believe St. *James* to be the Author

of the Liturgy that is attributed to him, which I have to believe, that the Books of *Moses* are his. That it is not mention'd in the Epistles of the Apostles, that the Ancients have taken no notice of it, that this Liturgy is not agreeable to the Discipline which was in the times of St. *James*; whereas the Scripture informs me, That *Moses* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*, *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles have assur'd me of it, the Ancient Authors testify as much, all Persons are agreed in it, &c. 'Tis therefore a manifest Injustice and Calumny to accuse me, of having intended to destroy the Books of *Moses*, under a pretence of defending them against the Followers of *Spinoza*.

Much after the same rate does Mr. *Simon* argue in applying what I had said concerning the Book of *Joshua*, to the Books of the *Pentateuch*. One need only to compare the Proofs that I produc'd to shew, That the Books of the *Pentateuch* are *Moses's*, with those which I myself alledg'd to prove, that the Book of *Joshua* is *His*; and it will be visible, that there is a great deal of difference between the One and the Other of them, and that the Reasons which prove *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*, are infinitely stronger than those which may incline us to believe *Joshua* to be the Author of the Book that goes under his Name. Beside, none has ever doubted, but that the *Pentateuch* was *Moses's*; but 'tis not the same with the Book of *Joshua*. Mr. *Simon* supposes, That 'tis affirm'd with the same kind of Evidence, that the Book of *Joshua* was written by him, as 'tis said, that the Law was written by *Moses*. To prove this, he supposes, That all the express Passages of Scripture, that are produc'd to shew, that *Moses* is the Author of the *Pentateuch*, are reducible to that which is observ'd, that *Moses* wrote the Law; and he pretends, that with the same kind of Evidence, 'tis said, that *Joshua* added the Book of his History to the Books of the Law. You need only read the Passages which we have produc'd, and you will be convinc'd, that they are very express and very numerous, and which cannot be reduc'd to one single head, as that can which is produc'd for the Book of *Joshua*. And you need only peruse the 24th Chapter of the Book of *Joshua*, where this last Passage is to be met with, to perceive, that what is said in that place may be very well understood of the Moral Precepts.

The



The Opinion of Mr. *Le Clerc*, who has attributed the *Pentateuch* to an *Israelitish Priest*, sent from *Babylon* to instruct the *Cuthceans*, is one of the most extravagant Notions that ever could have been invented. This Author, who is a Man of Parts and Learning, has acknowledg'd, That the *Samaritan Pentateuch* has entirely destroy'd the *Hypothesis* of those Persons, who advanc'd, That the *Pentateuch* was compos'd by *Ezrah* since the Captivity. He himself proves this; because it is unconceivable, That the *Samaritans*, the Sworn Enemies of the *Jews*, should have borrow'd the Law from them; and that if they had transcrib'd the Copy of *Ezrah*, they would rather have made use of the *Chaldee*, than of the Ancient *Hebrew Character*. But if 'tis not credible, That the *Samaritans* would not have receiv'd the Law from the *Jews*, Is it at all probable, that the *Jews* would have receiv'd it from an *Israelitish Priest* sent from *Babylon* to instruct the *Cuthceans*? Had not the *Jews* of the Kingdom of *Juda* the Law of *Moses* before the Captivity of the Ten Tribes? And can any one Imagine, (supposing that they were minded to have a Collection of what related to the Law of *Moses*, a Sacred and Divine Book, which should be the Foundation of their Religion) that they would have rely'd therein on an unknown Priest, who liv'd among Idolaters, and that they would have had so great an Esteem for his Work? This Conjecture then which Mr. *Le Clerc* has advanc'd in his Sentiments upon the Criticisms of Mr. *Simon*, is as Absurd and Chimerical as ever has been maintain'd; and is such as none has espous'd since him, and which himself has renounc'd in his Commentary on *Genesis*.

The Conjectures upon which he goes to establish his particular Opinion, were, That it seem'd to him as if the Author of the *Pentateuch* was in *Chaldea* or *Mesopotamia*; which he pretends to prove from these words of the second Chapter of *Genesis*, where the Author, describing the Rivers which went out of the Garden of *Eden*, says, Ver. 11, 12. *That the name of the first is Pison, that is it which compasseth the whole land of Havilah, where there is Gold. And the gold of that land is good: There is Bdellium, and the Onyx-Stone.* To this he adds, what is observ'd, *Gen. 10.* concerning *Nimrod King of Babylon*, and of the Cities of *Mesopotamia* and *Assyria*: From whence he concludes, That 'tis probable, that the Author who made these Remarks, must have liv'd in that Country, else he could not have been so particular in his Relations of these Circumstances; and that 'tis incredible, That *Moses* who never went farther than *Egypt*, should have so much knowledge of a Country so far distant, and at a time when Travelling was more rare, and harder to be undertook. This is one of the weakest Conjectures that ever could have been started. For why could not *Moses* know that the Land of *Havilah* was encompass'd by the River *Pison*, and that there was *Gold, Bdellium and Onyx-Stones*, in that Country? Why should he be ignorant of the Kingdom of *Nimrod*, of the Names of the Towns belonging to his Kingdom, and of the Founding of *Nineveh*, and the Neighbouring Cities? These were such considerable Occurrences as might be very well known in far distant Countries. Is it necessary that an Historian should have been in all those Countries that he speaks of? On the contrary, Is there any one Historian that has seen all those Countries that he describes? Is it not usual for those, who speak of a far distant Country, where there is something remarkable that is not elsewhere, and which from thence is transported into other Countries, to make it known by the Name of the Place from whence it came? 'Tis not requisite that a Man should have been at *Peru* to observe that there is good Gold in that Country; or at the *East-Indies*, to know that there are Pearls in that Place.

There are not then any convincing Proofs, that the *Pentateuch* is not *Moses's*, and there are enough to justify the Attributing it to him. Those that we have produc'd, do not only prove him to be the *Legislator of the Jews*, but that he ought to be acknowledg'd as the Author of the Five Books of the Law, of each of these Books in particular, and of *Deuteronomy*, which is a Recapitulation and Abridgement of them. We own, That perhaps the Term *LAW*, has sometimes been restrain'd either to the single Book of *Deuteronomy*, or to some particular Ordinances, as in the instances produc'd in the Objection. But we maintain, That the Passages which we have produc'd in the Arguments themselves, are to be understood either of the *Pentateuch*, or at least of *Deuteronomy*; which is sufficient to prove him to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*, tho' we had no other Proofs to shew, that *Moses* is the Author of each of these Books in particular.

These

These Books among the *Hebrews* have no other Title besides the Word, by which each Book begins (*b*); but the *Greeks* and *Latins* have given them such Names as have a Relation to the Subject they treat on. The first is call'd *GENESIS*, because it begins with the History of the Creation of the World. Besides this, It contains the Genealogy of the Patriarchs; the Relation of the Flood; the Catalogue of the Descendents of *Noah* down to *Abraham*; the Lives of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, *Jacob*, and *Joseph*; and the History of *Jacob's* Posterity to the Death of *Joseph*. So that this Book contains the History of about 2369 years, according to the Calculation of the years of the Patriarchs, as 'tis in the Hebrew Text.

The Second is call'd *EXODUS*, because its principal Subject is the Departure of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*; and all, that occur'd in the Wilderness under the Administration of *Moses* from the Death of *Joseph* to the Building of the Tabernacle, for the space of forty years. We therein find an Account of the Plagues of *Egypt*, the Abridgment of the Religion and Laws of the *Jews*, with the Excellent Precepts of the *Decalogue*.

The Third is *LEVITICUS*, so call'd because it contains the Laws, Ceremonies, and Sacrifices of the *Jewish* Religion, which particularly regards the *Levites* to whom God had intrusted the Care of those things that relate to the External Ceremonies of Religion.

The Fourth is call'd *NUMBERS*, because it begins with the Numbering of the Children of *Israel* that came out of *Egypt*; to which are subjoin'd, the Laws given to the Children of *Israel* for the space of thirty nine years, whilst they were in the Wilderness.

*DEUTERONOMY*, that is, the *Second Law*, is so call'd, because 'tis as it were a Repetition of the First Law. For after *Moses* had related in short, the Chief Actions of the Children of *Israel* in the Wilderness, he repeats a great many Precepts of the Law.

We cannot tell for certain when those Books were compos'd by *Moses*. Some Commentators, Such as *Pererius* and *Thena*, pretend, That *Moses* wrote *Genesis* before his going out of *Egypt*: But 'tis more probable, That he compos'd it afterwards, and since the Promulgation of the Law. This is the Opinion of *Eusebius*, in his seventh Book de *Preparatione Evangelicâ*, of *Theodoret*, and of several of the Ancients, and the most common receiv'd Opinion among the Interpreters. It is likewise probable, That the Author of *Genesis* was full of the Law, and had regard to it, especially when he speaks, Ch. 2. concerning the Sanctification of the Sabbath, and Ch. 7. and 8. concerning the Clean and Unclean Beasts. Tho' this might be in use before the Law, yet 'tis very probable, That an Author who makes these Remarks, had seen them in the establish'd Law. 'Tis probable, That *Genesis* was the first Work of *Moses*, and 'tis certain, That *Deuteronomy* was his last. For besides that, 'Tis a Repetition of the Law, 'tis therein expressly said, That *Moses* spake these things to the People of *Israel*, when they were ready to go over *Jordan*: To which it may be added, That therein is related the End of his Life, and to it is annex'd the Relation of his Death. It was therefore Penn'd the fortieth year after the coming out of *Egypt*, and the last of *Moses's* Life.

(*b*) These Books among the *Hebrews* have no other Title besides the Word by which each Book begins.] The First is call'd *BERESITH*, because it begins thus: In the Beginning, &c. The Second, *VEELLE-SEMOTH*, that is, These are the Names, which are the first Words of *Exodus*. The Third, *VAI-CRA*, that is, He call'd, which are the first Words of the

Book. The Modern *Jews* however have call'd it *THORAT HACABIM*, i. e. the Law of the Priests. The Fourth is call'd, *VAIEDABBER*, i. e. And he spake, because it begins with those Words. The Last is call'd for the same reason, *ELLE-HADDEBARIM*, These are the Words, the *Jews* likewise call it *THORA*, The Law.



## S E C T. II.

*Of the Book of Joshua. Why so call'd. Whether he was the Author of it. Arguments for and against it. The Life of Joshua.*

WE are not so certain who were the Authors of the other Books of the Bible. There are some which we have no Knowledge of, and others, about whom we must rest satisfied with Conjectures.

Men are divided in their Opinions about the Author of the Book of JOSHUA (a), and 'tis not certain that he is the Author of it under whose Name it goes. For as the Author of the *Synopsis*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*, observes, This Title is not put at the Head of this Book to denote its Author, but to shew the Subject Matter of it; because it contains the History of the Wars and Affairs that happen'd under the Administration of *Joshua*: Just as the Books of *Judges*, *Samuel*, *Kings*, *Tobit*, *Judith*, are so call'd; because they are such Pieces as contain the History of the Life and Actions of those, whose Names they go under. So that the Title of this Book is no Proof at all, that *Joshua* was the Author of it. But it seems as if so much might be inferr'd from the 26th Verse of the last Chapter of this Book, where 'tis said, That *Joshua* wrote all those things in the Book of the Law of the Lord: *Scriptis quoque (Joshua) omnia verba hac in Volumine Legis Domini*: Now these Words seem naturally to infer, as if they were to be understood of the whole History of this Book, and to denote, that he wrote, in imitation of *Moses*, what occur'd during his Government; that he added this Piece to the Book of the Law, and caus'd it to be Written upon the Copy of the Law, which was kept in the side of the Ark. But this may only be referr'd to what was said in this Chapter, of the Covenant that the People made with God. For 'tis there related, That *Joshua* before his Death, assembled the *Israelites* at *Sychem*; and that after he had declar'd to them what the Lord had done for their Fathers and them, ever since *Abraham* had left *Mesopotamia*, He ask'd them, Whether they would continue to serve the Lord their God; That they promis'd to do so: That he remonstrated to them, That in case they should Swerve from his Law, he would punish them severely: That they again Solemnly engag'd themselves to serve none other beside the Lord: That then *Joshua* call'd them to Witnefs according to their Promise, made a new Covenant with them, gave them fresh Laws and Ordinances, and wrote all these Words in the Book of the Law. This seems more naturally to be meant of the Covenant which he then renew'd with the *Israelites*, and of the Precepts he propos'd to them to observe, than of the Entire History of the Book of *Joshua*.

Some alledge what is said concerning *Joshua*, *Ecclesiasticus* 46. That he was the Successor of *Moses* in Prophecies, to shew, That he as well as his Predecessor, wrote a Sacred Book. But this Expression is no proof of it, and only supposes, That he succeeded *Moses* in the Spirit of Prophecy. Besides, it cannot be question'd, but that in the time when the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* wrote, the Book of *Joshua* was already compos'd, since it appears, that it was written even before the Book of *Kings*; For 1 *Kings* 16. 34. where mention is made of the rebuilding of *Jericho* by *Hiel* the *Bethelite*, 'tis said, That he laid the Foundation thereof in *Abiram* his eldest Son, and set up the Gates after it was finish'd in his youngest Son *Segub*; according to the Word of the Lord, which he spake by *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*. Now this Curse against him who should rebuild the City of *Jericho*, is found in the same words, *Josh.* 6. 26. And *Joshua* sware at that time, saying, Cursed be the Man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth this City *Jericho*; he shall lay the foundation thereof in his first-born, and in his youngest Son shall he set up the Gates of it.

(a) Men are divided in their Opinions about the Author of the Book of *Joshua*.] Among the Ancients, the Author of the *Synopsis*, attributed to St. *Athanasius*, and *Theodoret*, do not believe this Book to be *Joshua*'s. *Masius*, *Grotius*, and Mr. *Simon* believe it to, be a great deal more Modern than *Joshua*. *Masius* makes *Ezra* to be the Author of it, and believes it

to be an Extract or Abridgment of the Ancient Annals of the Jews. The most common Opinion among the Ancients and Moderns, is, That 'tis *Joshua*'s. This is the Sentiment of the *Talmudists* in the *Bababara*, Ch. 1. St. *Isidore*, *Junilius*, *Dorotheus*, *Tostatus*, *Driedo*, *Varatulus*, and a great many other Moderns are of the same Mind.

We cannot therefore doubt of the Antiquity of the Book of *Joshua*; but the main Point is to know, whether it be His or no. The Arguments produc'd to prove the contrary, are as follow.

In the first place, The Author uses such Expressions as seem to suppose, that he liv'd a long time after the things, which he relates, did happen. For to Authorize or Explain the Matters of Fact that he relates, he makes use of such a kind of Expression as this, *Unto this day*, which denotes a considerable distance between the Event of the Thing, and the Relation made of it.

Ch. 4. Ver. 9. 'tis said, That *Joshua*, by the Appointment of the Lord, set up Twelve Stones in the midst of *Jordan*, to serve as a lasting Monument of the *Israelites* passing over it; and the Author adds, as a Confirmation of this Narration, *That there they are even unto this day; Et sunt ibi usque in presentem diem*, Ch. 5. Ver. 9. 'tis said, That the Place where the *Israelites* were Circumcis'd, was call'd *Gilgal*, to denote that God in that place had taken away the shame of *Egypt* from the *Israelites*; *The Name by which it is call'd unto this day; Vocatumque est nomen loci illius Galgal, usque in presentem Diem*. Ch. 10. Ver. 14. The Author, after he has related the Miracle which God wrought for *Joshua* and the *Israelites*, in making the Sun to stand still, adds, *That there was no day like that, before it, nor after it; Non fuit antea nec postea tam longa Dies*. This way of speaking denotes a more considerable space of time than what was run out from this Event to the Death of *Joshua*. For it would not have been any wonder, that in ten years or thereabouts, there happen'd not a day so long as this. This would have been no Proof of a Miracle; whereas 'tis one, when in the foregoing and succeeding Ages, no day was ever observ'd to have been equal to this. How can Ten years, that succeeded this Event be put in Comparifon with the many Ages that preceded? Reason it self seems to suppose, that for the using of this Expression, there should have been several entire Generations elaps'd since the happening of this thing. Ch. 9. Ver. ult. 'Tis said, That *Joshua* appointed the *Gibeonites* that same day to be hewers of Wood and drawers of Water for the Congregation, and for the Altar of the Lord unto this day, in the Place which he should chuse. Now here are two distinct times expressly set down, the Time of *Joshua*, *That same day*, and the time of the Author, *Unto this day*. It cannot be said, That this last may be understood of the last years of the Life of *Joshua*, because these Words, Ver. 23. *The House of my God*; and those, *The place which the Lord has chosen*, were not in use till after the building of the Temple of *Jerusalem*.

In the Second Place, 'tis said, That the Book of *Joshua* is no more than an Abridgement of another Book, or rather of the Ancient Annals of the *Jews*, wherein the History of *Joshua* was written more at large. This they pretend to prove undeniably, from Ch. 10. Ver. 13. where mention is made of the Book of the Upright [*Jasher*], in these Terms, *Is it not written in the Book of Jasher?*

In the Third Place, There are such Names given in the Book of *Joshua* to several Places, that they were not call'd by till after his Death. Ch. 19. Ver. 27. mention is made of the Country of *Cabul*, which *Hiram* King of *Tyre* so call'd in the time of *Solomon*, 1 *Kings* 9. 13. Ch. 16. Ver. 2. 'tis said, That the Land which fell by Lot to the Tribe of *Joseph*, goeth out from *Bethel* to *Luz*. Now the City of *Luz*, as distinct from *Bethel*, was not built till after the Death of *Joshua*, as appears from *Judg.* 1. 26. Some Criticks are likewise of the Opinion, That the Name of *Tyre* which is to be met with, Ch. 19. Ver. 29. That of *Galilee*, in Ch. 20. Ver. 7. and 21. Ver. 32. and *Jocktheel*, Ch. 15. Ver. 38. are Names more Modern than *Joshua's* time.

Fourthly, There are in the Book of *Joshua* several matters of Fact related, which did not happen till a long time after his Death. The taking of the Town of *Leshem*, or *Laish*, by the *Danites*, is of that Number. What is said of this, Ch. 19. Ver. 47. is as follows: *But the Coasts of the Children of Dan fell out too little for them, therefore the Children of Dan went up to fight against Leshem, and took it, and smote it with the Edge of the Sword, and possessed it, and dwelt therein, and called it Dan, after the Name of their Father*. This Conquest was not made by the *Danites* till after the Death of *Joshua*, as appears from the 18th Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, where 'tis related. The History of another Conquest of *Caleb* the Son of *Jephunneh*, and of *Orhniel* the Son of *Kenaz*, and all that is said upon it from the thirteenth to the twentieth Verse of the fifteenth Chapter is likewise related in the Book of *Judges*, as things that happen'd not till after the Death of *Joshua*. Lastly, The Death of *Joshua* himself, related in the last Chapter, is a convincing Argument, That this Book was not written till after his Death.



How solid soever these Arguments may seem, yet they are not unanswerable, and very probable Replies may be return'd at least to most of them.

The First is chiefly grounded on the force of this Expression; *Usque in presentem diem, Even unto this day.* 'Tis suppos'd that this cannot be us'd but by an Author, who writes a long time after the thing, of which he speaks, happen'd. Now this supposition is not always true. A Contemporary Author may make use of it, when he writes some years after the Event happen'd; and it may be confirm'd by a publick Record. Thus *St. Matthew*, tho' he wrote but a short time after the Death of *Jesus Christ*, makes use of this very Expression: *That field* (says he, *Ch. 27. Ver. 8.*) *is call'd Aceldama, that is, the field of Blood unto this day:* And in another place, *Matth. 28. 15.* *This saying is commonly reported among the Jews untill this day.* *Joshua* wrote his Book about the end of his Life, none can question it. Nigh twenty years were Elapsed from the time that he pass'd over *Jordan* and conquer'd the Promis'd Land, to the time of his Writing. This was more than space enough to justify the Reasonableness of this Expression; especially when he treated of extraordinary Matters of Fact, which it was requisite to establish on the Authority of a publick Memorial, such as the *Israelites* passing over *Jordan*, as on dry Ground was. The Stones were put in the midst of *Jordan* for a Memorial of that remarkable Event. The making mention thereof is so far from being foreign to his Subject, that he could scarce excuse himself from so doing, when he related that Miracle, and he could not speak of it, but he must needs observe, that they were still there at the time when he wrote. The same may be said of the Remark, that the Author makes concerning the Origine of the Name *Gilgal*: It was natural to his Subject; and nothing could hinder an Author, who wrote a little time after, from making such a Remark. As for that passage concerning the length of the day, wherein the Sun stood still by *Joshua's* Command; *That there was no day like that, before it, or after it.* It rather agrees, with a more Modern Historian than one that is Contemporary, for the Reasons alledg'd in the Objection. However, 'tis not absolutely impossible, but that an Author who wrote some years after might have said so; besides, that perhaps this Clause has been added. The same Reply may be given to the Passage taken out of the last Verse of the ninth Chapter concerning the *Gibeonites*. The present time, of which mention is there made, might very well belong to *Joshua*; and the House of God, and the Place which he chose, might not be the Temple of *Jerusalem*, but the Tabernacle wherein was the Ark of the Lord.

'Tis easier to Answer the Second Objection, than 'tis to tell what the Book of the Upright (*Jasher* or *Jeshurun*) is, of which mention is made in this Place of the Book of *Joshua*. *St. Jerom* and the *Jews* believ'd it to be *Genesis*, or some other Book of the *Pentateuch*, wherein God foretold that he would do wonderful things in favour of his People. *Huetius* supposes it to be a Book of Morality, wherein it was written, That God would subvert the Course of Nature, to succour those who put their Trust in him. *Masius* pretends, That they were publick Annals or Records, which were styl'd *Justice* or *Upright*, because the History of the *Israelites* was written therein faithfully and successively. *Grotius*, with greater probability believes, That this Book was nothing else but a Song made to celebrate this Miracle, and this Victory. I look upon this Opinion as the most likely; because the Words which *Joshua* cites, as taken from that Work, *Sun, stand thou still upon Gibeon, and thou Moon in the Valley of Ajalon*, are such Poetical Expressions as do not suit with Historical Memoirs. Besides, *2 Sam. 1. 18.* mention is made of a Book under the same Title, upon the Account of a Song made on the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*. These are the two only Places, wherein the Book of *Jasher* is spoken of; and in both, mention is made of a Song; which inclines me to believe, that they are not Annals, which are always in Scripture call'd *DIBRE-HAIAMTM*, or *Gesta Temporum*; but a Song that is cited in this Place. Let this be how it will, and whatever Opinion be embrac'd, yet it cannot be inferr'd from this Passage, that *Joshua* is not the Author of the Book, wherein that of *Jasher* is cited; and that 'tis no more than an Abridgment of that Work. For 'tis not said in that place, That all the Wars of *Joshua*, and all that is written in that Book was related more at large in the Book of *Jasher*, but only that therein mention is made of the Miracle by which the Sun stood still. And tho' one should suppose, that this was taken out of Publick Annals or Registers, yet *Joshua* might have been the Author of the Book wherein they were cited; since Contemporary Authors do every day cite the Authentic and publick Deeds of their time, to justify the Matters of Fact that they relate, especially when they are extraordinary and miraculous.

The Third Objection is likewise founded on Uncertainties : For we are not sure, That *Cabul* mention'd, *Josh.* 19. 29. is the Country that was so call'd by *Hiram*, King of *Tyre*, in the time of *Solomon*. *Josephus* makes a distinction betwixt these two; for he calls the Country which *Solomon* gave to *Hiram*, wherein there were twenty Cities, *The Land of the Cabullians*, and speaks of a Town called *Cabul* in the Book of his Life. And in Truth, the place mention'd in *Joshua*, is a Town Bordering on the Tribe of *Zabulon*; whereas the Country which *Solomon* would have given to the King of *Tyre*, consisted of twenty Cities, situate towards the Kingdom of *Tyre*. 'Tis very likely, That in *Ch.* 16. *Ver.* 2. *Bethel* should not be distinguish'd from *Luz*, but be render'd, from *Bethel-Luz* to *Archi-Ataroth*. As to the Names of *Tyre*, *Galilee* and *Joktheel*, there is no reason to pretend, that they are more Modern than the time of *Joshua*. So that this Third Objection brings no invincible proof that there is any thing in the Book of *Joshua* that could not have been in his time.

But we must needs own, That the Three Passages cited in the Fourth Objection were written after the Death of *Joshua*, since the first of them contains the Narration of his Death, and mentions what ensued thereon; and in the Two others, there are such matters of Fact related, as did not happen till after *Joshua's* Death. It must likewise be observ'd, That 'tis very probable that these two Passages were added afterwards. For the first Author of the Book of *Joshua* contented himself with relating succinctly the Borders and Towns of each Tribe, without enlarging on the History or any Narration of them. These two are the only Passages, where this Method is not followed: They are foreign to the Subject, and interrupt the Series of the Narration, and may be taken away without spoiling the Sence. In short, If we attend never so little to the reading of them, we shall be very much inclin'd to believe, that it was an Addition made afterwards. It was likewise very natural to add the Death of *Joshua* to the Book which he compos'd, as that of *Moses* was to *Deuteronomy*.

From what has been said, we may conclude, that tho' we cannot say, That the Book of *Joshua* is as certainly *His*, as the *Pentateuch* is *Moses's*; because there is a great deal of difference between the Reasons which prove *Moses* to be the Author of the *Pentateuch*, and those which may make us suppose, that *Joshua* is the Author of the Book that contains his History; yet there is no convincing Proof, that he is not the Author of it, and so one ought not to affirm or deny it, as being a thing we are not positively assur'd of, either on one side or other.

The *Hebrews* have intit'led this Book, as well as the *Greeks* and *Latins*, *JOSHUA*, which the Moderns pronounce according to the New Punctuation, *JESUS*. He was the Son of *Nun*, or *Nave*, according to the *Greeks*, and of the Tribe of *Ephraim*. The History of *Moses* informs us, That he was formerly call'd *Oshea*; for 'tis observ'd, *Numb.* 13. 17. That *Moses* gave the Name of *Jehoshua* to *Oshea* the Son of *Nun*, Tho' this was said upon the Account of his being one of those that were sent from *Kadesh-Barnea* to take a view of the Land of *Canaan*; yet 'tis very probable, that *Moses* chang'd his Name, when he chose him to be one of his Ministers. These two Names do not differ much in Signification, and are both deriv'd from the same Root, which signifies *Saviour*; but *Oshea* signifies only *Saviour*, whereas *Jehoshua* or *Jeshua* denotes, *The Saviour of the Lord*, as *St. Jerom* remarks; that is, The Person by whom the Lord would save his People. He was apparently appointed by God, even in the life-time of *Moses*, to be his Successor, and to take upon him the Administration of the Government in his stead. It was he who was order'd to Command the Army of the *Israelites* in the Battle against the *Amalekites*, and God order'd *Moses* to read to him the Memoirs that he had written of that Battle, as to one whom he design'd one day to be his Successor. Ever after that time, *Joshua* was look'd upon as the Chief Servant of *Moses*, till at last, God order'd him; *Numb.* 27. 18. to be Recogniz'd as the Successor of *Moses*, who put part of his Authority into his hands, and a little before his Death, *Dent.* 31. 3, 7, 14. committed the Administration of the Government of the *Israelites* to him. When *Moses* died, he plac'd himself at the Head of the People according to the Order of the Lord; went over *Jordan*, and conquer'd the Country of the *Canaanites*, after he had cut off most of the Inhabitants with the edge of the Sword: He afterwards divided the Conquests among the Ten Tribes, who were to dwell on that side *Jordan*, enjoy'd for some years the Sweets of that Peace and Tranquillity which he had purchas'd by his good Conduct. Lastly, Finding his Death to be approaching, he assembled the People together, renew'd the Covenant of the Lord with them, and died at an Hun-



dred and ten years of Age. These things make up the Subject matter of the History of the Book of *Joshua*, which may be divided into Three Parts. The First is an History of the Conquest of the Land of *Canaan*. The Second, which begins at the twelfth Chapter, is a Description of that Country, and of the Division thereof among the Tribes. The Third, compris'd in the two last Chapters, contains the Renewal of the Covenant which *Joshua* caus'd the *Israelites* to make, and the Death of that Governor.

As for the *Chronology* of this Book, two sorts of time must be distinguish'd: That which was from the Death of *Moses* to the Conquest of the Land of *Canaan* and its Division: The other, From that time to the Death of *Joshua*. The Period of the former is certain; For when they began to make a Dividend of the Land of *Canaan*, *Caleb* says, that he was forty years old when he was sent by *Moses* to spy out that Country; that he had liv'd since five and forty years, being then 85 years old. He was sent to spy out the Land of *Canaan* from *Kadesh-Barnea*, in the beginning of the second year after their departure from *Egypt*. The People were forty years, in all, in the Wilderness, and consequently we ought to reckon thirty nine to the time that *Joshua* carried the People of *Israel* over *Jordan*. So that of the forty five years elaps'd since *Caleb's* being sent to descry the Country of *Canaan*, there only remain six, that were spent in reducing that Country, till the Division that was made thereof among the Tribes. One year at least was requisite to make this Division, so that here are seven years exactly calculated. But as to the time that pass'd between the completing of the Division and the Death of *Joshua*, it is not precisely set down in that Book; all the Light it gives us about it is, That *Joshua* enjoy'd the Peace he had procur'd a long time after. Thus 'tis said, *Josh. 23. 1. That it came to pass, a long time after, that the Lord had given rest to Israel from all their Enemies round about, that Joshua wax'd old and stricken in years.* Some restrain this time to seven or ten years: but 'tis more likely that it was near twenty, as we shall shew in its proper place.

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### S E C T. III.

*The different Opinions about the Author of the Book of Judges, false or uncertain. When it was compos'd. The Authority of the Judges. The Chronology of this Book.*

THE Author of the Book of *Judges* is wholly unknown. Some, as *Isidorus*, ascribe it to *Samuel*, herein following the Doctors of the *Talmud*; others to *Hezekiah*; and many to *Ezrah*. *Aben-Ezrah* believes, That this Work is the Book of the Wars of the Lord, of which mention is made in the Book of *Numbers*. The Abridgment of the Life and Death of the Prophets, that goes under the Name of *Dorotheus*, supposes, that the Book of *Judges* was written in the Tabernacle. Some think, That each Judge wrote his own Memoirs, which were collected by *Samuel* or *Ezrah*. Those are all of 'em Conjectures, of which some are manifestly false, and others very uncertain. For 'tis a Falshood to say, That this Book was that of the Wars of the Lord, mention'd in the Book of *Numbers*, which was compos'd a long time before. There is no probability, That 'tis a Collection of the Memoirs of each of the *Judges*, and we have not sufficient Testimony to ascribe it to *Samuel*, *Hezekiah*, or *Ezrah*. But tho' one cannot discover who was the Author of this Book, yet cannot the time of its being compos'd be guess'd at, at least within a little matter? Some pretend, that 'tis plain it was not compos'd till after the Captivity of *Babylon*, and would prove it from these words of *Ch. 18. Ver. 30. Until the day of their Captivity.* This they understand of the Captivity of *Babylon*, or at least that of the Ten Tribes under *Shalmaneser*. But if we seriously mind this Passage, we shall easily perceive, that the Captivity spoken of in this place, is neither the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, nor that of *Babylon*. For it is said in the 30th Verse, *That the Danites set them up a Graven Image in the City of Dan; and that Jonathan the Son of Gershom, the Son of Manasseth, and his Sons, were the Priests of the Tribe of Dan untill the day of the Captivity of the Land.* The Priests which the *Danites* made, were the Priests of that Idol. They lasted no longer than their Image did, and their Priesthood ended with it. Now the next Verse informs us, That this Idol remain'd in the City of *Dan*, only whilst the House of God, or the Ark was in *Shiloh*: That is, To the time of *Samuel*, when the Ark, having been taken

and restor'd again by the *Philistins*, was laid up at *Kirjath-Jearim*. This Passage therefore must be understood of some particular Captivity of the Inhabitants of the City of *Dan*, which happen'd about that time; or rather of the taking of the Ark, and of the Captivity of a great many *Israelites*, who were carried away after the Defeat of their Army, as 'tis related, *1 Sam. 4. 10.* Mention is made of this in the same Terms, *Psal. 78. Ver. 60, 61. God forsook the habitation of Shiloh, even the Tabernacle where he dwelt among men: and deliver'd his power into Captivity, and his beauty into the Enemies hand.*

There is frequently repeated in this Book, an Expression which might induce us to believe, That it was compos'd, either whilst or since the *Israelites* were govern'd by Kings. For the Author observes in four places, (*Ch. 17. Ver. 6. Ch. 18. Ver. 1. and 31. Ch. 21. Ver. 25.*) That the things which he relates happen'd, *When there was no King in Israel.* It is not natural, That an Author, who writes before there have been any Kings in a Country, should make this Remark: But it occurs very naturally to the Thoughts of a Man, who writes in a time when his Country is under a Regal Power. Since those for whom he writes were accusom'd to this Form of Government, in making his Remarks on what he relates, that it is not agreeable to a Monarchical State, he thinks it proper to advertise, that Monarchy was not then Establish'd. It must be own'd, That this Conjecture has a great deal of probability in it, and may serve to fix the *Epocha*, when the Book of *Judges* was compos'd, to the time when the *Israelites* had a King. But this ought to be in the first Rise of that kind of Government, and before the Reign of *David*. For it appears from the first Chapter of the Book of *Judges*, That the *Jebusites* were still in *Jerusalem* in this Author's time: Thus 'tis said, *Ch. 1. Ver. 21. The Children of Benjamin did not cast out the Jebusites that inhabited Jerusalem; therefore the Jebusites dwell with the Children of Benjamin in Jerusalem unto this day.* Now 'tis evident, That the *Jebusites* of *Jerusalem* were extirpated under the Reign of *David*, *2 Sam. 5, 6, &c.* Therefore the Author wrote before that time, and consequently 'tis probable, That this Book was compos'd under the Reign of *Saul*, or in the beginning of that of *David*: An *Epocha* which may very well suit with the Opinion of the *Jews* who ascribe this Book to *Samuel*.

The *JUDGES*, under whose Name it goes, in Hebrew *Sophetim*, and in Greek *Kρίται*, were not ordinary *Judges*, but Men rais'd up by God, on whom the *Israelites* bestow'd the Government and Supreme Magistracy, either because they had deliver'd them from the Oppression they groan'd under, or because of their Prudence and approved Probity. These *Judges* govern'd them according to the Laws of God; commanded their Armies, made Treaties with the Neighbouring Princes, declar'd War and Peace, and administred Justice. They were different from Kings; (1.) In that they were not establish'd, either by Succession or by Election, but rais'd up in an extraordinary Manner, and recogniz'd by a Tacit Consent of the People. (2.) In that they refus'd to take upon them the Title and Quality of King. (3.) In that they Levy'd no Tax on the People. (4.) In their manner of Living, which was very far from the *Faſtus* and Pomp of the Regal State. (5.) In that they could make no new Laws, but only govern'd the People according to those already establish'd. (6.) In that the Obedience which the People paid them was voluntary and unforc'd. They were, at most, no more than Consuls and Supreme Magistrates of Free Cities.

The Book of *Judges* contains the History of the *Israelites* from the Death of *Joshua* to that of *Sampson*. Chronologers are not agreed about the set number of years, because of the different Methods they take, in reckoning the years of the People's Servitude set down in this Book; some confounding them with the years of the *Judges*, and others taking another measure in explaining what is said of them, to reduce the whole History of this Book to Three hundred years or thereabouts; which according to the Literal and Natural Explication of the Text, ought to be above Four hundred years. Other Chronologers increase this Account, by supposing several Anarchies, whose time is not set down in the History.



## S E C T. IV.

*Of the Book of Ruth, and its Author. When this History happen'd.*

THE History of *Ruth* happen'd in the time of the *Judges*; and 'tis doubtless for this Reason, That the *Jews* made but only One Book of these two. It was written at a time when the Government of the *Judges* was ceas'd, since the Author of it begins with observing, That the History which he was going to relate, happen'd when the *Judges* govern'd: *In diebus unius Judicis, quando Judices praeerant.* And he ends his Book with a Genealogy, which he carries down to *David*. 'Tis very likely that it was compos'd in that King's time, and perhaps before he was advanc'd to the Throne. It may likewise be supposed, That the same Person who wrote the Book of *Judges* was the Author of This also.

We cannot precisely tell under what *Judge* the History of *Ruth* happen'd. *Boaz*, to whom she was married, was the Son of *Salmon* and *Rahab*. *Rahab* was that Woman who had Entertain'd the Spies which *Joshua* sent to *Jericho*. Supposing that she was then twenty years old, and that she had *Boaz* when she was five and forty or fifty years of Age; and that *Boaz* married *Ruth* when he was about seventy years old, which in the whole amounts to ninety five or an hundred years; this History must have happen'd in the time of *Ehud* or *Shamgar*. The difficulty is to discover, in the Genealogy of the two next Persons down to *David*, viz. *Obed* and *Jesse*, the exact number of years that must have run out from that time to the Birth of *David*. This is one of those difficulties in Chronology, which we refer the illustrating of to another Place.

## S E C T. V.

*Of the Books of Kings and Chronicles. Of the Authors of them, and the time when they were Compos'd. The Summary of the History which they contain.*

THE two first Books, which in the *Greek* Version are call'd *Reigns* (a), and in the Vulgar *Latin*, *KINGS*, are styl'd by the *Hebrews*, *The Books of Samuel*; which has been the Reason that they are commonly ascrib'd to that Prophet. But forasmuch as the first four and twenty Chapters are all that relate to the History of *Samuel*, and the latter part of the first Book, and all the second, contain the Relation of Things which happen'd after the Death of that Prophet; It has been supposed, That he was the Author only of these first four and twenty Chapters, and that the Prophets *Gad* and *Nathan* finish'd this Work. This is the Opinion of the *Talmudists*, which seems to be founded on these Words; 1 Chron. 29. 29. *Now the Acts of David the King, first and last, Behold, they are written in the Book of Samuel the Seer, and in the Book of Nathan the Prophet, and in the Book of Gad the Seer.* But that this may appear Evident, it ought to be prov'd; That these Books of *Samuel*, *Gad*, and *Nathan*, were the same Piece with that of the first Book of *Kings*. Now this is no easie matter to demonstrate, and 'tis very probable that it is different; for the Books cited in the *Chronicles*, were intitl'd *DIBRE*, that is, the Words or Acts of *Samuel* the Seer, of *Nathan* the Prophet, and of *Gad* the Seer. They were three distinct Books, which contain'd the Life and Actions of these Three Prophets. Now there is scarce any mention made of them in the two first Books of *Kings*: And if these Books were the same as are cited in the *Chronicles*, they should be distinguish'd into three Parts, and each Book should bear the Name of the Prophet who had Penn'd it: At least it should be taken notice of in some place of the End and Beginning of these Works; some distin-

(a) *In the Greek Version are call'd Reigns.*] St. Jerome observes, That 'tis more proper to call them the Book of the *Kings*, than of *Reigns*, or *Kingdoms*,

because it does not contain the History of several Kingdoms, but only of *Israel* and *Judah*.

tion or difference should have been there set down. But tho' it be not altogether the same Piece, yet 'tis very probable, that it was taken out of the Memoirs of these Prophets. For as *Diodorus of Tarsus*, *Theodoret*, *St. Athanasius*, and *St. Gregory* have observ'd, the Four Books of *Kings* are only an Historical Abridgment of several Books or Memoirs of the Prophets which are cited in several Places of them. *Grotius* ascribes this Abridgment to *Jeremiah*, some to *Isaiah*, and most to *Ezrah*.

Let us now see what is all'dg'd in particular, to shew, that the Books of *Samuel*, or the two first Books of *Kings*, are neither *Samuel's*, *Gad's*, nor *Nathan's*. Mention (say they) is made of *Samuel* in the Third Person. The Author bestows such Praises on him, as none could with any good grace bestow upon himself. In *1 Sam.* 7. 15, 16, 17. are these Words, which 'tis not likely that *Samuel* would have written of himself: *Samuel judged Israel all the days of his life. He went from year to year in circuit to Bethel, and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judg'd Israel in all those Places. And his return was to Ramah, for there was his house, and there he judg'd Israel, and there he built an Altar unto the Lord.* Ch. 9. Ver. 9. 'tis observ'd, That before-time in *Israel*, when a Man went to enquire of God, thus he spake, Come, and let us go to the Seer: For he that is now call'd a Prophet, *Nabi*, was formerly call'd a Seer, *Roe*. In this place mention is made of a Fact that happen'd in the time of *Samuel* the Prophet, wherein the Name of *Seer* was only in Use, How then could he make this Remark? It cannot be said, That it was a Parenthesis added by *Ezrah*, or any other Person; for if that were so, How could the Author have so frequently made use of the Name of Prophet, *Nabi*, as he does, *1 Sam.* 3. 20. Ch. 10. Ver. 5, 10, 12. Ch. 19. Ver. 24? This Form of speaking, *Unto this day*, is likewise all'dg'd, which is to be met with in several places, and especially, *1 Sam.* 5. 5. where 'tis said, That because the Head and Hands of the Idol *Dagon* were cut off upon the Threshold, therefore neither the Priests of *Dagon*, nor any that come into *Dagon's* House, tread on the Threshold of *Dagon* in *Ashdod*, *Unto this day*: Another passage is likewise cited, wherein the same Expression is us'd, and where 'tis said, That the *Philistines* brought the Golden Mice which they had made, to offer unto the Lord: *Even unto the great Stone of Abel, whereon they set down the Ark of the Lord, which Stone remaineth unto this day in the Field of Joshua the Bethshemite*, *1 Sam.* 6. 18. This Passage should rather prove, That 'tis a Contemporary Author which speaks, since the Ark did not remain long with the *Bethshemites*, being quickly removed thence to *Kirjath-jearim*, as is said immediately after. But that which is said, That it remain'd twenty years in *Kirjath-jearim*, could not have been observ'd by *Samuel*, since it remain'd there only thirteen years during his Life, and was not fetch'd thence till seven years after his Death by King *David*. There is likewise another Passage, in *1 Sam.* 27. 6. where, *Unto this day*, is determin'd to the time when the Kingdom of *Judah* was establish'd: For 'tis there said, That *Achish* gave *Ziklag* to *David*, wherefore *Ziklag* pertaineth unto the Kings of *Judah* unto this day. Now the Name of the Kings of *Judah* was not in use till after the Division of the Ten Tribes. It may perhaps be said, That *Gad* and *Nathan* might have liv'd to have seen this Division; but since *Solomon* reign'd forty years, there is scarce any likelihood that these Prophets surviv'd him; besides the Author speaks in the plural Number, of the Kings of *Judah*, which supposes, that he had already seen several of them.

As for the two last Books, which are the only ones, that the *Hebrews* call'd *MALACHI* or *KINGS*, since they contain the History of the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, down to the Captivity, which is related in the last Chapter, they could not have been finish'd till after that time. However, There are several Passages in them which suppose, that the Kingdom of *Judah* was still in Being: Thus for instance, *1 Kings* 9. 21. where 'tis said, That *Solomon* made the Children of the *Amorites*, and others of the *Canaanites*, which the Children of *Israel* could not destroy, *Tributaries unto this day.* *2 Kings* 8. 22. *Edom revolted from the hand of Judah unto this day.* And Ch. 13. Ver. 23. *That God would not destroy the Jews, nor cast them out of his presence as yet.* These Passages suppose, That the Kingdom of *Judah* was still remaining. Which shews, either, That this History was compos'd out of several Memoirs, or rather, that he who digested and wrote it, has inserted those things into it which he found in the more Ancient Records without changing the Forms of Expression. The *Talmudists* attribute this Work to *Jeremiah*, others to *Isaiah*, but the Generality to *Ezrah*.

The first Book of *Samuel*, or of the four Books of *Kings* comprehends, that which happen'd under the Government of *Eli* the High-Priest, under that of *Samuel* the Prophet, and under the Reign of *Saul*: The second is the History of *David's* Government. The two last Books of *Kings*, contain the History of *Solomon* the Son of *David*, and afterwards the Reigns of the several Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*, down to the



the Destruction of *Israel*, and the Captivity of *Judah*. These four Books contain the History of almost six hundred years.

The two Books of *Chronicles* are call'd *Paralipomena* by the *Greeks*, because they contain some Circumstances that were omitted in the other Historical Books. The *Hebrews* made but one Book of them, under the title of, *DIBRE-HAIAMIM*; *The Sayings or Actions of days or years*, that is, Journals or Annals; either because the Order of Time is therein more exactly observ'd, or else because they were taken out of the Records, Journals or Annals of History. 'Tis for the first Reason, That St. *Jerom* calls them *Chronicles*; thereby meaning an abridg'd History, wherein Matters of Fact are briefly related, and the times carefully set down. *Ezrah* is generally believ'd to be the Author of these Books. No question but they were written after the end of the *Babylonish* Captivity, and the first year of *Cyrus's* Reign, of whom mention is made in the last Chapter of the second Book. The last Words of that Chapter, concerning *Cyrus*, are the very same with those at the beginning of the first Book of *Ezrah*; and the Genealogies, which are in the first Chapters of the first Book of *Chronicles*, are conformable to those which are in the 2d, 8th, and 10th Chapters of the first Book of *Ezrah*. This may induce one to believe that they belong to the same Author. St. *Jerom* suppos'd, That this was the Book cited in the Books of *Kings* under the Title of *Diaries*, or rather *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*. But 'tis evident, that this could not be, because, as we have already observ'd, The Author of the Books of *Kings* refers us to these Books of the *Chronicles* of the Kings of *Judah* and *Israel*, in several Circumstances that are not related in the *Paralipomena*. These Annals were likewise much larger, and contain'd distinctly the History of the two Kingdoms of *Juda* and *Israel*. Lastly, There are in the *Paralipomena* such things as were taken out of the Books of *Kings*, and the End of that Book shews it to be more Modern. But it was compos'd before that of *Nehemiah*, in which last 'tis cited in these Words, Ch. 12. Ver. 23. *The Sons of Levi, the chief of the Fathers, were written in the Book of the Chronicles.* Here is the Title which the Book of the *Paralipomena* goes under; and the Genealogy of *Levi*, cited in this passage, is in the 9th Chapter of the first Book of *Chronicles*. There is one passage which might induce one to believe them to be a great deal more Modern; 'tis the Genealogy of the Posterity of *Zerubbabel*, related 1 *Chron.* 3. 21. which seems to be carried down much lower than *Ezrah's* time. But it may be that some of those Descendents were added; besides, 'tis not certain, that the Posterity of *Zerubbabel*, mention'd in that place, did all of 'em descend in a right Line from Father to Son, and that there were none of 'em Collateral. Moreover, There are in this Book, several Passages, wherein these Terms, *Unto this day*, cannot be referr'd to any other time than that which preceded the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. 1 *Chron.* 3. 43. 'tis said, *That the Sons of Simeon, five hundred Men, went to Mount Seir, that they smote the rest of the Amalekites that were escap'd, and dwelt there unto this day.* 2 *Chron.* Ch. 5. Ver. 9. 'tis said, *That the Ark remain'd in the Temple unto this day.* This supposes, That the Temple was still standing, and that the *Jews* inhabited *Judea*. These and other Passages must then have been transcrib'd, Word for Word, from the Histories and Records made in the time when the Temple stood, and when the *Jews* were in possession of that Country.

The *Paralipomena* or *Chronicles*, are an Abridgment of all the Sacred History, from its beginning to the first return of the *Jews*, taken out of the Books of the Bible which we have, and out of other Annals which the Author had by him in his time. The Author's design was to represent to the *Jews* the Series of their History, which might have been worn out of their memory during their Captivity, and so to put them in mind of their Original. For this Reason, the Author begins by drawing up the Genealogy of the Patriarchs down to *Jacob*; that of the Posterity of the Twelve Sons of *Jacob*, and especially that of the Royal Linage of *David*, thereby to exhibit a kind of general Scheme of all the *Jewish* People. After this, he succinctly, and in a Chronological Order, relates the History of *Saul*, *David*, *Solomon*, and the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah* their Successors, down to the Captivity of *Babylon*. The Judgment which St. *Jerom* passes on this Work, is this: *The Book of the Chronicles, which is as it were an Abridgment of the Old Testament, is so considerable, that 'tis a folly to pretend to have any knowledge of the Sacred Scripture without it; for in almost all the places thereof we meet with circumstances omitted in the Books of Kings, and an infinite number of Questions upon the Gospel explain'd.* However, There are manifest Contradictions between the Chronology of these Books, and that of the Book of *Kings*, which 'tis very difficult, but not altogether impossible to reconcile; but this we refer to the place wherein we shall expressly treat of this Matter.

## S E C T. VI.

*Of the Two Books of Ezra. Ezra the Author of the First, and Nehemiah of the Second. The Lives of Both. The Chronology of their Books.*

THE two Books which are under *Ezra's* Name in some Bibles, were formerly by the *Hebrews* reckon'd to be only *One*, as *St. Jerom* observes. And this is the Reason why they both are inscrib'd under *Ezra's* Name in the *Latin* Bibles, tho' they belong'd to distinct Authors. Hitherto *Ezra* was look'd upon as the Author of the first of these Books; and indeed he speaks of himself in the first Person, Ch. 7. V. 28. *In me inclinavit Deus Misericordiam suam coram Rege, & Ego, &c.* The Lord extended his Mercy towards me before the King, and I, &c. Ch. 9. Ver. 5. *Curvavi genua mea & expandi manus meas ad Dominum Deum meum; I fell upon my Knees, and spread out my Hands unto the Lord.* But a Modern Critick has of late pretended, that the six first Chapters were a more ancient Writer's, and the Reason he gives for it is, That the Author of these Chapters was at *Jerusalem* in the time of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, as appears by these Words of the fifth Chapter, where speaking of the Answer which the *Jews*, in the Reign of *Darius*, return'd to the Governors of *Syria*, who would have hinder'd the Rebuilding of *Jerusalem*, he says, in the first Person, Ver. 4. *Then said we unto them after this manner*, which supposes that he was then at *Jerusalem*. Now *Ezra* did not come thither till under the Reign of *Artaxerxes*, as appears by the beginning of the seventh Chapter. This is the Foundation of that Conjecture, which is not very solid. For when *Ezra* wrote; *We said unto them after this manner*, he speaks in the Name of the *Jews*; and 'tis usual for Historians of a Country to speak thus in the first Person in the Name of their own Nation, and to say for instance, *We declar'd War, We made a Peace, We took that City, &c.* altho' the Historian had no share at all in those Events. It is more difficult to explain, how it comes to pass, That in the second Chapter of *Ezra* we find the Genealogy and Number of those who return'd from *Babylon* to *Jerusalem* under *Nehemiah*, as well as in the time of *Zerubbabel* and *Ezra*, which is related in the same manner, tho' with some Additions and Alterations, in the ninth Chapter of *Nehemiah*. Some believe, That *Nehemiah* transcrib'd this out of the Book of *Ezra*, adding thereto the Names of those Persons who came to *Jerusalem* in the second Return from the Captivity. Others, on the contrary suppose, That *Ezra* copied it from *Nehemiah*, since therein mention is made of *Nehemiah*. Others pretend, That the Genealogy of *Ezra* was afterwards corrected from that of *Nehemiah*. All these Conjectures are not reconcileable with the differences which are to be met with in these two Genealogies; for if they had been copied or corrected from one another, they would have been exactly alike. If *Nehemiah* had only added to *Ezra's* Account, the number of Persons would have been always greater in *Nehemiah* than in *Ezra*; which it is not, since *Ezra* reckons Seven hundred seventy five Persons of the Children of *Arah*, and *Nehemiah* reckons only Six hundred fifty two: The first reckons Nine hundred forty five of the Children of *Zattu*, and the latter only Eight hundred forty five. I am sensible, that these Differences may be charg'd on the negligence of the Transcribers, and on the variety of Copies; but what need is there to say, that one of these two Authors transcrib'd from the other, since they might both of them have written these Genealogies; *Ezra* having surviv'd the second Transmigration made under *Nehemiah*, and having not writ his Book till the latter end of his life?

The Book which is commonly call'd the second of *Ezra*; goes under the Name of *Nehemiah*, who is declar'd the Author of it by beginning thus; *The Words of Nehemiah the Son of Hachaliah*, and by speaking always of himself in the first Person. 'Tis objected, That Ch. 12. Ver. 22. mention is made of the Reign of *Darius Codomannus*, and of the High-Priest *Jaddua*, who went to meet *Alexander the Great*; that 'tis Morally impossible, that *Nehemiah* should have liv'd to that time. For from the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, there were more than an Hundred years to the Reign of *Darius Codomannus*, and the Priesthood of *Jaddua*. But 'tis not certain, That *Darius*, mention'd in this Place, was *Darius Codomannus*; perhaps it was *Darius Nohus*, who died forty years or thereabouts after the twentieth year of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, and 'tis not there said, that *Jaddua* or *Jaddus* was High-Priest already.



already. Now he might have been born towards the end of the Reign of *Darius Nothus*, or in the beginning of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and might have still been alive in *Alexander's* time. But 'tis probable, That what is said in this place, from the beginning to the 27th Verse of the twelfth Chapter, was added afterwards, because it has no Connexion with what goes before or comes after, and interrupts the Series of the History. For *Nehemiah*, after he had related in what manner he had rebuilt the Walls of the City of *Jerusalem*, in the 11th Chapter gives us a Catalogue of the Families and Persons who inhabited it. 'Twas natural, that he should afterwards give an account of the Dedication of the City-Walls, which begins at the 27th Verse; and all that is said between these two Accounts, concerning the Succession of the Levites and High-Priests seems Foreign to the purpose. This Account is begun by this Period, which denotes another Author besides *Nehemiah*, *Now these are the Priests and the Levites that went up to Jerusalem with Zerubbabel the Son of Shealtiel, and Jeshua*; and ends with these Words, *These were in the days of Joiakim, the Son of Jeshua, the Son of Jozadak, and in the days of Nehemiah the Governor, and of Ezra the Scribe*. Where observe, That in this place *Nehemiah* is spoken of in the third Person. But some one will add, The thirteenth Chapter is doubtless *Nehemiah's*, who there speaks in the first Person. Yet in the 28th Verse, mention is made of one of the Sons of *Joiada*, the Son of *Eliashib* the High-Priest, who was Son-in-Law to *Sanballat the Horonite*, Whom (says he) *I chased from me*. Now according to *Josephus*, This Son-in-Law of *Sanballat* was *Manasses*, the Brother of *Jaddus*; and tho' it should be supposed, that there were two *Sanballats*, and that *Josephus* was mistaken; yet still 'tis plain, that *Nehemiah* drave out of the Priesthood one of the Sons of *Joiada*, the Uncle at least of *Jaddus*, if not his Brother, as *Josephus* pretends; and consequently the Author of this Book of *Nehemiah* must still have written under the Reign of *Alexander the Great*, and of *Darius Codrannus*. But we deny this Conclusion: For the Son of *Joiada* the Brother of *Jonathan Jaddus's* Father, might very well have been married to *Sanballat's* Daughter in the beginning of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, and might have been turn'd out then by *Nehemiah*, who might have been seventy years of Age or thereabouts.

*Ezra*, the Author of the first of the two Books we have been speaking of, was the Son of *Seraiah* the High-Priest, whom *Nebuchadnezzar* put to Death, as 'tis related, 2 Kings 25. 18, 21. and the Brother of *Josedech*, who was High-Priest during the Captivity. He was the Head of the *Jews* who return'd from *Babylon* the seventh year of the Empire of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, from whom he received a Commission to lead them back, to rebuild the Temple, and to give them Judges, as related in the seventh Chapter of that Book. He is styl'd, *Scriba velox in lege Moysi*, Ch. 7. Ver. 6. that is, a Doctor skillful in the Law of *Moses*: For the Hebrew Word *Sopherim*, which the Greeks render *Γεγραμμενοι*, and the Latins *Scriba*, does not signifie a Scribe or Writer, but a Doctor of the Law. The *Hebrews* call him the Prince of the Doctor's of the Law. We shall hereafter examine, what he did towards the restoring and describing of the Law.

*Nehemiah*, the Author of the second of these Books, was the Son of *Hilkiah* of the Tribe of *Levi*. He was in *Babylon* Cup-bearer or Page to the King *Artaxerxes*, from whom he obtained leave, the twentieth year of his Reign, to return into *Judea*, to rebuild the City of *Jerusalem*, and to stay there for twelve years; at the end of which he return'd to *Babylon*, according as he had promis'd the King. He staid there for several years, till he at last obtain'd leave of the King of *Persia*, to go and end his days in his own Country; where he died about the end of the Reign of *Darius Nothus*, or in the beginning of that of *Artaxerxes Mnemon*.

The first of these two Books contains the History of the deliverance of the *Jews* from the Captivity of *Babylon*, and of their Re-settlement in *Judea* from the first Year of *Cyrus* to the twentieth of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*; and the second begins at the twentieth Year of the same Prince, to the Reign of *Darius Nothus*. The Chronology of this space of time depends on the Duration of the Reigns of the Kings of *Persia*, which we shall examine in its proper place.

S E C T. VII.

*The History of Tobit. When it happen'd. By whom written.*

**T**OBIT (a), of the Tribe of *Nephthali*, was one of those whom *Shalmaneser* King of *Affyria* carried away Captive, when he took *Samaria*, and destroy'd the Kingdom of *Israel*. He was transported to *Nineveh* with his Wife and Son. This Book represents to us the Duties of Charity, which this Man, that feared God, shew'd to the Captives of his Nation; the Patience with which he sustain'd the loss of his Sight and Poverty; and contains the History of his Son's Journey in company with an Angel, to fetch from *Gabael*, who dwelt in the City of *Rages*, the Ten Talents which his Father had lent him, and how in that Journey he married his Kinswoman, *Sarah* the Daughter of *Raguel*.

The Jews acknowledg'd this History of *Tobit* to be Genuine, tho' they did not receive this Book into their Canon. 'Tis generally believed, that it was written by both the *Tobies*. This Opinion is grounded on what the Angel says to them, Ch. 12. Ver. 20. according to the *Greek* Text: For instead of Reading as 'tis in the *Vulgar Latin*, *Relate all these Wonders*, 'tis in the *Greek*, in the *Hebrew* of *Fagius*, in the *Syriac* Version, and in our *English*, *Write all things which was done in a Book*. For this Reason, the Interpreters have made the *Tobies* to speak in the first Person. Besides 'tis plain, That this Book was written at first in *Chaldee*, that is, in the Language of the Country wherein *Tobit* dwelt. *St. Jerom* translated it into *Latin* with the Assistance of an Interpreter from the *Chaldee* Original, which is not at present Extant. This History was likewise render'd into *Hebrew*, and we have by us two different *Hebrew* Versions of it; one publish'd by *Munster*, and the other by *Fagius*. There was lastly, An Ancient *Greek* Version of it from whence the *Syriac* was compos'd.

This Book is very instructive, very affectionate, full of Religious and Pious Thoughts, and writ in a plain, natural and easie Style. 'Tis easie to settle the Chronology thereof: The *Epocha* of *Tobit's* being carried away Captive being clearly fix'd, at the time when *Shalmaneser* carried away the Ten Tribes; which happen'd the fourth year of the Reign of *Hoshea* King of *Israel*, and the sixth of *Hezekiah* King of *Judah*. The Tribe of *Nephthali* was indeed carried away before, by *Tiglath-Peleser*, King of *Affyria*, as is related, 2 *Kings* 15. 29. but this was not a general Captivity, there were several still left behind.

*Tobit* liv'd one hundred and two years in all; lost his sight at fifty six years of Age, and recover'd it in the sixtieth. Before his Death, he foretold the Destruction of *Nineveh*, which happen'd under *Nebuchadnezzar* and *Ahasuerus*, that is under *Astyages* and *Nabopolassar*, as we have observ'd in speaking of the Prophecy of *Nahum*.

It is to be observ'd, That in the *Vulgar Latin*, there is a fault, Ch. 3. Ver. 7. where 'tis said, That *Sarah* the Daughter of *Raguel* dwelt at *Rages*: It ought to be at *Ecbarane*, as in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Text. For it appears by the 9th Chapter, That *Raguel* did not live at *Rages*, since *Tobias* being at his House, sent the Angel to *Gabael*, who dwelt at *Rages*, to receive of him the Ten Talents which his Father had lent him.

(a) *Tobit*.] The *Greeks* call the Father *Tbobit*, or *Tbobeth*, and his Son *Tobias*. There is a *Hebrew* Copy wherein the Father is call'd *Tobi*, and the Son *Tobish*. The *Greeks* have his Genealogy thus: The Son of *Tobiel*, the Son of *Ananeel*, the Son of *Aduel*, the Son of *Gabael*, of the Seed of *Asael*, of the Tribe of *Nephthali*, of the City of *Thibe* on the Right side of *Nephthali*. The *Hebrew* Copy of *Munster*; The Son of *Tobiel*, the Son of *Ananeel*, the Son of *Gabael*, the Son of *Asael*, the Son of *Nathaneel*, of the Tribe of *Nephthali*, one of the Inhabitants of the City of *Nephthali* situate in *Galilee* on the West. The Copy of *Fagius*; The Son of *Ananeel*, the Son of *Gabriel*, of the Seed of *Asbel*, of the Tribe of *Nephthali*.



## S E C T. VIII.

*The History of Judith. When It happen'd. Whether it be Genuine.  
By whom Wrote.*

THE Book of *Judith* goes under her Name, who is the principal Personage of the History that is therein related: Of which take this Summary Account so necessary for the due understanding of what we have to say on this Subject. *Nabuchodonosor*, King of the *Assyrians*, who reign'd in *Nineveh*, having defeated and taken *Arphaxad*, King of the *Medes*, Prisoner; laid a design of subduing the People of *Asia* that were Westward of *Nineveh*; and sent *Holofernes* with a powerful Army, who striking a Terrour where-ever he came, became Master of *Mesopotamia*, *Syria*, *Libya*, and *Cilicia*, who voluntarily submitted to his Arms. After these Conquests, He came to *Idumea*, which he took without any Opposition, and there rendezvous'd his Army. The *Israelites*, alarm'd at his approach, rais'd all the Forces they could, seiz'd upon the Hill Countries, and fortified as well as they could their Cities. The High-Priest *Joachim*, or *Eliakim*, encourag'd them to defend themselves stoutly, and ordered them to pray to God for Relief. *Holofernes* being amaz'd, that this People should make Preparations of War against so powerful an Army, inquir'd of their Neighbours, the *Moabites*, and *Ammonites*, what Force this People had, and what reason there might be of their not submitting to him. *Achior*, the Chief of the *Ammonites*, relates in a few Words the History of that People, and having shewn him how they were sometimes protected, and sometimes forsaken by their God; he says, That if they had offended this God, he would deliver them into his hands; but if not, then God would defend them, and all his Army could not Conquer them. *Holofernes* receiv'd this Advice with Indignation, and order'd *Achior* to be carried to *Bethulia*, which he immediately Besieg'd, designing to be reveng'd of *Achior*, so soon as he had taken that place. *Ozias* the Governor of that City, made Preparations for its Defence; but the Inhabitants, daunted at the number of the Enemy, would have surrender'd; and had much ado to be prevail'd upon to stay only for five days. It was then, That *Judith*, a rich and handsome Widow, resolv'd upon going into the Camp of *Holofernes* in order to destroy him. Thereupon she went out of the City, came to the Camp, was taken, and brought before *Holofernes*. He was pleas'd with her, made a great Feast for her, and drank himself drunk in his Tent. After this, he was lock'd up with her alone; she took her opportunity, cut off his Head, made her escape, and carried the Head of that General to *Bethulia*. A great horreur seiz'd the Army of the *Assyrians*, they fled away in great disorder, the *Israelites* pursued them, kill'd several of them, and became Masters of a very large Spoil. *Judith* sang a Song, and went with all the People to *Jerusalem*, to return thanks to the Lord. She return'd afterwards to *Bethulia*, there liv'd till she was an hundred and five years of Age, and during her Life the *Israelites* enjoy'd Peace. This is the Abridgment of the History of this Book.

The greatest difficulty in this Narration is to fix the Time wherein this Event happen'd. Some place it before, others after the Captivity; and some, finding (as they imagine) insuperable Difficulties to reconcile it with the History of the *Jews*, *Assyrians*, and *Medes*, have ventur'd to assert, that 'tis only a Parable and Allegory, and not an Historical Truth.

*Eusebius* and *Georgius Syncellus*, suppose, That the History of *Judith* happen'd after the return of the *Jews*; but the first places it under *Cambyfes*, and the other under *Xerxes*. Among those who believe it to have happen'd before the Captivity, some say, That it was in the time of *Dejoces* King of the *Medes*, and others in the time of *Aphraartes*; but they both agree, that it was under the Reign of *Manasseh*, King of *Judah*. Arguments and Objections are brought on both sides, which we are now to Examine.

The Arguments alledg'd by those who maintain, that this History happen'd since the Captivity, are as follow. They say, (1.) That this History must needs have happen'd in a time when there was no King among the *Jews*; since it appears by this Book, That the High-Priest *Eliakim* or *Joachim* had the whole Authority, and no mention is made in any place of the King of *Israel*. Now how is it possible, That such a considerable War as this, related in the Book of *Judith*, should be carry'd on, and the King of

of the People who were attack'd, should have no hand in it? (2.) That before the Captivity there was no High-Priest nam'd *Eliakim*; that none of that Name is to be seen, neither in the Catalogue of *Josephus*, nor in any part of Scripture: That there was one after the Captivity nam'd *Joachim*, which is the same Name in the *Greek* Text that in the *Vulgar Latin* is call'd *Eliakim*. (3.) That *Achior*, the Prince of the *Ammonites* being ask'd by *Holofernes*, who the People of *Israel* were, returned him this Answer, Ch. 5. "That the *Israelites* had been destroy'd in many Battles, and that many of them had been carried away Captive into a strange Land; but that at present they were return'd to their God, and were come up from the places where they had been dispersed; that they were seated in those Hill-Countries, and were again in possession of *Jerusalem*, where was their Sanctuary;" That in the *Greek*, 'tis added, *ἡ ἱερὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ αὐτῶν ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ πόλει*; and the Temple of their God was cast down to the Ground. That these Expressions seem clearly to denote the time of the Captivity, and that what is said concerning the Destruction of the Temple, does necessarily suit with it. Lastly, they maintain, That there is no way of reconciling what is said in this Book concerning the Age of *Judith*, with the time that preceded the Captivity. For 'tis said in the 8th Chapter, That when she went to find out *Holofernes*, she was young and beautiful: And in the 16th Chapter, That she liv'd One hundred and five years, and saw no more War in *Israel*. Now from the end of the Reign of *Manasses*, to the time of the War that *Pharaoh Necho* carried on against *Josiah*, there were no more than five and forty years. So that supposing, That *Holofernes* came into *Judea* about the Reign of *Manasses*, *Judith* must have been sixty years old; and how could she at that Age be so young and beautiful as to charm *Holofernes*?

Those who are of the contrary Opinion, do not want Replies to these Objections. For the solving the first difficulty, they say, That no mention is made of *Manasses* in the Book of *Judith*; because, that Prince since his return from the Captivity, never concern'd himself with the Affairs of the State afterwards, if *Josephus* the Historian be to be credited in the Case; and that tho' this were not so, we see that *Eliakim* only encourag'd the People, and exhorted them to have recourse to God by Prayer, which was no more than his Duty to do: Besides, 'tis no such wonder, That *Manasses* being employed in fortifying the City of *Jerusalem*, should leave the Defence of *Bethulia* to the Care of *Ozias*, who was as it were the Governor thereof. To the second Objection they Reply, That there was an High-Priest nam'd *Eliakim* in the time of *Manasses*, and to prove it, produce this Prediction of the Prophet *Isaiah*, Ch. 22. Ver. 20, 21. *It shall come to pass in that day, that I will call my servant Eliakim the Son of Hilkiah: And I will cloath him with thy Robe, and strengthen him with thy Girdle, and I will commit thy government into his hand, and he shall be a Father to the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and to the house of Judah.* Tho' in this place 'tis not said, That this *Eliakim* was High-Priest, yet the Qualities and Authority ascrib'd to him seem, very manifestly, to denote him to be the same Person, mention'd in the Book of *Judith*. St. *Jerom* and St. *Cyril* make no scruple to assert that 'tis the same. *Josephus* was not very exact in the Catalogue of the High-Priests, since the Scripture mentions some, of whom he takes no notice: And besides it may be, That *Eliakim* was one of those that he call'd by another Name; since one and the same Person might have two different Names.

The third Objection depends upon the Authority and Sense of the Words in the *Greek* Text, which relate to the Destruction of the Temple. As for what is said in that place, of the Captivity of several of the *Jews*, this agrees very well with the carrying away of *Manasses*, related 2 *Chron.* 33. The Text of the *Vulgar Latin*, translated by St. *Jerom* from the *Chaldee* Original, makes no mention of the Temple, and it may be suppos'd, That the *Greek* Interpreter has added it of his own head. But suppose, That the *Greek* Text should be stuck close to, they pretend, that these Words, *καὶ τὸ ἱερόν ἐφάνη*, which literally signifie, *Their Temple was level with the Ground*, are not to be understood, that the Temple was erased to the very Ground, but only that it was trodden under foot or prophaned. They add, That without doubt in this place 'tis not spoken of the entire Destruction of *Jerusalem*, but only of its Prophanation, since Ch. 4. Ver. 3. 'tis in the same *Greek* Text said, That the Children of *Israel* were newly return'd from the Captivity, and were lately gather'd together, and the Vessels and the Altar, and the House of God were Sanctified after the Prophanation. The Temple therefore and the Altar were not destroy'd, since they did only Sanctifie them. All this relates to what happen'd in the time of *Manasses*, when he was carried away Captive by the King of the *Assyrians*, with part of his People. He repented, was deliver'd out of Captivity, Sanctified the Temple and the Altar, and made amends for the Evil that he had done. As to what concerns the Age of *Judith*, 'tis easie to reconcile



cile it with the History. *Manasses* reign'd fifty five years, *Amon* his Successor two years, *Josiah* one and thirty, and *Jehoiakim* eleven. It may be said, That properly speaking, the Peace was not disturb'd till *Jehoiakim* was led Captive to *Babylon*; for the War of *Josiah* was out of the Kingdom, and the Death of that Prince was not succeeded by a War. This being so, If we subtract from the One hundred and five years of *Judith's* Age, the eleven years of *Jehoiakim*, one and thirty of *Josiah's* Reign, the two years of his Father *Amon*, and sixteen or seventeen years of the Reign of *Manasses*, there will remain only forty five. Now, 'tis no such wonder, That a Woman who liv'd an hundred and five years, should between forty and fifty seem so beautiful and young as to Charm an Old General. These are the Answers that are brought to the Arguments of those who place this Event after the Captivity; and now let us see the Arguments which they alledge to shew that it could not happen in that time.

First, It is certain, That after the Return of the *Jews* from *Babylon*, there was not any King in *Media* or *Assyria*, and yet it appears by the Book of *Judith*, that these were the two greatest Empires of the East, which disputed all *Asia* between them; whereas, after the Captivity, the *Persians* were the Masters of it. Secondly, *Nineveh*, which in the time of *Judith*, was the Flourishing and Capital City of *Assyria*, was entirely destroy'd in the time of the Kings of *Persia*. Thirdly, The History of *Judith* happen'd a little after the City of *Ecbatane* was built by *Arphaxad*: Now that City was built by *Dejoces*, and might be finish'd by his Son *Phraartes* or *Aphraartes*. Fourthly, The Name of *Arphaxad* is the same with that of *Phraartes*, or perhaps *Aphraartes*. What is said of *Arphaxad* in the Book of *Judith*, does perfectly agree with what *Herodotus* relates of *Phraartes*. For that Historian observes, That this Prince being advanc'd towards the Country of the *Assyrians* to whom *Nineveh* belong'd, was defeated and cut off with his whole Army. Now 'tis said in the History of *Judith*, That *Arphaxad* was defeated and kill'd by *Nabuchodonosor* King of the *Assyrians*, who reign'd in *Nineveh*. Those who have said, That *Arphaxad* was *Dejoces*, go upon what is said in the Vulgar Latin, That he built the City of *Ecbatane*, but in the Greek Text 'tis only said, That he fortified this City with new Walls. Fifthly, The King *Nabuchodonosor*, who defeated *Arphaxad*, and sent *Holofernes* against *Syria*, could not have been a King of *Persia*. It could not be *Cambyses*, as *Eusebius* believes it to be, since in the time of that Prince the Temple of *Jerusalem* was not rebuilt. Who then is this *Nabuchodonosor* of whom mention is made in *Judith*? He could not be *Nebuchadnezzar* the Son of *Nabopolassar*, who carried King *Jehoiakim* into *Babylon*. 'Tis certainly *Saosduchinus* the Son of *Assaradon*, who, according to *Ptolomey*, was King of *Nineveh* and *Babylon*.

Tho' these Proofs be not demonstrative, yet it must be own'd, That it is very difficult to return any satisfactory Answer to them, especially to the first, which seems to me unanswerable. Most of the Protestant Commentators, as *Luther*, *Chytraus*, *Beroldus*, *Scaliger*, and *Grotius*, to evade those difficulties, which they look'd upon as insuperable, have been pleas'd to maintain, that this History is a Fiction or an Allegory, which *Grotius* believes to have been compos'd in the time when *Antiochus Epiphanes* came into *Judea*, and which he explains more handsomly than solidly (a). But it must be own'd, That this History has by no means the Air of a Parable or a Fiction: The Times, Persons, Matters of Fact and their Circumstances are so exactly set down, and in so Historical a manner, that it would be next to impossible to conjecture that 'tis an Allegory. This Author then must have been an Impostor or an Historian. He produces himself an Authentic Testimony of the Truth of this History, viz. The Feast which the *Jews* celebrated in Honour of that Victory. The *Jews* have indeed excluded this Book out of their Canon, but have not rejected this History as a mere Fable. The most Ancient Fathers, as for instance, *St. Clemens Romanus* in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, the Author of the Apostolical Constitutions, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *St. Jerom*, and all those who have follow'd them, have acknowledg'd this History as true. 'Tis only in these last times that it has begun

(a) More handsomely than solidly. ] Let us see what he says in his Preface. All that is contain'd in this Book is Enigmatical. It was written when *Antiochus the Illustrious* came into *Judea*, before the Temple was Propban'd by the Idols, that were afterwards set up in it. It was written with a design of confirming the *Jews* in the hope that God would deliver them. *Judith* is the same thing with *Judea*: *Bethulia* *Beth-El-Ja*, the House of God or the Temple: The Sword that went out thence are the Prayers of the Saints. *Nabuchodo-*

*nosor* signifies frequently among the *Jews*, the Devil: *Assyria*, is *Pride*: The Instrument of the Devil is *Antiochus*, who under a feign'd Name is here call'd *Holofernes*, that is, *Halpernahus*, the Lister, the Serjeant, or the Minister of the Devil, who would have made himself Master of *Judea*, that handsome Widow, so call'd, because destitute of all Relief: *Eliakim*, signifies God, who should arise up in his defence. These are the Allegories which *Grotius* would hardly have suffer'd in another Man.

to be call'd in Question, and the principal or rather the only reason which these Critics have for it, is the difficulty which they suppos'd to have been in the Chronology of this History. Tho' it were much greater than it is, yet that would be no lawful reason for rejecting it as false. There are a great many Histories, as well Sacred as Profane, which lie under the same difficulties. But 'tis not impossible to solve them, by placing this Event before the Captivity; and it has been shewn, that the Matters of Fact related in this Book, are very reconcileable with the History of *Herodotus*. The other Objections started against the Truth of this History, are not worth while to be insisted on in this place.

The Author of this Book is wholly unknown. Some suppose that it was the High-Priest *Eliakim* or *Joaquim* who wrote it himself: Others say, That it was *Joshua* the Son of *Josedec*, *Zerubbabel's* Companion. *Gratius* pretends, That it was written in the time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Huetius*, with greater probability, guesses, That it was compos'd during the Captivity, because it was written in *Chaldee*. We have not by us that Original. *St. Jerom* has translated it into *Latin*, by rendering the Sense, without tying himself up to the Words; by retrenching the various Lections to be met with in different Copies, and by putting in his Translation only that which might make the Sense perfect, as he himself testifies in these Words: *Magis sensum è sensu, quam ex Verbo Verbum transferens. Multorum Codicum varietatem Vitiosissimam amputavi; sola ea qua intelligentia integra in verbis Chaldaicis invenire potui, Latinis expressi.* 'Tis this Version of *St. Jerom* which we have in the *Vulgar Latin Text*. The *Greek Version* that we have of it, is very different from the *Latin*, being larger, and apparently more conformable to the *Chaldee Original*. Some have attributed it to *Theodotion*, but 'tis a great deal more Ancient, since *St. Clemens Romanus*, before *Theodotion's* time, and *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Origen*, and *Africanus*, had this History in *Greek*. The *Syriac Version* agrees with the *Greek Text*, and so does likewise the *English Translation*.

#### S E C T. IX.

*The History of Esther. The Conjectures brought to discover who was this King Ahasuerus that Married Esther. This Matter very uncertain. Of the Author of this Book. Of the Additions which are not in the Original Text.*

THE Book of *Esther* contains the History of a Jewish young Woman of that Name, the Kinswoman of *Mordecai* the Jew, of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, dwelling at *Sushan*, whom *Ahasuerus* Married and set upon the Throne, after he had repudiated his former Wife. This Prince had a Favourite nam'd *Haman*, of the Seed of *Agag* King of the *Amalekites*, who being offended, that *Mordecai* did not pay him those Respects that others did, resolv'd upon destroying all the Jews who were in the Empire of *Ahasuerus*: Accordingly he caus'd a Decree to be issu'd out, by which they were all to be cut off in the Month *Adar*, which was the Month wherein the Lot was drawn for the destroying of those unfortunate Persons. *Mordecai* informs the Queen of the Danger her whole Nation was in; She waited upon the King, and invited him and *Haman* to a Banquet she had prepar'd. *Haman*, puff'd up with this Piece of Honour done him, could not bear with *Mordecai's* Contempt, who had not saluted him. But whilst he thought of being reveng'd on him, the King, having read the Records, which put him in Mind of *Mordecai's* having discover'd a Conspiracy laid against his Life, was minded to reward him, and orders *Haman* to conduct *Mordecai* in Triumph through the City. The Queen having treated the King, discover'd to him, that she was a Jew, and demanded Justice against *Haman* in behalf of her People. The King caus'd *Haman* to be hang'd, revok'd the Decree issu'd forth against the Jews, and grants another, whereby he permitted them to revenge themselves on their Enemies on the day appointed. The Feast of *Purim* is instituted as a perpetual Memorial and Thanksgiving among the Jews for such a signal Mercy and Deliverance.

This is what is related in the Book of *Esther*: But there is scarce any History whose Chronology is more uncertain. 'Tis certain, That it happen'd in the time of King *Ahasuerus*. The difficulty is to know, who is the King that is so call'd in Scripture. 'Tis certainly a King of the *Medes* or *Persians*, who reign'd since the Jews being carried away Captive under *Jechonias*. But there is scarce one of these Kings, from *Astyages*



down to *Artaxerxes Mnemon*, but what some Author or other has supposed to have been *Ahasuerus*, the Husband of *Esther*. Let us see, whether it be possible to discover to which of these Kings this History may be attributed with the greatest Probability.

'Tis agreed, That it could not be *Cyaxeres* King of the *Medes*, the Son of *Phraortes*, because he was dead before the Captivity under *Jechonias*. His Son *Astyages*, is call'd *Ahasuerus* in the last Chapter of *Tobit*, according to the Greek Text. This might induce one to suppose, That he is the Person mention'd in the Book of *Esther*. But *Herodotus* informs us, That he Married *Anana* the Daughter of *Haliastes* King of the *Lydians*, and he must have had another Wife before, whose Daughter *Mandana*, the Mother of *Cyrus*, was. Neither of these could be *Esther*, so that *Astyages* is not *Ahasuerus*, *Esther's* Husband. *Astyages*, according to *Xenophon*, had by his second Wife, a Son nam'd *Cyaxeres*, which some make to be the Father of *Darius the Mede*, to whom they attribute a third *Cyaxeres* for a Son, whom they suppose to be *Ahasuerus* the Husband of *Esther*. But others, with greater probability maintain, That this third *Cyaxeres* is Supposititious, and that the second is not different from *Darius the Mede* the Son of *Astyages*, and consequently the Uncle of *Cyrus*, who yielded the Kingdom of the *Chaldeans* to him after he had conquer'd it, as 'tis prov'd by the testimony of *Daniel*, Ch. 5. Ver. 31. and Ch. 9. Ver. 1. where 'tis said, That this *Darius* was the Son of *Ahasuerus*, and that he was declar'd King of the *Chaldeans* at the Age of sixty two, instead of *Balthazar*, whom *Berosus* and *Ptolomey* call *Nabonidus-Abydenus-Nabonidochus*; and *Herodotus*, *Labyrinthius*. The Poet *Aeschylus* says, That this *Mede* took and destroy'd the City of *Susa*, which was afterwards rebuilt. It has been likewise believ'd, That *Darius the Mede* was *Ahasuerus*, *Esther's* Husband, because he was call'd *Cyaxeres*, which is the same with *Ahasuerus*; and besides, it is said, *Dan. 6. 1.* That *Darius* set over his Kingdom an hundred and twenty Princes, and the number of the Provinces of *Ahasuerus* the Husband of *Esther*, is an hundred and twenty seven, including the Isles; so that these two Accounts agree pretty well together. It is likewise observ'd, That *Darius* reigned over the *Medes* and *Persians*. But to this Conjecture, 'tis objected; First, That the King mention'd in the Book of *Esther* was the King of the *Persians*; which does not suit with *Darius the Mede*, who was only King of the *Medes* and *Chaldeans*. For *Cyrus*, having subdued his Father *Astyages*, was declar'd King of the *Medes* and *Persians*, and had the whole Authority in his own hands. His Grandfather was living, and esteem'd as the King of the *Medes*. After his Death, *Cyrus* yielded up part of his Conquests to his Uncle *Cyaxeres*, or *Darius the Mede*, and made him his Colleague in the Empire, but still kept to himself the Supreme Authority, as appears from *Xenophon*. *Darius the Mede* reign'd at first in *Shushan*, and afterwards in *Chaldea*; but his Empire was never extended so far as that of *Ahasuerus*, from *India* to *Ethiopia*. After the Death of *Darius*, *Cyrus* remain'd the sole Monarch of all *Asia*, and by that means translated the Monarchy of the *Babylonians* and *Medes* into that of the *Persians*. He held it for seven years, reckoning from the Death of *Darius the Mede*. The History of *Esther* does not suit with *Cyrus*; but some adapt it to his Son *Cambyfes*, who is call'd *Ahasuerus*, *Ezr. 4. 6.* He was a furious and rough sort of Man, which is a Character that suits with *Ahasuerus* *Esther's* Husband; and the Empire of *Cambyfes* had the same extent that is set down in this Book; but he reign'd no more than seven or eight years, whereas *Ahasuerus*, *Esther's* Husband, reign'd above twelve years, as appears, *Esth. 3. 7.* A great many think him to be *Darius the Son of Hystaspes*, one of the seven Conspirators who was declar'd King, after they had kill'd the Magician *Oropastes*, who had seiz'd upon the Throne under a pretence of being the Brother of *Cambyfes*. All that is said in the Book of *Esther* concerning *Ahasuerus*, agrees with him. For, (1.) The Extent which is there given to his Empire from *India* to *Ethiopia*, excludes not only all the Kings before *Cambyfes*, but even *Cambyfes* himself too, since it was *Darius* who first subdued *India* and *Arabia*. The Author of the third Book of *Ezra*, Ch. 3. describes in the same Terms the Extent of the Kingdom of *Darius*, and this is agreeable to *Herodotus's* account thereof. (2.) *Ahasuerus* resided in the City of *Shushan* or *Susa*, which was the Metropolis of his Kingdom: This agrees with *Darius the Son of Hystaspes*, who beautified that City, built a magnificent Palace therein according to the testimony of *Alian*, and laid up his Treasure there according to *Herodotus*. (3.) This last Historian, says, That *Darius the Son of Hystaspes* was passionately in love with one of his Wives, whom he calls *Artysfona*, for whom he erected a Golden Statue; 'tis perhaps *Esther*, whose Name of *Haddassah* had been corrupted and chang'd into that of *Artysfona*. (4.) 'Tis said, Ch. 10. That *Ahasuerus* laid a Tribute upon the Isles of the Sea. Now, according to *Thucydides*, *Darius the Son of Hystaspes* was the first of the Kings of *Persia* who subdued the Isles

of the *Phœnicians*, as 'tis likewise observ'd in *Plato's Menæmus*. *Xerxes* was dispossest of them before the twelfth year of his Reign, and none of the Kings of *Persia* have been in Possession of them since. *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, is, according to *Herodotus*, the first who laid a Tribute upon Nations, and it seems as if they were establish'd in the time of *Abasuerus* the Husband of *Esther*. Lastly, 'tis said, Ch. 2. Ver. 5. That *Mordecai* was one of the *Jews* who were carried away Captive with *Jeconiah*, by *Nebuchadnezzar* King of *Babylon*. This *Epocha* excludes all the Kings of *Persia* who succeeded *Darius*; for it must be supposed, That *Mordecai* would have then been above Sixscore years of Age, and consequently *Esther* would have been very old. All that can be done, is to suppose, That he was still alive, tho' very ancient, in the beginning of the Reign of *Darius*, and that his Brother had his Daughter *Esther* when he was very much advanc'd in years.

These Conjectures seem to be pretty plausible, but are destroy'd by the testimony of *Herodotus*, who relates, That *Darius* had three Wives, who are not only not call'd *Vasti* or *Hadassah*, but of whom neither of them was *Esther*. For the two first were the Daughters of *Cyrus*, viz. *Artystione* a Maiden, and *Aossa* the Widow of *Cambyses*, and the last, *Parnys* the Daughter of *Smerdis* the Son of *Cyrus*. Besides, *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, favour'd the *Jews* the second year of his Reign; and *Abasuerus* knew them not till the twelfth year of his. Lastly, What is observ'd concerning the Age of *Mordecai* seems not only to exclude the Successors of *Darius*, but also *Darius* himself, if it be to be understood literally. For from the Captivity of *Jeconiah*, to the seventh year of *Darius*, there are ninety years. Supposing then that *Mordecai* was but ten years old when he was carried away Captive, he would have been then an hundred. What probability is it that he should at that Age make his Court, and concern himself in discovering a Plot laid against the King's Life. The Father of *Esther* being dead was doubtless older than *Mordecai*; and tho' he had been several years younger than him, if he had begotten *Esther* at thirty or forty years of Age, she would have been then forty or fifty. By Consequence, if one follows the *Greek* Text of this Book, which says expressly, Ch. 2. Ver. 6. and Ch. 11. Ver. 18. That *Mordecai* was personally one of those who were carry'd Captive to *Babylon* in the time of *Jeconiah*; not only *Abasuerus* cannot be the same with any of the Successors of *Darius*, but also it would be very hard to believe, that he was *Darius*, and then we must pitch upon one of the foregoing Kings, among whom I find none to whom the History of *Esther* suits better than with *Cyaxeres* or *Darius* the *Mede*. But we may explain the *Hebrew* Text of the second Chapter, Ver. 6. so, that not *Mordecai*, but his Great Grandfather would be the Person who had been carry'd Captive to *Babylon*. The Text runs thus: *In Shushan the Palace, there was a certain Jew, whose Name was Mordecai, the Son of Jair, the Son of Shimei, the Son of Kish, a Benjamite; who had been carried away from Jerusalem, with the Captivity which had been carried away with Jeconiah King of Judah, whom Nebuchadnezzar the King of Babylon had carried away.* Now by referring these last words to *Kish* the Great Grandfather of *Mordecai*, one might very well say, That this happen'd under the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. However, it must be own'd, That this is not the Natural Sense of the *Hebrew* Text; and the *Greek* Text, Ch. 11. Ver. 2. imports the contrary. So that if we heed the *Greek* Text, and the *Vulgar* Version, it must be granted, That this History cannot agree with any one of the Kings who succeeded *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, and that it is very difficult to reconcile it with him. However, This very *Greek* Text calls *Abasuerus* the Husband of *Esther* by the Name of *Artaxerxes*; and speaking of *Haman*, says, That he was a *Macedonian*, and had a design to translate the Empire from the *Persians* to the *Macedonians*; which cannot suit with the time of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, nor with any of his Predecessors, in whose times the *Macedonians* did not so much as Dream of the Universal Monarchy. How to reconcile this we cannot tell, unless we suppose, that when 'tis said, That *Mordecai* was one of the *Jews* that had been carried Captive to *Babylon* in the time of *Nebuchadnezzar*, this Expression should only mean, That he was of the Seed of those *Jews*. This being granted, we may with *Scaliger* believe, That *Abasuerus* *Esther's* Husband was *Xerxes*. The Name of *Abasuerus* in *Greek*, *Ὀβσεύρης*, is much the same with that of *Xerxes*, *Ξέρξης*. The Wife of *Xerxes* may be same that *Herodotus* calls *Amestris*, and the Feast mention'd in that Book, may perhaps be that which *Xerxes* (according to the same Historian) made before his Expedition against *Greece*. But Queen *Amestris* was the Daughter of a *Persian* nam'd *Onophes*, and consequently not the same with *Esther*: And she was Married to *Xerxes* long before his Expedition against *Greece*. Lastly, *Xerxes* was not at *Susa*, but in *Greece*, in the seventh year of his Reign. Others therefore refer this Event to the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, the Son



Son of *Xerxes*, an Opinion that seems to be founded on the *Greek* Text, which calls *Ahasuerus* by the Name of *Artaxerxes*, and on the testimony of *Josephus* who places the History of *Esther* under that Prince's Reign. *Capellus* carries it down still lower to the time of *Ochus* the Son of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, who succeeded his two Brothers within two years after the Death of their Father. He perceives, That the Hebrew Word *Ashaveros* comes very near to that of *Ochos* or *Achos*, which was the Name of that Son of *Artaxerxes* who was likewise call'd *Darius Nothus*. A Conjecture may be added, That it is not probable, that the *Jews*, who were return'd to *Jerusalem*, should have been so miserable and so despicable in the Eyes of their Neighbours, and that they durst not rebuild the Temple and the Walls of *Jerusalem* till the time of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, if a Queen of *Persia* had been a *Jewess*, and the *Jews* in so great Esteem at the *Persian* Court. This Conjecture is very weak; and tho' one should suppose, That it was not *Mordecai*, but his Great Grandfather that had been carried from *Jerusalem* to *Babylon* in the time of *Jeconiah*, there would be no more than four Generations from the Captivity down to *Mordecai*, viz. *Kish*, *Shimei*, *Jair*, and *Mordecai*. And there are near two hundred years from the Captivity under *Jeconiah*, to the seventh year of the Reign of *Darius Ochus*. It must be therefore supposed, That *Kish* was carried to *Babylon* at ten years of Age, that he begat *Shimei* at fifty, that *Shimei* begat *Jair* when he was likewise fifty years old, that *Mordecai* was born in the fiftieth year of his Father, and that he was then much about fifty himself. It must be farther supposed, That the Brother of *Mordecai*, *Esther's* Father, was at least five and twenty years younger than *Mordecai*, that so *Esther* might be then no more than twenty or five and twenty, which is the utmost Age that can be allow'd her. All these Suppositions have but very little probability in them. Wherefore, the Opinion of those, who carry this History down still lower to the Reign of *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Ochus*, is less tolerable. This is all that can be said concerning the time of *Esther* and King *Ahasuerus*. We leave the Reader to Embrace which Opinion he pleases, that shall seem most probable to him, the thing appearing to us, after all, as uncertain, as it did at first.

The Author of this History is no less uncertain: *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Augustin*, and *St. Isidorus* attribute this Book to *Ezrah*: *Eusebius* believes it to be more Modern: Others ascribe it to *Joachim* the High-Priest, the Grandson of *Josedec*: Most make *Mordecai* to be the Author of it; and some joyn *Esther* to him. They pretend to prove this from several places of the ninth Chapter of this Book, where 'tis said, *Mordecai* and *Esther* wrote these things to the *Jews*. But they who have been carried away by this Evidence, have not minded that in this place, mention is not made of this Book in the Condition we have it at present; but only of the Letters which *Mordecai* wrote to the *Jews*, to let them know, that for the future they should observe the Feast of *Purim* or of *Lots*, in Commemoration of what had happen'd to them. *Mordecai* (says the Author of this Book, Ch. 9. Ver. 20, &c.) wrote these Things, and sent Letters unto all the *Jews* that were in all the Provinces of the King *Ahasuerus*, both far and near: injoyning them to keep the fourteenth and fifteenth day of the month *Adar* every year; and the *Jews* promis'd to do as they had begun, and as *Mordecai* had written unto them. These Words do clearly shew, That the Author of this Book was not *Mordecai*, since he relates that which *Mordecai* then wrote, and what the *Jews* practis'd as well in his time as afterwards. So likewise, Ver. 29. 'tis said, "That *Esther* the Queen, the Daughter of *Abihail* and *Mordecai* the *Jew*, wrote a second Letter, to establish this Solemnity for ever among them; and they sent it to all the *Jews* of the 127 Provinces. . . . That they might keep the days of *Purim*, and celebrate that Feast with Joy in its Season. They receiv'd this Ordinance as *Mordecai* and *Esther* had enjoyn'd 'em, that they and their Children might observe the Fasts, the Prayers, the Feast of *Purim*, and all that is in the Book which goes under the Name of *Esther*." *Mordecai* therefore and *Esther* had no hand in the Composing of that Book. But doubtless the Great Synagogue, to preserve the memory of this remarkable Event, and to account for the Original of the Feast of *Purim*, order'd this Book to be compos'd, which it approv'd of, and put into the Canon of the Sacred Books. This is the Opinion of the *Talmudists*, which seems to me the most likely. It was at first compos'd in *Hebrew*, such as we have it now in the nine first Chapters, and in the tenth to the 24th Verse, according to *St. Jerom's* Version. Some *Hellenistical Jew* did afterwards enlarge it, and made several Additions to it, which are inserted in their proper place in the *Greek* Version, and are plac'd by *St. Jerom* all together at the end of the Book after the 24th Verse of the 10th Chapter. Other Interpreters have likewise amplified it, by adding thereto several things which they thought proper to their subject, and which are in the Ancient Vulgar *Latin*, but left out by *St. Jerom*, who speaks thus of the Matter: *Librum Esther variis translatoribus con-*

stat esse Vitiatum; quem ego de Archivis Hebraorum relevans, Verbum è verbo pressius transtuli. Quem Librum Editio Vulgata laciniosis hinc inde verborum finibus trahit: Addens ea quæ ex tempore dici poterant, & audiri; sicut solium est scholaribus disciplinis sumpto themate excogitare, quibus verbis uti potuit qui injuriam passus est, vel ille qui injuriam fecit. The Chaldee Paraphrase is full of these Amplifications. Origen in his Letter to Africanus, seems to be of the Opinion that these Additions that are in the Greek Text, were formerly in the Hebrew, and that they were struck out of it. If this were so, they would be of the same Author, and would compose one and the same Body of History with the rest. But it appears on the contrary, That they were Additions made to the History of Esther by another hand; and for the proof thereof we need only to consider of what Nature they are, and where they are placed.

In the beginning of the 11th Chapter, 'tis observ'd, That in the fourth year of Ptolemy and Cleopatra, Dositheus, who said he was a Priest and Levite, and Ptolemy his Son brought this Epistle of Phurim, which they said was the same, and that Lysimachus the Son of Ptolemy, that was in Jerusalem, had interpreted it. This shews the Age and Nature of this Addition. It was under one of the Ptolemy's Kings of Egypt, viz. under Philometor, when it was made by the Hellenistical Jews of Alexandria.

The first of those Additional Pieces, that was at the beginning of the Greek Text, is a Relation of Mordecai's Dream, and the discovery of the two Eunuch's, who had a design upon the Life of Artaxerxes. It cannot be said, That this belong'd to the Author of the Book of Esther, for the Name and Quality of Mordecai, and the time and place wherein he liv'd, being put at the head of this Piece, it would be needless to repeat them at the beginning of the History; as well as the Conspiracy of the two Eunuchs, which is related in the second Chapter. The Addition begins thus: In the second year of the Reign of Artaxerxes the Great, in the first day of the month Nisan, Mordecheus the Son of Jair, the Son of Semei, the Son of Cisai of the Tribe of Benjamin had a Dream. He was a Jew, and dwelt in the City of Susa, a great Man, being a Servitour, or rather Officer in the King's Court: He was also one of the Captives which Nabuchadonosor the King of Babylon carried from Jerusalem, with Jechonias King of Judah. It appears plainly, That this is the beginning of an History; and 'tis not probable, That an Author who begins thus, should afterwards repeat the same things. Yet 'tis certain, That the History of Esther, as related by the Original Author, begins with these Words. Now it came to pass, that in the days of Ahasuerus, who reign'd from India to Ethiopia, &c. And that in the second Chapter, Mordecai is mention'd as a Person whose Quality was not as yet mention'd or known. There was (says the Author, Chap. 2. Ver. 5, 6.) in Shushan the Palace a certain Jew whose Name was Mordecai, the Son of Jair, the Son of Shimei, the Son of Kish, a Benjamite, &c. In the third Chapter, the Author of the Book of Esther, speaking of the Letter written in the King's Name for the putting all the Jews to Death, says, That the Substance of that Letter was, that they should all be ready against the day prefix'd: Summa autem Epistolarum hac fuit, ut omnes Provincia scirent & pararent se ad prædictum diem. This Author then has not related the Letter at length which the Greek Author has inserted in this place, and which is in the 14th Chapter of the Vulgar Latin. So likewise, as to the Letter written in favour of the Jews, the Author of the History only says, Ch. 8. Ver. 13. that the Contents thereof was, That the Jews should be ready against that day, to avenge themselves on their Enemies. The Greek Paraphrast relates in that place the whole Letter, which is in the 16th Chapter of the Vulgar Latin. The five first Verses of the 15th, are already in the 4th Chapter; and all that is related in that 15th Chapter is a Description that is foreign to the purpose, and which we see plainly was invented to decorate the History. It is likewise plain, That the Prayers of Mordecai and Esther, which are at the end of the 4th Chapter in the Greek, and in the 13th and 14th Chapters of the Vulgar Latin, are Additions made to the simple Narration of the Author. Lastly, The Style alone of these Pieces does shew, that it was a Greek, who to set off the History of Esther, has made some Pieces of a different Style from that of the Original History, and which make the Narration thereof less simple and less Natural. It may be likewise added, That there are such Matters of Fact in those Pieces as are not related after the same Manner in the History it self. To Mordecai is ascrib'd the Quality of a great Lord and Officer of the King in the 2d year of that Prince's Reign: Now it appears to the contrary by the 2d Chapter of this History, That he was not as yet favour'd, or so much as known by that Prince. The Author of those Additions, refers the discovery of the Eunuchs Conspiracy to the second year of Artaxerxes, which according to the Account given of it in the Body of the History, Ch. 2. Ver. 16. ought to be refer'd to the seventh year of Ahasuerus. 'Tis said in the History, Ch. 6. Ver. 3. That Mordecai was



not rewarded for that piece of Service till a long time after it was done, when the Destruction of the *Jews* was already resolv'd on; and the Author of the Addition supposes that he was rewarded immediately. In the History, 'tis said, That *Haman* resolv'd upon the Ruin of *Mordecai*, because he refus'd to do him Obeisance: In the Addition, another Reason is assign'd for his Anger, viz. The Death of the two Eunuchs. They do not agree about the day appointed for the Massacre of the *Jews*; One says it was the thirteenth, and the other the fourteenth day of the Month *Adar*. *Haman*, who in the History is said to be the Son of *Agag*, and an *Amalekite*, is call'd in the last Letter of the Prince, A *Macedonian*, *Vir Macedo*; who had a design of translating the Empire of the *Persians* to the *Macedonians*.

All that we have said does prove undeniably, That *Origen* had no grounds to believe, that those Additions were formerly in the Original. For if it were so: (1.) They would have been in some other Version beside the *Greek*. (2.) They would in all things have been conformable to the Original History. (3.) They would not have repeated the same things over again as are related in the Original. (4.) The Original Historian would never have said, That such or such a Letter contain'd such or such a thing, and then immediately give it us in its full length. (5.) If they were the same Author's they would have the same Style. We should find in the Version the same Character, Simplicity and Genuineness. But since this is not so, and since the contrary has been demonstrated by the Remarks that we have made, we may say, That the Opinion of *Origen* is groundless, and that 'tis very probable, that these Additions were made by the *Greek* Translator, or some other *Jew*, who might without any falsity insert in his Narration such Letters and Discourses by the same Privilege that all Historians claim in such a Case.

## SECT. X.

Of the Book of Job. What is to be thought of this History, and of the manner wherein it is Penn'd. Who was the Author of it, and when Compos'd. That 'tis a Poetical Piece. The Scope and Abstract of it.

HAVING treated of the Authors of the *Historical* Books, we proceed to those which the *Hebrews* call MOSCELM, that is, Books written in a Figurative and Sententious Style (a). Forasmuch as these Works have little Relation to History, it is likewise more difficult to discover the time and the Authors of them.

Among these Books, the first place is commonly assign'd to that which goes under the Name of *Job*, because it contains the Narrative of the Misfortune which happen'd to a Man whose Name was *Job*; the *Encomium* of that Patience wherewith he suffer'd it, and the Conferences that he had with his Friends upon that account. The *Talmudists*, *Rabbi Moses*, *Maimonides*, and several other Criticks among the *Jews* and *Christians*, have pretended that this Relation is altogether a Fiction. Others, on the contrary maintain, That 'tis a simple Narration of a Matter of Fact, just as it happen'd. But it seems as if it were more reasonable to keep a *Medium* between these two Opinions, by acknowledging that *Job* is not a feigned Name: That there was, in reality, a Wealthy Man of that Name, who, having been reduc'd to the utmost Misery by the loss of his Estate and Children and by his Distemper, did suffer this Misfortune with wonderful Patience, and was afterwards restor'd to his Prosperity: And at the same time by owning, that he who wrote this History did it in a Poetical Strain, embellish'd, amplified, and decorated it with several Circumstances, to render the Narration more pleasant, as well as profitable. The other Books of Scripture inform us,

(a) MOSCELM, that is, Books written in a Figurative and Sententious Style.] Numb. 21. 27. 'Tis said, Wherefore they that speak in Proverbs [Moscelim] say, Come into Heshbon, let the City of Sibon be built and prepar'd. The Seventy have render'd it Enigmatis. The Passage that is cited is plainly a Fragment of a Poetical Piece. For which reason, the *Greeks* and *Latins* have sometimes render'd it by the Word *Parables*, sometimes by that of *Proverbs* or *Sentences*. In this Sense 'tis to be met with, 1 Sam.

24. 13. As saith the Proverb of the Ancients, Wickedness proceedeth from the Wicked, Ezek. 20. 49. That Prophet relates, That they said of him, Doubt be not speak Parables? The Books of Proverbs, *Παροιμια*; Moscelim is so call'd, because it is compos'd of Sentences. Lastly, in the New Testament, 'tis said, That Jesus Christ spake to his Disciples in Parables and Proverbs, *ἐν παραβολαῖς, ἐν μαθηματικαῖς*. Thus Moscelim does not only signify a Parable, but, in general, all sorts of Figurative Discourses.

That

That *Job* is not a feign'd Name, since mention is made of him as of a real Person, *Ezek.* 14. 14. where he is joyn'd to *Noah*, and *Daniel*, as being as righteous as they were; and *Tob.* 2. 14. and *Jam.* 5. 11. The Name of *Job* is set down in this History, as the proper Name of a Man, his Quality is likewise denoted, when 'tis said, That he was the Richest of all the Men of the East; with his Name, his Country is set down: *There was a man in the Land of Uz, whose Name was Job; and that Man was perfect and upright, and one that feared God.* The number of his Children, and the quantity of his Goods are there likewise specified; the Names and Country of his Friends are therein related, and tho' most of these Names might have Mystical Significations (b), yet they might for all that be true and real Names, since most of the Hebrew Names have a Mystical meaning in them: Besides, there is nothing in this Relation, which can prove, that *Job* is a feign'd Person, and that the Main of his History is a mere Fiction. It would be therefore a kind of Presumption to dissent from the general Opinion of the Fathers (c) and *Christians*, about the Truth of this History. But it must likewise be ingenuously confess'd, That 'tis not a plain Narration of a Matter of Fact. The Manner wherein 'tis related, the Style wherein 'tis written, the Converses between God and the Devil, the Prolix Discourses of *Job's* Friends, do all clearly prove, That 'tis a Narration which the Author has embellish'd, adorn'd, and amplified, to give a more sensible and affecting Example of a finish'd Patience, and to make the Instructions about the Notions that a Man ought to have, in Prosperity as well as Adversity, the more forcible and extensive.

The Time is not set down in this Book when *Job* liv'd, nor when his History happen'd; but Essays have been made to discover, or at least to guess at it by the Circumstances mention'd in this Book.

The length of *Job's* Life, which ought to have been above Two hundred years, since he liv'd an hundred and forty years after his Re-establishment, as is observ'd at the end of this Book; hath inclin'd some to believe, That he was a great deal more ancient than *Moses*. The Law is not cited in any part of this Book, either by *Job* or his Friends, tho' they wanted not an occasion of mentioning it. 'Tis related, That *Job* himself offer'd Sacrifices: These two Circumstances have made most of the Commentators to suppose, That he liv'd before the Law was written. Some have thought, That Ch. 15. Ver. 19. mention is made of the Land of *Canaan*, given to the *Israelites*; and Ch. 26. Ver. 12. of the Drowning of the *Egyptians* in the Red-Sea; but neither of these seems to have any Truth. 'Tis likewise said, That this Sentence in the last Verse of the 28th Chapter: *The Fear of the Lord, that is Wisdom*, is taken out of *Deuteronomy*, Ch. 4. Ver. 6. where 'tis said, That the Keeping of the Commandments of God is *True Wisdom*. But 'tis not necessary that this Sentence should be taken out of the Book of *Deuteronomy*, where 'tis not express'd in the same Terms; and 'tis not said in the Book of *Job*, that it was written in a Divine Book; but only, that God taught it Men by the Wonderful Manner whereby he govern'd the World. There is not therefore any Proof, That the History of *Job* is more Modern than *Moses*: On the contrary, There is greater probability that it happen'd before the Law was written; and perhaps whilst the *Israelites* were in the Wilderness.

If we could know for certain of what Pedigree *Job* was, we might perhaps discover within a small Matter when he liv'd; but we are no more sure of that, than we are of his Country. 'Tis said, That he liv'd in the Land of *Uz*. We find in the Scripture three Men of that Name. The first was the Grandson of *Shem*, and the Son of *Aram*, *Gen.* 10. 22, 23. The second the Son of *Nahor*, *Abraham's* Brother, *Gen.* 22. 21. The third the Son of *Dishan*, who was the Son of *Seir*, the Son of *Esau*, *Gen.* 36. 28. The Posterity of the first dwelt in *Trachonitis* in *Syria*, and he has been thought to have been the Founder of *Damascus*. Some think that the Posterity of the second, are the *Osites* or *Usites*, Inhabitants of *Arabia Deserta*, of whom *Ptolemy* makes mention, *Geogr.* 1. 5. And as to the Posterity of the third, 'tis agreed, That they are the Inhabitants of *Uz*, in *Idumea*, of whom mention is made, *Lament.* 4. 21. *Rejoyce and be glad, O Daughter of Edom, that dwellest in the Land of Uz.* There is scarce any that believe *Job* to be descended of the Family of the first *Uz*. Some suppose him to be

(b) *Mystical Significations.* *Job* may be Interpreted, *He who suffers Affliction*; *Uz*, *Counsel*; *Zophar*, *The Overseer*; *Eliphaz*, *the Law of God*; *Elihu*, *God himself*.

(c) *The general Opinion of the Fathers.* St. *Cyprian* in his Treatise of Patience, St. *Jerom*, St. *Basil*, St. *Augustin*, St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Gregory*, and all other

*Christian Authors* have spoken of *Job*, as of a real Person, and of this History, as of a thing that really happen'd. The Silence of *Josephus* in his Antiquities may be objected: But 'tis answer'd, That this Historian, designing only to speak of the Jews, might omit the History of *Job*, which had no relation thereto.



the Son of the second, and so the Grandson of *Nabor*, *Abraham's* Brother. The most general Opinion is, That he is of the Pedigree of *Eſau*, and an Inhabitant of *Huz* or *Uz* in *Idumea*. There is in the Genealogy of the Posterity of *Eſau*, a King, that is call'd *Jobab* the Son of *Zerah*, *Gen.* 36. 33. 'Tis thought that he is the same with *Job*. This Opinion is grounded on a very ancient Addition, that is to be met with in the Greek Version at the end of the Book of *Job*, and which they say was taken out of the Syriac Book, where 'tis said, That *Job* liv'd in the Land of *Aufis*, (for so that Name is render'd in Greek) in the Conſines of *Idumea* and *Arabia*; that he was nam'd *Jobab*, that he took to Wife an *Arabian*, of whom he had a Son nam'd *Ennan*, who was the Father of *Zerah*, one of the Sons of the Posterity of *Eſau*, and his Mother *Boſerra*; that he was the fifth from *Abraham*: After which follows the Genealogy of the Kings of *Idumea*, taken out of the 36th Chapter of *Genesis*. These are such Circumstances as would be very decisive, if the Authority of this Addition were better establish'd; but 'tis more likely, that 'tis rather the Conjecture of some Jew, than any Ancient Record. However, 'tis true, That the Interpreter *Theodotion* inserted it in his Version; that the Ancient Fathers, such as *Origen*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Jerom*, *Polychronius*, and *Olympiodorus* have own'd it; and that 'tis in all the Ancient Greek Copies. Yet I will not affirm, as some others have ventur'd to do, That it belongs to the very Author of the Book of *Job*, or to the first Translator. 'Tis more probable, That 'tis an Addition made by some Transcriber or other, who took it out of *Aristeas*, or out of some other Jew, who wrote these things concerning *Job*, either by Guess or Fictitiously. Let the Case be how it will, it appears very probable, That *Job* was of the Seed of *Eſau* (d), since he was of the Land of *Uz*, that was inhabited by the *Idumeans*.

If the Time and Country of *Job* be so uncertain, the Author of his History is much more so. Some, as for instance, *Origen*, *B.* 5. against *Celsus*, *St. Gregory the Great*, *B.* 1. upon *Job*, and *Suidas*, do believe, That 'tis *Job* himself who Penn'd it, and they ground their Opinion upon *Job's* Wishing in two Places, *Ch.* 19. *Ver.* 23. and *Ch.* 31. *Ver.* 35. That his Words were written. But 'tis easie to see, That in those Passages he speaks not of an Ordinary Book, and that 'tis only a figurative Expression, to shew how far he was convinc'd of the Truth of what he had said: *Quis mihi tribuat ut scribantur Sermones mei? Quis mihi det ut exarentur in Libro stylo ferreo, & plumbi-lamina, vel celſe ſculpantur in ſilice?* This is no proof, That he had any design of Writing his Book, much less of his having done it. It may perhaps be farther urg'd, to shew, That this Book is *Job's*, that none besides him, or some one of his Friends who were present at their Conference, could have related it so faithfully. But this supposes, That they really held the same Discourses that are related in that Book, which is by no means probable. It is more likely, That the Author of this History, conformable to the Custom of the most faithful Historians, has put into the Mouth of *Job* and his Friends, such Speeches as are suitable to their Circumstances. The Manner wherein *Job* is spoken of in this History, and his Death related at the end of the Book, persuade us, That he could not be the Author of it. Some of those who ascribe it to him, say, That it was Penn'd in Syriac or Arabic, and that *Moses* render'd it into Hebrew, and added thereto several Passages. The Author of one of the Commentaries upon *Job* attributed to *Origen*, is of this Mind. Others believe, That *Moses* himself is the Author of this Book: This is the Opinion of the *Talmudists* in the first Chapter of *Bababatra*, where they observe, That *Moses* wrote his Book, the Section which relates to *Balaam* and *Job*. They are follow'd herein by *Rabbi Kimchi*, and by most of the other Rabbies. Of the same Mind are the Author of the second Commentary ascrib'd to *Origen*, *Methodius* in *Photius*, *Polychronius*, *Judian* of *Halicarnassus* in his *Catena*, and *Nicetas* upon *Job*. It seems likewise as if *St. Jerom* were of this Opinion, because in his Epistle to *Paulinus*, he places the Book of *Job* immediately after the *Pentateuch*, as being of the same Time and Author. No other proofs are brought of this Opinion, besides

(d) It appears very probable that *Job* was of the Seed of *Eſau*.] To the Reasons alledg'd in this place it may be added, That *Eſau* had a Son, whose Name was *Eliphar*, who likewise had a Son nam'd *Teman*. *Eliphar* the *Temanite*, who is one of *Job's* Friends, was doubtless of that Family. But they who maintain, That *Job* was of the Seed of *Nabor*, have an Argument much like the former, to establish their Opinion upon. For one of his Friends was *Elihu* the *Buzite*. Now one of the Sons of *Nabor* was call'd *Buz*; and another *Cheſed*, from whom per-

haps those *Chasdim*, or *Chaldeans* descended, who carried away the Camels and Servants of *Job*, *Ch.* 1. *Ver.* 17. Some have pretended, That *Job* himself descended in a direct Line from *Abraham* by his Wife *Kenaz*. They believe, That *Bilhad* the *Sabian*, one of *Job's* Friends, descended from *Suab* one of the Sons of *Abraham* and *Kenaz*, for which reason *Job* dwelt near the *Sabians*, *Ver.* 15. descended from *Sbeba*, another Son of *Kenaz*. But these are all very frivolous and idle Conjectures.

the Resemblance of Style, which they pretend there is between the Book of *Job* and those of *Moses*. But 'tis in vain to assert this in a Dogmatical Air, since it would be difficult to persuade those Persons of it, who not submitting blindly to Authority, shall make the Comparison themselves. The Style of the Book of *Job* is Figurative, Poetical, Obscure, Sententious, and full of a great many *Arabic* and *Syriac* Idioms, which is very different from the Style of the *Pentateuch*. *Origen* rejects this Opinion in the fifth Tome on *St. John*, where he expressly affirms, That *Moses* wrote no other Books beside the Five which compose the *Pentateuch*. *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, as *Polychronius* informs us, thought *Solomon* to be the Author of the Book of *Job*. But it would be difficult to discover the reason that induc'd him to believe so; since the *Arabic* and *Syriac* Idioms to be met with in this Book, suit neither with the Style nor the time of *Solomon*. *Philip Codurca* says, That this Book might have been the Work of some *Idumean* Prophet, who wrote the History of a Man of his own Nation: However, He attributes it rather to *Isaiah*, who liv'd in the time when he supposes this Book to have been compos'd, because that Prophet writ in a Style much like that of the Book of *Job*; that is, after a sublime, lofty and figurative Manner, and often made use of the same Expressions. All these Opinions being no more than slight and groundless Conjectures, 'tis better to suspend one's Judgment about the Author of this Book, and to own, that he is wholly unknown.

*St. Jerom* assures us, That the Book of *Job*, excepting the two first Chapters, and the end of the last, is written in Verse; and makes no scruple to say, That they are *Hexameters*, compos'd of *Dactyls* and *Spondees*, mix'd sometimes with other Feet of the same quantity, tho' not the same number of Syllables. He authorizes this Opinion by the Testimony of *Philo*, *Josephus*, *Origen*, and *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*. At present, 'tis a very hard Matter to discover the Measure and Cadency of these Verses; but through the whole we may perceive, that Poetical Genius, and those noble, bold and figurative Expressions, which are the very Soul of Poetry.

The End and Design of this Book is to give us an astonishing Example of an extraordinary Patience, and to teach Men to suffer without Murmuring, though it may seem as if they had not deserv'd such an Usage. Therein is discuss'd, that puzzling Question, so hard to be resolv'd, viz. *How it is consistent with the Justice and Mercy of God, to permit just and innocent Persons to be subject to Afflictions and Punishments*. The Friends of *Job* thought him culpable, because they saw him miserable; They maintain, That the Evils which he suffer'd, were the Punishment of his Sin; and that God had inflicted it upon him either to punish, or correct him. On the other hand, *Job* look'd upon himself as innocent, and repented his Misfortune the more, because he thought he had not merited it. The Extremity of his Misery drew from his Mouth Groans and Complaints. However, He still adores the Providence of God, who at last discover'd to him and his Friends, that they had all been in the wrong in endeavouring to dive into the impenetrable Secrets of his Providence.

This Book is naturally divided into three Parts, tho' very uneven ones. The first is the Historical Narration of the former Prosperity of *Job*, and of the Miseries with which he was afterwards afflicted: And this is the Subject-Matter of the two first Chapters, which are as it were a Preface to the rest. The second consists of the Speeches of *Job* and his Friends, and of the Declaration which God made to them about this their Conference; this is the chief part, and the Body of the Treatise, writ in a Poetical Style. The third Part, Which begins at the seventh Verse of the last Chapter, is a brief Narration of what follow'd after these Conferences between *Job* and his Friends, with which the whole concludes.



## S E C T. XI.

*Of the Titles of the Psalms. Of their Authors. Of the Antiquity and Use of Psalms among the Hebrews. Of the Collection of the Psalms. Of the Poetry of the Hebrews. Of the Style and Argument of the Psalms.*

THE Book of PSALMS is intitul'd, SEPTUAGINTA, that is, The Book of Hymns or Praises, because, tho' it likewise contains Prayers, Petitions, Complaints and Descriptions, yet the principal part is taken up with the Praises of God. The Greeks call'd them *Psalms*, because with the Voice, was joyn'd the Sound of Musical Instruments (a). Most of the *Psalms* have a particular Title, which often denotes the Name of the Author, sometimes the Person to whom it is directed to be set to Musick or be Sung, the Name it self of the Instrument, or the Tune by which it is to be Sung, or the Subject and Occasion of the Psalm.

St. Jerom believes it to be a thing Self-Evident, That the *Psalms* were not all compos'd by David (b); and that They were the Authors of them, whose Names are inscrib'd on the top of them. But tho' it be certain, That they are not all David's, yet we cannot agree, that they are their's whose Names are at the top of them. For in the first place, Some question the Authority and Antiquity of these Titles; and tho' this should be allowed, it may be that the Names are not those of the Author, but of those to whom they were directed, of those who were to sing them, or of those who have made Hymns of the like Nature.

As to the Titles themselves we ought to distinguish between two sorts of them; the one are in the Hebrew Text, and the others are only in the Greek Text, from whence the Latin was made. The first are Authentic, have been acknowledg'd by all Interpreters and Commentators, and contain nothing but what is true. The latter are often convicted of Falshood, either by History, or by the Psalm it self, and have been rejected by Theodoret, who observes that they were not in the Hexapla.

This being laid down, 'tis easie to shew, That the *Psalms* which go under David's Name, are His; For on one hand, the Titles informing us that the Psalm suits with David, and the Author of the Psalm speaking in the first Person, 'tis plain, That David was the Author of it. For instance, The third Psalm has for its Title, *A Psalm of David, when he fled from Absalom his Son*: And begins thus, *Lord, How are they increased that trouble me?* And so continues on in the first Person. David then who was persecuted by his Son, was the Author of this Psalm. The same Remark may be made on the seventh Psalm, concerning the Mischief which one of the Grandees of the Court of Saul did him: On the 34th Psalm, wherein he returns God thanks for having deliver'd him out of the hands of Achish King of Gath: On the 51th, Wherein he asks Pardon for the Sin he had committed in putting Uriah to Death, that he might the more freely enjoy Bath-Sheba: On the 52d, Wherein he thanks God for having escap'd the Snares of Doeg: and on several others. The Title of the 18th Psalm, says expressly that 'tis David's: *To the Chief Musician; A Psalm of David the Servant of the Lord, who spake unto the Lord the Words of this Song, in the day that the Lord deliver'd him*

(a) The Greeks call'd them *Psalms*, because with the Voice was joyn'd the Sound of Musical Instruments. The Word *Psalm*, *Ψαλμος*, comes from the Verb *Ψάλλω*, which signifies to touch sweetly, and from thence comes *Ψαλτήριον*, which is the Instrument that is play'd upon. But Use has caus'd the Name of Psalm to be given to the Hymn it self, which was sung whilst they plaid upon the Instrument.

(b) St. Jerom believes it to be a thing self-evident, that the *Psalms* were not all compos'd by David. Hier. Ep. ad Cyp. Scimus errare eos, qui *Psalmos omnes David esse arbitrantur, & non eorum quorum Nominibus inscripti sunt*. Ep. ad Sophronium, *Psalmos eorum testamur auctorem, qui ponuntur in titulis, David scilicet, Asaph, Iditum, Filiorum Chora, Eman, Esraia, Moysi, & reliquorum, quos Esdras uno Volumine comprehendit*. This is likewise the Opinion of Origen, St. Hilary, of the Author of the Synopsis attri-

buted to St. Athanasius, and of the Author of the Preface on the first Psalm, attributed to St. Augustin. St. Augustin himself in B. 14. Cb. 17. de Civitate Dei, believes, that the other Opinion is more likely. Theodoret likewise doubts of it, as he testifies in his Preface to the *Psalms*. Some other Fathers seem to be of the Opinion that they were all David's, as St. Chrysostom, Euthymius, Cassiodorus, and particularly Philastrius, who in the 126th Herefie, reckons those to be Hereticks who doubted of it. However, 'tis plain, That they are not all David's: For First, There are some that go under the Names of others, as St. Jerom has observ'd: Secondly, There are others which relate to things that happen'd since the Death of David, as in the 137th, where mention is made of the Israelites that were Captives in Babylon: And the same may be said of the 66th and 126th.

from the hand of all his Enemies, and from the hand of Saul. The History of the Books of Kings do likewise testify, That this Psalm is David's, and informs us, That this Prince was an Excellent Psalmist. And in the *Chronicles*, 'tis said, That he not only had made several Psalms, but likewise took care to have them sung by the Levites on Instruments: A Custom that lasted among the Jews to the time of Hezekiah, who was the Restorer of it, and which continued even after the Return from the Captivity of Babylon. The testimony of Jesus Christ does not allow us to doubt but that the Tenth Psalm was David's. St. Peter likewise ascribes to him the 16th and 109th Psalms; and St. Paul cites under his Name the 68th; which have all the Name of David in the Title.

There are some likewise without a Title that are to be ascrib'd to David, such as the 105th, which is related and attributed to David in the first Book of *Chronicles*: The 106th, Which is about the same time, and upon the same Subject: The 72d, Which is ascribed to him in the last Verse: and the 2d, Which is cited under his Name, in the *Acts of the Apostles*. However, it cannot be said, That all those that have no Title or Inscription are David's, since for instance, the 137th and the 126th, were compos'd since the Captivity of Babylon.

Let us now proceed to the Psalms which bear the Names of others, besides David, and examine, whether they belong to them or no. The most Ancient is Moses, whose Name is put in the Title of the 90th Psalm; *A Prayer of Moses the Man of God*. This Title does clearly shew, That Moses is the Author of that Psalm; and it seems as if the Words were wrested to make them to be understood of the Tribe of Levi. The Ancient Fathers made no manner of scruple, to say, That Moses himself was the Author of it: And we may observe in this Psalm the same sublime Style that is in the two Songs, that he has left us in *Exodus* and *Deuteronomy*. Most of the Hebrews did ascribe not only this Psalm to Moses, but also the Ten next, which have no Title: But this could not be, since in the 99th mention is made of Samuel.

After David, Asaph is one of those to whom most of the Psalms are ascribed. The 50th and the 73d, with the Ten following, are all under his Name. These Inscriptions cannot be suspected of Novelty, since 'tis said in the 2d Book of *Chronicles*, Ch. 29. Ver. 25. That Hezekiah order'd the Levites to sing the Praises of God, according to the Commandment of David, and Asaph the Secer; where Asaph is plac'd in Comparison with David, as to what relates to the Songs, as well as in the Book of *Nehemiah*; which induces us to believe, That Asaph is the Author of these Psalms; besides, the Style seems to be more lofty than that of the Psalms of David. It cannot be said that they are ascrib'd to Asaph, because he was to sing or cause them to be sung: For some of them not only bear the Name of Asaph, but are likewise directed to the Chief Musician, and to Jeduthun: Yet one can hardly believe, That he was the Author of all the Psalms that are under his Name; for the 74th, the 77th, 79th and 80th relate to the Babylonish Captivity: So that it must be said, either, That Asaph wrote them by a Prophetical Spirit, or that they were compos'd by the Posterity of that Prophet, who succeeded him in the Office of Singing the Praises of God.

There are several Psalms under the Name of the Sons of Korah, the Son of Izhar, the Son of Kohath, the Son of Levi. 'Tis well known, That this Korah, having caus'd a Rebellion among the People, through the Envy that he bare to Aaron, was swallow'd up by the Earth with Dathan and Abiram. But his Sons did not perish with him; and were of the number of the Levites who sang the Praises of God. 'Tis a question, Whether those Psalms go under their Names, either because they were the Authors of them, or because they were to sing them. The 88th, which is directed to them, being ascrib'd to Heman the Ezrahite, occasions us to suppose that they were no more than the Singers of them. Besides, These Psalms are of different times and of a different Style: Some were compos'd in David's time, others in Solomon's; Some in the time of Hezekiah, and several relate to the Babylonish Captivity.

The same Judgment may be pass'd on those that have the Name of Jeduthun in the Title; for the 39th goes under the Name of David, and the 77th under that of Asaph. Jeduthun was one of the Chief Singers among the Levites, to whom these Psalms were directed. The 88th Psalm is attributed to Heman, and the 89th to Ethan; they are both call'd Ezrahites, which has made some to suppose, That they were the two Sons of Zerab of the Tribe of Judah mention'd, 1 Chron. 2. 6. But those Psalms, and particularly the latter of them, do not suit with the time of these Men, and they seem to be rather other Persons of the same Name, one of which was the Son of Joel, and the other the Son of Kisbi, who were of the Tribe of Levi, and had Singers under them. We cannot tell for certain, why they were call'd Ezrahites. The 72d and



and 127th *Psalms* are under *Solomon's* Name; but the former was compos'd by *David*, for his Son *Solomon*, which the beginning and conclusion of that *Psalms* do evince; but the latter, viz. the 127th. may be ascrib'd to *Solomon*.

These are all the Persons whose Names are in the Titles of the *Psalms* according to the *Hebrew* Text. In the *Greek* and *Vulgar Latin*, the 65th is ascrib'd to *Jeremiah* and *Ezekiel*, and directed to the People of the Transmigration, when they were just upon their Return from the Captivity. But 'tis manifest, That this is a false Title; for *Jeremiah* was not carried away into Captivity; and he, as well as *Ezekiel*, was dead before it was finish'd. For the same reason, the 137th cannot be attributed to *Jeremiah*, because it was compos'd after the Deliverance of the People; and there is no more reason to attribute the 112th and 146th to *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, since they have not this Title in the *Hebrew* Text, and the *Greek* Titles are new and spurious.

Not only the Authors and Singers are set down in the Titles of the *Psalms*; but frequently we therein meet with the Names of the Instruments upon which they were to play, or the first Notes of the Tune on which they were to be sung. We find a great many directed, to him that excelleth; that is, to the Chief Musician, to be plaid on an Instrument of Strings, or on Wind-Musick, or in the Tune of some common Song. 'Tis thus that the Learned have explain'd several Titles of the *Psalms*, which without such an Exposition would be Nonsense. Yet there are some which denote in general the quality of the *Psalms*; as for instance, *A Song of Instruction*, *A Psalm worthy to be repeated*, *A Song of Praise*, &c. And others, which contain the particular Occasion for which it was compos'd, as that of the third *Psalms*, *A Psalm of David, when he fled from his Son Absalom*.

The Custom of Celebrating the Praises of God, or of returning him Thanks for signal Mercies receiv'd, by Hymns or Songs, continu'd from the first Establishment of the *Jewish* Republick till after the *Babylonish* Captivity. *Moses* was the first Author of it, and has left us two excellent Songs of this Nature in the *Pentateuch*; One which the People sang as a Thanksgiving to God for their Passage over the Red Sea; The other, By which he recommended, just before his Death, to the *Israelites*, the Observation of the Law which he in God's Name had given them. 'Tis probable, That he made other Hymns, and that the 90th *Psalms* is one of those which he compos'd. This Custom continued among the *Jews*, and we read in their History, That from time to time Persons inspir'd by God made Songs in his Praise, upon the Occasion of some signal and extraordinary Mercy receiv'd. But *David*, whom the Scripture styles an excellent *Psalms*ist, not only made a Collection of Old, but likewise compos'd several New *Psalms*, and took a special Care to have them sung. His Son *Solomon* made likewise a great many *Psalms*, and was as diligent as his Father in getting the *Levites* to sing them. The Troubles which afterwards ensued, having occasion'd a Neglect and some Alteration in this pious Practice, *Hezekiah* was the Restorer of it. The *Jews* being carried afterwards Captives to *Babylon*, did no longer mind the Singing those Hymns of Joy, which they were formerly us'd to sing in *Jerusalem*, and wholly applied themselves to the describing and lamenting their Misery by mournful *Psalms*. Lastly, upon their Return, They began to sing their old *Psalms* of Praise, and made new Songs of Thanksgiving.

It was then that *Ezrah* having taken care to Revise the Sacred Books, made the Collection of the hundred and fifty *Psalms* which at present compose the Book of *Psalms*, either because he could meet with no more, or because he made a special Choice of these. In this Collection he has follow'd no Order, either of Authors, Times or Matters, and seems to have collected them in the same Measures that he found them. He made one entire Volume of them without dividing them into certain Classes. The *Jews* have since divided them into five Parts, the first ending at the 41st *Psalms*, the second at the 71st, the third at the 90th, the fourth at the 106th, and the last contains the rest of the *Psalms*. Several of the Fathers have follow'd and observ'd this Division; but it is groundless, since in each Part there are *Psalms* of a different Nature. It seems then as if no other distinction of the *Psalms* were to be admitted, but that between the *Psalms* themselves. But this also is not Uniform throughout. For some confound the first *Psalms* with the second; for which reason, *Acts*, Ch. 13. Ver. 33. where 'tis read at present, *As it is written in the second Psalm*; it was formerly read, *As it was written in the first Psalm*, and this place is so quoted by *St. Justin* and *Tertullian*. The 9th *Psalms* in the *Hebrew* Text is divided into two, which makes that difference that there is in the number of the *Psalms*, between the *Hebrew* Text, and the *Greek* and *Vulgar Latin*, from that *Psalms* to the 146th, which in the *Hebrew* being joyn'd with that which in the *Vulgar Latin* is the 147th, makes the number 150, both in the *Hebrew* and the *Greek*.

None questions, but that the *Psalms* are a *Poetical Piece*; the only Dispute is of what Kind and Nature the Poetry of the *Hebrews* was. Some think, That it was like to that of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and that their Verses consisted of a certain number of feet of long and short Syllables, the variety of which made the diversity of their Verses: So that they pretend, That among the *Hebrews*, were *Hexameters*, *Iambicks*, *Alcaicks*, *Sapphicks*, &c. This is the Opinion of *St. Jerom*, after *Origen* and *Eusebius*, to back which, he cites *Josephus* and *Philo*. This latter does not speak of the Songs of the *Hebrews*, but of the *Greek Hymns* of the *Hellenistical Jews*; and the former does not say positively, That the Songs of the *Hebrews* had the same Measures with those of the *Greeks*, but only that they imitated them. Others on the contrary, pretend, That the Poetry of the *Hebrews* was like to *Ours*, and that it chiefly consisted in Rhimes, and perhaps in a set number of Syllables, without any regard had to their quantity. They ground this their Opinion on the Nature of that Language, which can hardly be tied up to the quantity of Feet, because like *Ours* it does not allow of the Transpositions of Words, Pronouns, and Verbs, and is overcharg'd with short Syllables: Besides the Poetry of the *Ethiopians*, *Persians*, *Arabians*, and other *Eastern People*, consists in Rhimes, and not in the measure of Syllables and Words. Let the Case be how it will, we do not at present discover either of these two sorts of Poetry in the *Psalms*: And it seems no less difficult to find Rhimes than Feet in them, tho' both have been handled by Men of Parts, who have trifled ingeniously upon this Subject without being able to give any manner of Satisfaction to the Learned World. But in this Book, as well as in the other Hymns, there appears, that Poetical Style and Turn of Thought, which alone may make them worthy of the Name of Poetry. For Poetry does not consist in the ranging a certain number of Syllables, or Feet, or Rhimes; but chiefly in a noble and figurative Turn of Thought; without which the most regular Verses would be no more than Prose in Rhime or Metre, and would not deserve to be stil'd Poetical Pieces. It cannot be question'd, but that the *Psalms* have this Poetical Turn, and into what Language soever these Divine Hymns be translated, this sublime, figurative and sprightly Character, which is the very Essence of Poetry, will still appear. And if the Poetry of the *Hebrews* be unknown, their Musick is much more so, and one can hardly tell the Names and the Description of their Instruments; but all this is not necessary to be known at this time.

The *Psalms* are writ in a noble and sublime Style, in a Style that is proper to raise noble Thoughts in the Minds of Men. Sometimes it transports the Mind with the Admiration of Divine Things, sometimes it strikes it with Terror; often it inspires Love; sometimes it excites Indignation, and sometimes 'tis very proper to attract our Devotion. These different Characters are employed in extolling the Majesty of God, in Praising his Justice, in making us in love with his Goodness, in Imploring his Mercy, in affecting the Wicked with an useful Terrour, in comforting the Righteous, in bringing Sinners to Repentance upon the prospect of obtaining the Remission of their Sins, in humbling the Proud, the Great, the Rich, and Mighty, and in giving Confidence to the Lowly, the Poor, the Afflicted, and the Miserable.

The noble Manner whereby they propose to us the loftiest Truths of Christianity, strikes us with an awful Respect, and makes us admire their Elevation. The Description which they give us of the Judgment of God, and of the Misery and Punishment of Wicked Men, are so lively and natural, that 'tis impossible but they must shake the most daring Minds. The Reproaches and Threats which God makes to Sinners, are so dreadful, that they cannot hear them without being cover'd with Shame and seiz'd with Horrour. Therein is so clearly shewn, That the seeming Happiness of the Wicked has no Solidity, and that their Loss is near and certain; that far from Envyng it, we ought to detest and avoid it. On the other side, The Happiness of the Just is therein set off with so many Charms, that notwithstanding the seeming Inconveniences that attend it, one cannot forbear loving and desiring it. The Excellency of the Law of God is therein so charmingly represented, That one cannot forbear admiring it. Who can without Indignation read the many Descriptions of the Snares which the Wicked laid for the Innocent? and without Horrour, that of the Persecutions and Miseries which they caus'd them to suffer, and of the Inveterate Malice of their Hearts? Who can refrain from Tears at the lamentable Description of the Misery of the Innocent, the Sick, the Afflicted, the Persecuted, and of those that were Condemn'd to Death? What Sinner will not be induc'd to abominate his Sin, and to implore for the Pardon of it, upon reading the *Sixth*, or the *Fifty first Psalm*? But if the *Psalms* are capable of exciting extraordinary Emotions in the Soul, by the Energy of their Expressions, they are no less proper to please it, by their Sweetness, by that



pleasant Variety that is in them, by the happy Comparisons that are made use of in them, and by a great many other Ornaments of Speech. I speak not of the things that may be learnt from the *Psalms*, 'tis enough to say, that frequently one single Verse contains several Precepts, and that the chief Truths of Morality are therein explain'd at large.

In them is prov'd the Existence of the One only God; and in them is shewn the Vanity and Falshood of the Idols and Gods which the *Gentiles* worshipp'd. In them is discover'd the Greatness, Majesty, and Power of the Supreme Being. In them Observations are made on his Wisdom, his Power in his Works, his particular Providence over Men, and the Care he takes of those who serve him. Therein are related the Wonders that he did in favour of his People, and the Blessings that he show'd down upon them. All Men are invited, and especially those who are Devoted to his Service, to sing forth his Praise for ever. Therein they are taught to put their sole Confidence and Trust in him, to wait for Succour from him in their Afflictions, and to thank him for all the Benefits that happen to them, as being the God who is the Author of them. In them is shewn, how he severely punishes the Wicked, and rewards the Righteous. Lastly, in them Men are taught to Worship him alone, to Love him above all the World, and to place their whole Joy, Delight, and Glory, in Honouring him. In them we meet with a great many Moral Maxims, such as these that follow, *viz.* That only the Just and Innocent are truly happy; That the Wicked are always miserable, tho' they seem in the Eyes of Men to enjoy a kind of Happiness and Prosperity: That therefore the Righteous are not to Envy them this seeming Happiness: That the Designs of the Wicked are commonly unsuccessful, and taken in the same Snares and Pits that they lay for others. The *Psalms* do likewise teach us Virtue, and dehort us from Vice. They teach Men to be Meek, Patient, Charitable, and Beneficent. They admonish them of the Inconstancy that is in the things of this World, of the shortness and uncertainty of Human Life. In a word, The *Psalms* contain all manner of Praises, Prayers, and Instructions.

It may be likewise said, That tho' there is no passage in them, which expressly speaks of the other Life and Eternal Happiness, yet there are several, wherein so much is implied. The First Psalm, concerning the Misery of the Wicked and the Happiness of the Righteous, implies this Truth. The other Places, where mention is made of the short continuance of the Wicked Man's Happiness confirm it, and that (*viz.* *Psal.* 73.) wherein this Question is resolv'd; *Why the Wicked are often prosperous in this World, whilst the Righteous suffer Affliction*, supposes it. This Psalm, I say, supposes that there is another Life after this: For the Prophet resolves the Question by the Consideration of the End of both; owning, that he had in vain enquir'd into the Solution of it, *Until he went into the Sanctuary of God, and then he understood their End, Psal.* 73. 17. It very frequently happens, That the Wicked enjoy the Happiness and good Things of this World to the day of their Deaths, and the Good are all their life long in Adversity: So that the Solution of the Question would have been false, if there were not another Life, wherein the Just should be happy, and the Wicked miserable.

None doubts but that the *Psalms* contain several Prophecies of *Jesus Christ*. The Ancient *Jews* have acknowledg'd, That several of them ought to be applied to the *Messias*; and they contain such clear Predictions of *Jesus Christ*, that we may make use of them as an invincible Argument against the *Jews*, to prove, *That He was that Messias expected in the Old Law, and disown'd by their Fathers*. The principal *Psalms* that relate to him, are the 2d, 8th, 22th, 45th, 69th, 72d, 89th, and the 110th. *The Lord said unto my Lord*, which the *Jews* themselves in the time of *Jesus Christ* acknowledg'd ought to be understood of the *Messias*. There are several other Passages in the *Psalms* which may be applied to the Son of God; but these speak so clearly of *Jesus Christ*, that they seem to have been made on purpose for him: And tho' one might understand them of *David* or *Solomon*, yet it must be own'd, that they have a more sublime Meaning, and that they relate to *Jesus Christ*. We have Four convincing Proofs of it: (1.) The very Words of the *Psalms*, whose natural Sense suits better with *Jesus Christ* than with any other. (2.) The Authority of *Jesus Christ* himself and his Apostles, who cite them as such Prophecies. (3.) The Concession of the *Jews* both Ancient and Modern, who own'd, That they are to be understood of the *Messias*. And (4.) The Authority of the Church, and the unanimous Consent of the Fathers, who understand these *Psalms*, of our Saviour. A Man must have his Forehead made of Brass, that stands out against such great Authorities.

To Conclude, The Morality of the *Psalms* is wholly *Christian*, and such as has none of the *Jewish* Superstitions it. They inform us, That God, who is present every where,

where, who does not dwell in Temples made with hands, who has need of nothing, who knows and sees all Things: That this God, I say, is not to be worshipp'd so much by the external Sacrifices of Bulls and Beasts, as by an internal Worship of the Mind; that we ought to Offer up to him, a pure, and innocent Heart; that we ought to Love and Praise him incessantly, to give him Thanks for ever, to Seek after, Honour, and Obey his Commandments, and to Esteem them above the most precious Things. That we ought to put our whole Trust in him, and not in our Strength, Riches, or Power. That all the Enjoyments of this World are imaginary and transient, and not to be regarded. That we ought to suffer Misfortunes and Afflictions with Patience, and wait for the Consolation of the Lord. That we ought to grieve for having offended him by our Sins, to confess them to him, and to implore his Mercy by Tears, by Sighs, and by a Heart truly contrite and humbled. That we ought to be true in all our Words, to use no manner of Guile or Fraud, to render to every Man his Due, to execute Justice without having any Regard to the Quality of the Persons, to protect the Widow and the Fatherless, to perform the Vows that we have made, not to give our Money to Usury, to speak Evil of no Man, and to do no Injury to any Person whatever, no not to our Enemies.

There is but only one thing wherein the *Morality* of the Psalms seems to differ from the Temper and Charity of *Christianity*; and that is, The *Imprecations* that are therein made against Sinners, and the Enemies of the Righteous. In them 'tis wish'd, That they were Confounded, that they should Perish, that they should fall into the Nets that they laid for others, that their Habitations should be Desolate, that Death should overtake them, and that they should go down quick into Hell, *i. e.* the Grave. But we shall see no occasion of finding fault with these Maledictions, if we consider, First, That they concern the Ungodly, the Wicked, the Enemies of Peace, the Persecutors of the Righteous, and such Persons as continually spread Nets for the Good, and for the Lives of others. 'Tis for the Interest of the publick that such Persons should be punish'd, and be suddenly cut off, if they be incorrigible, rather than others should Perish. The Second Reflexion which ought to be made, is, That the Authors of the *Psalms* did not wish the Destruction of the Wicked out of a Spirit of Revenge to gratifie themselves; but that the Justice of God might appear, and that the World might know that he protects the Innocent, and severely punishes the Sinners. They did not rejoyce at the Death of the Wicked; but that the Righteous were deliver'd out of their hands, and that God had made known his Justice and his Power. 'Tis the Zeal for the House of God, and the Love of his Law that stir'd them up and induc'd them to make these Imprecations, and not the Passion of a sordid Revenge. They did not Hate them because they were their Enemies, but because they were the Enemies of God, of his Law, and of those whom he favour'd. It was this that made *David* cry out, *Psal.* 139. 21, 22. *Do not I hate them O Lord that hate thee? And am I not grieved with those that rise up against thee? I hate them with a perfect hatred: I count them mine Enemies.* [To these Reflexions of Mr. *Du Pin*, we may add a Third, *viz.* That the Psalmists utter'd these Imprecations Prophetically; that is, They did not so much wish, as fore-tel the Miseries that should befall the Wicked. Of this Opinion are many learned, judicious and modern Divines, and it seems to be favour'd by what *St. Peter* (*Acts* 1. V. 20.) says, *That it is written in the Book of Psalms, Let his habitation be desolate, and let no Man dwell therein; and his Bishoprick let another take.* These Curses which are to be met with, *Psal.* 69. 25, and *Psal.* 109. 8. The Apostle applies to *Judas*, as being Prophetically spoke of him. So that this Passage not only justifies the Reflexion we have made, but also the Judgment of some Criticks in the *Hebrew* Tongue, who tell us, That the Verbs in the *Hebrew*, in the places above-cited, and elsewhere, are in the *future Tense*; and if some there be of the *Imperative Mood*, it alters not the Case because the *Hebrew* Grammarians agree, that the *Imperative* is but another *future*.



## S E C T. XII.

*Of the Book of Proverbs. Whether it be entirely Solomon's. When Compos'd. The Argument of this Book. The Usefulness of this Method for the Teaching of Morality.*

**K**ING Solomon the Son of David, having receiv'd from God the Gift of Wisdom, and Understanding, compos'd 3000 Sentences or Proverbs, and 1005 Songs, as is observ'd, 1 *Kings*, Ch. 4. Ver. 32. No doubt but that the Collection which we have of them in the Book of PROVERBS, consists of some of those that Solomon compos'd: His Name is at the beginning of the whole Work, *The Proverbs of Solomon the Son of David*. In the 25th Chapter, 'tis observ'd, That the following Proverbs are likewise Solomon's: But that they were collected by Persons appointed for that purpose by King Hezekiah: *These are also Proverbs of Solomon, which the Men of Hezekiah King of Judah copied out*. The 13th Chapter begins thus, *The Words of Agur the Son of Jakeh*, Names which the Author of the Vulgar Translation took for Appellative Names, and accordingly has render'd them thus; *Verba congregantis filii Vomentis*. The last Chapter is intitled, *The Words of King Lemuel*. These Titles incline us to believe, That the first four and twenty Chapters may be the Original Piece of Solomon; that the five next are Extracts, or a Collection of several of his Proverbs, made in the time of King Hezekiah and by his Order; and that the two last Chapters were added, and belong to different, tho' unknown, Authors. For there is no mention any where made of this Agur the Son of Jakeh, nor of King Lemuel, whom some pretend to be Hezekiah. Let this be as it will, These two last Chapters are an Addition annex'd afterwards, and of a different Style from the rest. The last is likewise compos'd of two distinct Pieces: The former, like to the rest of the Book, consisting of Sentences; and the latter, which cannot be the same Author's, is a description of a *Wise Wife*. 'Tis likewise probable, That the end of the 24th Chapter, from the 23th Verse, which begins thus; *These things also belong to the Wife*, is another Author's.

This Book, by the *Hebrews*, is call'd MISLE, or as St. Jerom pronounces it MASALOTH, a Phrase which signifies, as we have already observ'd, a Proverb or Allegory, but which has been extended to all manner of figurative Sentences. The *Greeks* have translated it only ΠΑΡΟΛΟΙ, and the *Latins*, Proverbia, an Expression which has another Signification in our Language, and which may more properly be render'd, Sentences or Maxims.

The Ancients have styl'd this Book, *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and have frequently cited it under that Title, as Eusebius observes in the 4th Book of his History, Ch. 15. This Book contains a great many Instructions and Moral Maxims proper for the Conduct of Humane Life, such as not only relate to the Worship of God, the Sanctity and Innocency of Manners, but likewise the Rules of humane Wisdom and Prudence, with several Oeconomical and Political Admonitions. There are some of them Enigmatical or Parabolical, and others, whose Sense is plain and manifest; but they are all written in a sublime manner. Each Sentence contains a compleat Sense, compris'd in a few Words, and express'd after a lively, noble and Poetical manner, and even in Metre, if we will believe St. Jerom in the case. The nine first Chapters contain an Exhortation to the Study and Love of Wisdom. The rest of the Book consists of Moral Sentences upon several Subjects, collected without any Order or Connexion.

As to the time when this Collection was made, we may judge of that by what we have said concerning the Three distinct Parts of which it is compos'd. If the first be the Original of Solomon, which they only copied, its time is indisputable. One need only Enquire, whether he wrote it when he was young, or when he was old, which is not much material. The *Jews* say, That he wrote the Canticles in his Youth, the Proverbs in his Manhood, and the Ecclesiastes the latter end of his Life. The Character of these Three Books agrees pretty well with these Three Ages, and 'tis manifestly, the only Foundation the Rabbies have to divide them thus. Others, Having a respect to the Subject-Matters, pretend, that the Proverbs are the first Work of Solomon, Ecclesiastes the second, and the Canticles the third: Which St. Jerom seems to approve

approve of, when he observes in his Commentary on *Ecclesiastes*, That the *Proverbs* are proper for Children, *Ecclesiastes* for Persons of Riper years, and the *Canticles* for old Men. Some other *Jews* pretend, That *Solomon* compos'd and dictated those three Books about the end of his Life. Those things may pass for trifling Searches, from which 'tis impossible to discover the Truth, or to receive any Satisfaction. 'Tis more proper to shew the Usefulness of this Method of Teaching Morality by Proverbs and Sentences. 'Tis doubtless the most ancient of any. For before Morality was reduc'd into an Art, and made a Methodical Science, the Wise Men, who would instruct others in their Duty, made use, upon occasion, of Parables, Fables, and Riddles, to let them know what they ought to do, or else gave them short Rules, in order to put them into practice. This Method, practis'd by the Wise Men of *Greece*, has a great many Advantages: It has nothing in it that is painful or disagreeable. It teaches the Truth without Study and Application, after a plain and natural manner. It inspires into Children in their very Infancy the first Principles of Morality. The Brevity wherewith those Truths are propos'd, renders them more palpable, and imprints them the more easily on the Memory. A Truth express'd in a few Words is less forgot, and affects a Man more, than if it were stretch'd out into a long Discourse, and prov'd by a Train of Arguments. That noble and sublime manner, wherein it is express'd, strikes the Mind, and persuades it more effectually, than the longest Syllogistical Discourses. The lively light of Truth, which is of it self conspicuous, is better perceiv'd, than when wrap'd up and shrouded with vain Ornaments. These Sentences are as so many Spurs to rouse the Soul, and pierce the Heart. They give cruel Stings of Conscience to the Guilty, and quiet the Minds of the Innocent. They remain engraven upon the Memory, and upon all occasions very easily and readily present themselves to the Soul. They serve as the Law and Rule of all our Actions, and form in a Man's Mind an Habit of acting conformable to Prudence and Equity. Their vast variety is diverting, and at the same time includes all the Duties of Humane Life in all States and Conditions. They do not only stop at the general Principles, but likewise make the Application of them, and enter into the particularities of Actions, Circumstances, and Occasions. These in general are the Advantages that may be drawn from Moral Sentences. But of all the Collections that have ever been made, it must be own'd, That there has never been any so large and excellent as that of the *Proverbs of Solomon*, and that it infinitely surpasses all that the Philosophers have done of this Nature; whether we consider the Justness of Thought, or the Nobleness of Expression, or the wonderful Variety and extent of Matters; or lastly, the Wisdom of the Maxims. We here meet with none of those false Lights which are so frequent in Proverbs, where a dazzling Lustre is sometimes minded more than a solid Truth. We here see no mean Expressions, or frivolous Thoughts, wherein 'tis a hard matter not to descend sometimes to Vulgar Sentences. We therein meet with no such strain'd Thoughts, or forc'd Turns, which are the Effect of an heated and disorderly Imagination. All here is Genuine, Sublime, Wise, Plain, Natural, and Instructive. 'Tis suited to the Capacities of all the World, and contains the Duties of all Estates and Conditions of Men; and, in a Word, is very proper to make a compleat Wise Man.

## S E C T. XIII.

*Of the Book of Ecclesiastes. What that Name signifies. That Solomon is the Author of this Book. A Reply to the Objections of those who believe it to be more Modern. When Solomon compos'd it.*

THE Book which the *Greeks* and *Latins* call *ECCLESIASTES*, that is, the Preacher, among the *Hebrews* has the Title of *COHELETH*, which literally signifies, a Collector; either because the Author of the Book collected the Opinions of several Wise Men, or because of the Learning of the Author, or because it was newly reunited or gather'd to the Synagogue; or rather, lastly, Because this Book is a Discourse or Sermon made to an Assembly. The *Greeks* and *Latins* have follow'd the last Sense, as being the most Natural. 'Tis commonly ascrib'd to *Solomon*. Tho' his Name be not prefix'd to it, yet it appears sufficiently to be his, by the following Characters. Ch. i. Ver. 1. *The Words of the Preacher, the Son of David, King of Jerusalem.* Ibid. Ver. 16. *I communed with mine own heart, saying, Lo, I am come to great estate, and have gotten more Wisdom than all they that have been before me in Jerusalem: Yea, my Heart had great*



experience of Wisdom and Knowledge. And at the end of the Book, Ch. 12. Ver. 9. *Moreover the Preacher being wise, he still taught the People knowledge, yea, he gave good heed, and sought and set in order many Proverbs.* These Circumstances do perfectly suit with Solomon, and seem to agree with none but him; for of him alone it can be said, That he excell'd in Wisdom all the other Kings that had been in Jerusalem; as God himself tells him, 1 Kings 3. 12. *I have given thee a Wise and Understanding heart, so that there was none like thee before thee, neither after thee shall any arise like unto thee.* 'Tis he who is commended in Scripture, as the Author of many Proverbs. Lastly, What is said in the second Chapter of *Ecclesiastes*, concerning his Magnificence and Grandeur; and in the 7th Chapter, concerning the Bitterness that he found in Women, suits very well with Solomon. However, the *Talmudists* in the first Chapter of *Bababatra*, make King *Hezekiah* to be the Author of this Book: *Rabbi-Kimchi* attributes it to *Isaiah*, and *Grotius* to *Zorobabel*. All these Conjectures have no manner of Foundation in the Book it self. 'Tis true, There are some things which may suit with *Hezekiah*, as being the Son of *David* King of Jerusalem; as being Pious, Rich, and Powerful, but they likewise agree with Solomon: whereas it cannot be said of *Hezekiah*, that he was the Wisest of the Kings of Jerusalem. There is but only one thing which seems to be more applicable to *Hezekiah* than to Solomon; and that is the Quality of King of Jerusalem, which seems to suppose the Division of the Tribes. For before the Division the Kings were call'd Kings of Israel, and not Kings of Judah or Jerusalem. However, Solomon might be styl'd King of the Metropolis of his Kingdom, where he kept his Court. As for *Isaiah* or *Zorobabel*, this Quality does not suit with them, and if they had written this Book, they must have compos'd it under the Name of a King. The Shepherd, of whom mention is made in the last Chapter, Ver. 11. where 'tis said, *That the Words of the Wise are as Goats, and as Nails fastned by the Masters of Assemblies, which are given by one Shepherd,* agrees as well with Solomon as *Zorobabel*. All those who collect the Sentences of Wise Men for the Instruction of others, may be styl'd Shepherds. *Grotius* therefore has no Foundation to pretend that it ought to be understood of *Zorobabel*.

The greatest Difficulty that can be rais'd to make One doubt, Whether this Book be Solomon's or no, is taken from several *Chaldee* Expressions to be met with in it, which 'tis pretended were not in use till after the Captivity. Tho' this were so, yet even in Solomon's time there might be some *Arabic* or *Chaldee* Terms mix'd with the Sacred Language, which Solomon, who held a Conversation with strange Women, might have us'd. But the matter of Fact is not certain, and we meet with scarce one Word in this Book, but what is really *Hebrew*, and may be seen in the preceding Books. Another Objection is started from this Passage, Ch. 8. Ver. 2. *Ego os Regis observo, I keep the King's Commandment,* which seems to imply, that it was not a King who spake this: But according to the Text, this place ought to be render'd thus; *Ego (supple Men-o) os Regis Observa; I Counsel thee to keep the King's Commandment.* This is the Sense that has been follow'd in the *Greek*, *Syriac*, and *Arabic* Versions, and in the *Chaldee Paraphrast*. There is nothing then that can make it appear, that this Book of *Ecclesiastes* is not Solomon's. We have already remark'd, That the Jews believ'd this to be the last of Solomon's Books: They likewise believe it to be the Effect of his Repentance. The Work sufficiently declares, That he who wrote it, had reign'd a long time already; that he had built him a stately Palace; that he had enjoy'd the Pleasures of Life, and that he was reclaim'd from that Passion that he had for Women.

The Scope and Design of this Book, is to shew the Vanity or Insolidity of all Worldly Things. This is what the Author does by enumerating the things which Men have the greatest Esteem for, which take up their Thoughts, and in which they place their Felicity; and then by discovering their instability by several curious Reflexions on the Pains and Miseries of Human Life, and on Death which puts a period to all: From hence he draws this Conclusion, which is the very end of all his Discourse; *Fear God, and keep his Commandments, for this is the whole of Man.* (or rather, *The whole good and happiness of Man.*) *St. Jerom* observes, That this last Passage prevented the Jews from suppressing the whole Book. "The *Hebrews* (says he in his Commentary on this Passage) give out, that they had Thoughts of suppressing this Book, as well as several other Writings of Solomon, which are lost, and quite forgot; because this Book asserts, that the Creatures of God are vain; that all things are as nothing; so that it seems to prefer Eating, Drinking, and transient Pleasure before all things; but that this single Verse has made it deserve to be plac'd among the Divine Books; because therein is included all its Dignity and the Enumeration which was made of the Vanities of this World; and thereby shews, that the End of the Author's Discourse was, That one should

"should Fear God and keep his Commandments." That which was most capable of shocking the Jews, who believ'd the Immortality of the Soul, and the Resurrection; and consequently does more strongly shock Christians, who are all fully convinc'd of these things, are certain Expressions of this Author, wherein he seems to doubt of this Truth, such as these, Ch. 3. Ver. 19, 21. *That which befallerh the Sons of Men, befallerh Beasts, even one thing befallerh them: As the One dieth so dieth the other; yea, they have all one Breath, so that a Man hath no preeminence above a Beast: For all is Vanity. Who knoweth the Spirit of Men that goeth upward, and the Spirit of the Beast that goeth downward to the Earth? From whence he draws this Inference, Ver. 22. Wherefore I perceive that there is nothing better, than that a Man should rejoyce in his own Works; for that is his Portion*—Ch. 9. Ver. 5. *The living know that they shall die: But the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward, for the Memory of them is forgotten.* And V. 10. *Whatsoever thy hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no Work, nor Device, nor Knowledge, nor Wisdom in the Grave, whither thou goest.* These Expressions have made several Rabbies to say, That the Book of Ecclesiastes was capable of corrupting the Minds of Men, and have been the occasion that several Hereticks have rejected it. There are likewise several Atheistical Persons, who abuse these Passages, and wrest them in defence of their Impiety. But the Author confutes them himself, when at the End, speaking his own Thoughts, he says, *That at the Death of Man, The Dust shall return to the Earth as it was, and the Spirit shall return to God who gave it,* Ch. 12. Ver. 7. The clearness of these Words dissipates all the Obscurity that could be in the other Passages; where he does not speak his own Thoughts, but only relates the various Sentiments that might occur to the Minds of Men about their latter end. So that when he says, *That Men and Beasts have the same end, 'tis only in outward Appearance, and with respect to the Body: And when he adds, Who knoweth the Spirit of Man that goeth upward, and the Spirit of the Beast that goeth downward to the Earth;* He does not deny, that 'tis so; but only observes that 'tis hard to discover it; and that perhaps some may be ignorant, or doubt of it; which might well be said in a time wherein this Truth was not as yet clearly reveal'd. In short, If we attend never so little to the Reading and Meditating of this Work, we shall see that his only design was to collect into the Body of his Work, the Reflexions and Thoughts which Men might have concerning the Goods and Evils of this World, concerning the State and latter End of Man; and that he does not discover his own Sentiment till he comes to the Close of the Book, where he declares, *That the whole Duty and Happiness of Man consists in fearing God and keeping his Commandments, because God shall bring every Work into Judgment, whether it be Good or whether it be Evil.* This is the Conclusion, this the End and Summary of the whole Matter. The Rest is a Dispute, wherein he speaks according to the Opinions of others, and even sometimes according to the Sentiments of the Prophane. He enquires wherein the Happiness of Man consists, there is nothing in the World about which the Opinions of Men are more divided. He relates several of them, and finds uncertainty in them all: Sometimes he seems to approve them, and immediately condemns them. The more he meditates, the more he reflects, the more is he perswaded, that the Creature is incapable of making a Man happy. He ceases his Enquiry after Happiness in Worldly things, and thereby is confirm'd in his own Opinion, That it consists in *Fearing God, and keeping his Commandments.*

#### SECT. XIV.

*Of the Song of Songs. That Solomon is the Author of it. The Argument of this Book clear'd up.*

THE CANTICLES, or the SONG OF SONGS, is the third Book of Solomon, whose Name is in the Title of the Hebrew Text, and of the Ancient Greek Version. However 'tis ascrib'd to Hezekiah by the Talmudists in the first Chapter of *Bababatra*: But the more Modern Rabbies have acknowledg'd that it was Solomon's, who doubtless wrote a great many Songs, as is observ'd in the first Book of *Kings*. Since King Solomon is Nam'd several times in the Body of the Work, as the chief Personage of this Piece, 'tis unreasonable to question whether he compos'd it, or whether it belongs to his time.

This



This Book is intituled, SIR HASIRIM, THE SONG OF SONGS, that is, according to the *Hebrew* Idiom, An Excellent Song, or An *Epithalamium* in the form of an *Idyl*, or *Bucolick*, wherein are introduc'd as Speakers, a Bridegroom, a Bride, the Friends of the Bridegroom, and the Companions of the Bride: The Bride and the Bridegroom express the Love they have for each other in very affectionate terms. 'Tis for this Reason that the *Jews* never allow'd this Book to be read by any, till they were arriv'd to the Years of Maturity, *i. e.* not till they were thirty Years old. However they did not think that this Book was only a *Love-Song*. " 'Tis not to be " suppos'd (say they) that the *Song of Songs* is about obscene things, 'Tis an *Allegory*: " For if what is said in this Book were not Sublime, it would never have been inserted in the Catalogue of the Holy Scriptures." Notwithstanding this there have been some Authors among the *Christians*, who have believed that *Sobomon's* Design in this was only to describe his Amours with *Abishag* the *Shunamite*, or with the Daughter of *Pharaoh*. They ground their opinion upon this; that the Letter of this Work represents to us nothing else but the Tender expressions of a Man and a Woman, who love one another passionately; That there is not any one Principle of Morality or Religion in it, and that the Name of God is not mention'd so much as once in it. Others on the contrary believe that this Work is wholly Allegorical; That *Solomon* never thought upon any Carnal Love, and that the whole ought to be understood only of the Spiritual Love of God, for the Synagogue according to the *Jews*, or of *Jesus Christ* for the Church according to the *Christians*. Both these Extremes seem to me alike unaccountable: For if on one side it cannot be said, that a Book acknowledg'd as Divine, has any Relation to a Passion that is purely humane tho' chaste; on the other side 'tis hard to suppose but that the Author in this Work had in his Head the Celebrating of the Nuptials of *Solomon*. The whole Work inclines us to believe it, and the Author gives us sufficient Intimation of it, who speaks of a Real and true Marriage when he says: *Go ye forth, O ye Daughters of Sion, and behold King Solomon with the Crown, wherewith his Mother Crowned him in the day of his Espousals, and in the Day of the Gladness of his Heart*, Chap. 3 V. 11. This sufficiently denotes a real and present Marriage, upon the Account of which This *Epithalamium* was compos'd. In this Book therefore there must be acknowledg'd an Historical Sense, and a Mystical or Allegorical Sense, both of 'em true, both necessary. According to the Historical Sense, 'Tis a Song to celebrate the Marriage of *Solomon* with the Daughter of of the King of *Egypt*, who is call'd *Sulamira*, after the Name of *Solomon*. Therein are express'd tender and passionate, but withall honourable and Chaste, Thoughts of a Bridegroom and his Bride. According to the Mystical Sense, of which the Historical is no more than the *Basis* This ought to be understood of the Mystical Union between *Christ* and his Church, which in the Gospel is compar'd to that Union there is between a Man and his Wife. He is that Bridegroom who has such a Love for the Church, his Bride, which he has purchas'd by his own most precious Blood. This is the Mystery figured out by the Marriage of *Solomon*, and veil'd under the Expressions of his *Epithalamium*. Moreover nothing of this Nature is more Elegant or Noble than this Work; wherein we see a Fire, a Flame, a Delicacy, a Variety and Nobleness, and such Charms as are inimitable. Some have taken notice of five Scenes in this Piece; which is a very trifling Remark. But the Bishop of *Meaux* had a great deal more reason and grounds to distinguish it into Seven Days, or rather Seven parts of the *Eclogue*, which answer to the Seven Days, during which the Ancients were us'd to celebrate their Nuptials.

S E C T. XV.

Of the Author of the Book of Wisdom. The Manner wherein 'tis Compos'd.  
Who That Philo is, whom they make to be the Author of it.

THE BOOK OF WISDOM is commonly ascrib'd to King Solomon (a), either because the Author imitated that King's manner of Writing, or because he speaks in his Name, *Ch. 9. Ver. 7.* However, 'tis manifest, That it is not *His*: For (1.) This Book was not writ in *Hebrew*. (2.) It was not inserted in the *Jewish Canon*. (3.) The Style is very different from that of *Solomon*, and shews, That it was a *Greek* who compos'd it, as *St. Jerom* observes; *Stylus ipse Græcam eloquentiam redolet*. It is compos'd with Art and Method, after the manner of the *Greek Philosophers*, very different from that Noble Simplicity, so full of Life and Energy, of the *Hebrew Books*. *St. Jerom* adds, That several of the Ancients have ascribed it to *Philo the Jew*: Which ought to be understood of one more Ancient than That *Philo*, whose Works are Extant, who could not be the Author of this Book (b.) However this be, It is the Work of an *Hellenistical Jew*, who liv'd since *Ezrah*, and apparently about the time of the *Macca-bees*.

This Book may be divided into two Parts: The First, is a Description and *Encomium* of *Wisdom*: And the Second, beginning at the 10th Chapter, Is a long Discourse in the Form of Prayers, wherein the Author admires and extols the Wisdom of God, and of those who honour him, and discovers the folly of the Wicked and the Enemies of God's People.

(a) *The Book of Wisdom is commonly ascrib'd to King Solomon.* This is the Opinion of *St. Cyprian* in his Treatise of Mortality; of *St. Augustin* in his second Book *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, *Ch. 8.* The Ancient Versions, the Rabbies, *Origen*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, have likewise attributed it to *Solomon*. The most Ancient Fathers Style the *Proverbs*, *The Wisdom of Solomon*. *Tertullian* only says, That it was attributed to him, *Sapientia Liber Salomoni inscriptus*. In the Councils of *Africa* are reckon'd five Books of *Solomon*; but *Pope Gelasius* reckons no more than three, and puts the other two by themselves, as not belonging to him. The *Greek Fathers* did not acknowledge it as *Solomon's*, tho' some have cited it under his Name. See the Note (b), *Page. 122.*

(b) *Who could not be the Author of this Book.* The Reasons why I am of this Mind, as well as the most learned that have wrote before me on this Subject, are these. (1.) Because the Style and Manner wherein this Book is Penn'd, are different from the Style and the Manner of *Philo's* Writing in the Works we have of his: You need only to read a small part of *Philo's* Writings to be convinc'd of it. (2.) Because neither *Eusebius* nor *St. Jerom* in speaking of the Works of this *Philo*, have attributed the *Book of Wisdom* to him, nor so much as mention'd any such thing: Which shews, That they believed, That the *Philo*, who is said to be the Author thereof, was another Person. (3.) It appears by the Book it self, That it was compos'd at a time when the *Jews* had a King and their Kingdom in a flourishing Condition; which does not suit with the time of *Philo*. (4.) This Book has always been look'd upon as more Ancient than this Author: 'Tis cited in the Epistle of *St. Barnabas*, and in the Epistle of *St. Clement* to the *Corinthians*, who would not have Cited a *Jewish* Author Contemporary with themselves. It ought therefore to pass for an Evident Truth, That the Author of the Book of *Wisdom* could not be the same *Philo*, whose Works we have by us; and 'tis not at

all likely, that *St. Jerom*, who was so learned a Man, has attributed it to him, and the rather, because in drawing up the Catalogue of this Author's Books he does not so much as mention it. It seems more reasonable to ascribe it to another *Philo* that is more Ancient. We meet with one of this Name who was well vers'd in the Knowledge of the History and Doctrine of the *Jews*. And tho' *Josephus* reckons him among the *Greek Authors*, yet it does not from thence follow, that he had no more than a Superficial Knowledge of the Sacred Books. On the contrary it appears by the Ancients, who have cited him, That he had a perfect Knowledge of them. *Alexander Polyhistor*, mention'd by *Eusebius*, *B. 9. Of his Evangelical Preparation*, cites a Treatise of this Author concerning the City of *Jerusalem*, whose Fragments are to be met with in the same Author, being Verfes in Praise of the *Jewish Patriarchs*. *St. Clement of Alexandria* cites him likewise in the first Book of his *Stromata*, and says, that he did not agree with *Demetrius* in the History that he made of the Kings of the *Jews*. This is sufficient to prove, That this *Philo* was so well versed in the Books of the *Jews*, as to make Extracts of their Sentences, or to compose others like to them. He might very well have made an History of the *Jews* from the Books of *Moses*, Why could not he as well have made a Book of Morality, in imitation of their Books of that Nature? Now, tho' *Josephus* places him among the *Greeks*, because he wrote in that Language, yet 'tis very probable, that he was a *Jew*, as well as *Eupolemus*, *Demetrius* and *Aristobulus*, who are cited as *Jewish Writers* by *Alexander Polyhistor*, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, and *St. Jerom*. 'Tis no such wonder, That *Josephus* should be mistaken in this, since he confounds *Demetrius* the Historian with *Demetrius Phalereus*. So that nothing hinders, but that the *Philo* cited by *Alexander Polyhistor*, may be the Author of the *Book of Wisdom*. But tho' he was not the Man, yet certainly 'tis not the same with that *Philo* whose Works we have by us.



## S E C T. XVI.

*Of the Author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus. When it was Compos'd. The Subject-Matter of it.*

THE Preface which is before the Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, and the 50th Chapter of this Book, inform us, That the Author of it was a Jew, call'd *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach* (a), which was compos'd in *Hebrew*, and render'd into *Greek*, by his Grandson. *St. Jerom* says, That in his time he saw a *Hebrew* Copy (b), which was not intitled *Ecclesiasticus*, but *Proverbs*. Some of the Ancients have likewise styl'd it *Παραβολαι*, as much as to say, *The Book of every Virtue*. But the most usual Name among the *Greeks*, is, That of *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach* (c). It was compos'd under the High-Priesthood of *Onias III.* (d), and translated in the Reign of *Ptolemy Evergetes*, or *Phyſcon* the Brother of *Ptolemy Philometor* (e). Some of the Ancients have ascrib'd this Work to *Solomon* (f), perhaps because of the Resemblance of the Subject and the Thoughts, which is so great, that the Author had manifestly a design to imitate him. He has borrow'd several of his Thoughts, and follow'd the Method he has observ'd in the *Proverbs*, of teaching Morality by Sentences or Maxims: But his Expressions have not the same Force or Vivacity. This Book begins with an Exhortation to the pursuit of *Wisdom*, after this follow a great many Moral Sentences or Maxims, of which it is compos'd to the 44th Chapter, where the Author begins to set forth the Praises of the Patriarchs, Prophets, and Famous Men among the *Jews*,

(a) *Jesus the Son of Sirach.*] The Anonymous Prologue supposes, That the Interpreter was likewise call'd, *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*. *St. Epiphanius*, the Author of the *Synopsis* attributed to *St. Athanasius*, and *St. John Damascene*, are of the same Opinion, But the Preface and the Title of the Book, shew, That it was the Grandfather that was call'd *Jesus* or *Josbua*. As to the Grandson's Name 'tis unknown. Some believe that he likewise was nam'd *Jesus*, and ascribe to him the Prayer which composes the last Chapter. Others pretend, That his Name was *Joseph*.

(b) *St. Jerom* says that in his time he saw an *Hebrew* Copy.] *Munſter* and *Fagius* do likewise make mention of an *Hebrew* Copy of this Book. *Buxtorf* says, That *Munſter* saw one of 'em Printed at *Constantinople*: But 'tis probable, That that Text was made from the *Greek*.

(c) But the most usual Name among the *Greeks*, is That, of the *Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*.] 'Tis under this Title, That *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Origen* in his 6th Book against *Celsus*, *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, B. 8. Of the *Evangelical Preparation*, and *St. Epiphanius*, *Heret.* 76. do all cite it. And this is the Title that it has in the *Greek* and other Versions.

(d) Under the High-Priesthood of *Onias III.*] There is mention made, Ch. 50. of *Simon* the Son of *Onias* the High-Priest. There were two *Simons* that were High-Priests, both of 'em Sons of two *Onias*'s, the one surnam'd the *Just*, the Son of *Onias I.* who liv'd under the Reign of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*; and the other Son of *Onias* the Covetous, and the Father of *Onias III.* under the Reigns of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and *Antiochus*. 'Tis rather of this last, That mention is made, Ch. 50. of this Book, than of the first, since it appears, that this Book was written at a time when the *Jews* were persecuted, and ill us'd by the Neighbouring Kings: A Circumstance which does not suit with the time of *Simon the Just*, nor of his Successors, under whom the *Jews* enjoy'd a profound Peace. It was therefore writ under the High-Priesthood of *Onias III.* at a time when *Antiochus* vex'd the *Jews*.

(e) *Ptolemy Evergetes*, or *Phyſcon*, &c.] There were two *Ptolemies* of this Name; The one the Son of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, who reign'd 24 years; and the other the Son of *Ptolemy Epiphanes*, and Brother to *Philometor*, who began to reign jointly with his Brother, but afterwards in the 11th year of his Reign turn'd out his Colleague. 'Tis in the time of the last, that the Translator lived, and made his Version after the 38th year, which is the last but one of the Reign of that Prince. For it was in that year that the Translator went into *Egypt*, where among others, he found this Book, which he translated some time after, as is observ'd in the Prologue or Preface.

(f) Some of the Ancients have ascrib'd this Work to *Solomon*.] *St. Cyprian* and *St. Ambrose* have cited it under his Name. *St. Hilary* testifies, That in his time some attributed it to that King. But this Opinion is unaccountable, not only because the Author of it is known, but likewise because, Ch. 47. mention is made of several Prophets, who liv'd since *Solomon*. *Eusebius*, *St. Jerom*, and the Author of the *Synopsis* attributed to *St. Athanasius*, *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Augustin*, *Casareus* of *Aries*, and several others have acknowledg'd the true Author of it to be *Jesus the Son of Sirach*. *St. Jerom* says, That he liv'd in the time of the High-Priest *Simon* the Son of *Onias II.* and that he wrote after the Version of the Seventy, or at least liv'd in their time. He proves, this, First, By the Preface of his Grandson, who says, That he had collected the Books of his Grandfather in the time of *Ptolemy Evergetes*, who was the Immediate Successor of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. Secondly, Because he commends *Simon the Just*, the High-Priest and Son of *Onias I.* Ch. 50. and afterwards the Translator bestows an Encomium on *Jesus the Son of Sirach*, as having liv'd in the time of that High-Priest. Thirdly, Because Ch. 2. He seems to speak of the Persecution which the *Jews* suffer'd under the Reign of *Ptolemy Lagus*, and in the first years of *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. *Huetius* supposes, That *Jesus the Son of Sirach* is the same Person with a Jew, nam'd *Ben-Sira*, who wrote several *Proverbs* in *Hebrew*; but his Opinion does not seem to me to be very well establish'd.

which

which he continues to the 51st Chapter, which contains a Prayer to God. The Hebrew Text of this Book has been lost a long time: And the Latin Version is in several Places different from the Greek Text.

S E C T. XVII.

Of the Writings of the Prophets in General: And particularly of the Prophecy of Isaiah.

HAVING treated of the Writers and Subject-Matter of the Books of the Law, and the Historical and Poetical Pieces contain'd in the Jewish Canon, it remains that we should now speak of the Prophetical Books. But we shall not meet with the same difficulties and uncertainty, with respect to the Authors of those Books, as we have in the others. For they all are under the Names of those who compos'd them, and scarce one reasonable Objection can be started to the contrary. The Prophets are commonly divided into two Classes: The First is, Of those whose Prophecies are larger, who are styl'd THE GREATER PROPHETS: And the Second, of those whose Prophecies are more concise, who are for that reason styl'd, THE MINOR, OR LESSER PROPHETS. The Greeks put the Lesser Prophets in the first place, perhaps because they are more Ancient than the Greater. The Latins on the contrary, place them after the Greater Prophets, whose Pieces are the most considerable. The Hebrews reckon'd no more than three of the Greater Prophets, viz. Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, because they did not look upon Daniel as a Prophet: Whereas the Greeks and Latins joyn him with the three others. The Lesser Prophets are twelve in number. The space of time wherein all these Prophets flourish'd, takes up the Compass of about three hundred years; From the Reign of Azariah or Uziah, to the Rebuilding of the Temple and of the City of Jerusalem.

ISAIAH is the first and chiefest of the Prophets. He was the Son of Amos, not the Prophet of that Name (a). He Prophesied from the end of the Reign of Uziah to the time of Manasseh, by whose order, they say, he was put to a Cruel Death, and sawn in two with a Wooden-Saw (b). He has himself drawn up a Collection of the Prophecies, which he made under the Reigns of Uziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah (c). He likewise wrote a Book of the Acts of Uziah, which is mention'd, 2 Chron. 26. 22. They likewise Father upon him several Apocryphal Pieces, among the rest, the famous One cited so frequently by Origen; another intitul'd, The Ascension of Isaiah, which St. Jerom and St. Epiphanius mention; and lastly, One intitul'd, The Vision or Apocalypse of Isaiah. Some have pretended, That the Book of

(a) The Son of Amos, not the Prophet of that Name.] The Prophet's Name is Amos, and that of the Father of Isaiah, is Amos: The former was a Shepherd; the latter of the Blood Royal; The former liv'd in the time of Uziah King of Judah, the latter was more Ancient. St. Jerom, on Isai. Chap. 1. St. Augustin, L. 18. Cap. 27. de Civitat. Dei, S. Cyril in the Preface before Amos, and others, have made a distinction between these two. St. Clement of Alexandria, in the first Book of his Stromata, the Author of the Book concerning the Lives and Deaths of the Prophets attributed to St. Epiphanius, and the Rabbies have made them to be the same Person. St. Jerom says, That the Father of Isaiah was Manasseh's Father-in-Law.

(b) And Sawn in two with a Wooden-Saw.] 'Tis the Common Tradition of the Jews, and confirm'd by the Testimonies of Tertullian, St. Jerom, and St. Basil. St. Jerom in his Commentary on the 57th Chapter of this Prophet, says, That the Jews believe that he prophesied concerning the manner of his Death, That he should be Sawn in two with a Wooden-Saw, a Tradition that pass'd for a thing certain among them: That 'tis for this reason that several Christian Writers understand that saying, Heb. 11. 37. THEY WERE SAWN ASUNDER, of Isaiah: Supposing that the

Apostle made use of the plural Number for the singular, as the Evangelist has said in the Plural THIEVES, instead of ONE OF THE THIEVES. The Author of the Commentary attributed to Primasius, observes likewise upon this Passage of the Epistle to the Hebrews, That the Plural Number is there put for the Singular: For, says he, We do not read of any other Prophet besides Isaiah, that was sawn asunder; but as for this Prophet, he was so by a Wooden Saw, by the Orders of King Manasseh, who had married his Daughter. What they add, That he was clasp'd into the Trunk of a Tree, and that Manasseh caus'd both the Man and the Tree to be Sawn asunder, looks like Fable; and this very History being only founded on a Jewish Tradition, is somewhat uncertain.

(c) Under the Reigns of Uziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah, Kings of Judah.] The 5 first Chapters of Isaiah, contain the Prophecies which he made under the Reign of Uziah. The Vision of the 6th happen'd in Jotham's time. The next Chapters to the 15th contain the Prophecies of Isaiah under the Reign of Ahaz. And those that happen'd under the Reigns of Hezekiah and Manasseh, are related in the next Chapters to the End.

Isaiah,



*Isaiah* now extant, is only a Collection taken from the Works of this Prophet, but the Conjectures they bring for the proof of it are very frivolous (d).

The Style of *Isaiah* is great, noble, sublime, and florid. He Paints things to the Life, but with bold, strong, and lively Strokes. His Book, as well as those of all the Prophets, contains several Predictions of future Things, with Admonitions, Reproofs, Exhortations, Consolations, and several Historical Matters of Fact. Several of his Prophecies concern the *Jews*, or the Neighbouring Nations. He expressly foretells the taking of *Jerusalem*, and the *Babylonish* Captivity, from the 29th Chapter to the 39th. The 40th, with the rest that follow, do not only concern the *Jews* Return from *Babylon*, and the Restoration of their Kingdom, but likewise the Call of the *Gentiles*, the Casting off of the *Jews*, the Kingdom of *Jesus Christ*, with his Life, Preaching, and Death, the Establishment and Perpetuity of the Church. These Mysteries he explains so clearly, that as *St. Jerom* observes, he seems rather to have written of Things past, than to foretel things to come: So that he may rather pass for an *Evangelist*, than a Prophet.

(d) *The Conjectures they bring for the Proof of it are very frivolous.* They say, That the Prophecy of *Isaiah* does not begin till the 6th Chapter, where after he had said that he saw, he adds, *And I heard the Voice of the Lord, who said unto me, whom shall I send?* To this we Answer, That the Prophet does not say, That he had as yet writ nothing, but only that he had been a long time before he wrote, since he had that Vision, and God commanded him to speak. He wrote this in the last year of *Uzziah*. Secondly, they say, That what is said in the first Chapter concerning the Desolation of *Judea*, does not agree with the Reign of *Uzziah*, therefore it is not the Beginning of his Prophecy. But to this we Reply, That he might very well predict the future Desolation, at a time when it had not as yet happen'd. Thirdly, 'tis objected, That in this Book we do not meet with the Life and Acts of *Uzziah*, which had

been written by *Isaiah*, as 'tis mention'd, 2 *Chron.* 26. 22. But the Answer to this is easie, viz. That the Book of the Acts of *Uzziah*, mention'd in the *Chronicles*, was not the same with that of his Prophecy. Fourthly, 'tis said, That *Isaiah* likewise prophesied in the Reign of *Manasse*, whereas there is not one Word in the Prophecy that goes under his Name, which has any relation to the Reign of *Manasse*. To this we Reply, That 'tis no where said, That *Isaiah* had committed to Writing the things which he had Prophesied under that King's Reign. Fifthly and lastly, 'tis objected, That the Order and Series of Things is frequently interrupted, as well in *Isaiah*, as in the other Prophets. To this we Reply, That we ought not to expect from the Prophets an Historical and connected Style; on the contrary, the Prophecies are usually writ without Order or Connexion.

## S E C T. XVIII.

*Of the Prophet Jeremiah, his Prophecy, and Lamentations.*

**JEREMIAH** the Son of *Hilkiah* of *Anathoth* in the Tribe of *Benjamin* near *Jerusalem*, One of the Priests, began to Prophesie about the latter End of the Reign of *Josiah*, being very young; and continued his Prophecies till after the *Jews* were carried Captive to *Babylon*. He was not carried away with the other *Jews* to that City: But staying behind in his own Country to lament the Destruction thereof, was afterwards carried Prisoner into *Egypt* with his Disciple *Baruch*, where 'tis believ'd he was Ston'd to Death. The Fathers tell us, That he always kept in a State of Celibacy (a). The beginning of the 36th Chapter informs us, That King *Jehoiakim* having burnt the Book of his Prophecies, That Prophet caus'd another to be made much larger and more forcible. He afterwards added thereto the Prophecies which he made from that time down to the *Babylonish* Captivity, and those that he made in *Egypt*. The 50th, and 51st Chapters are the Book wherein he foretold all that should happen to *Babylon*, which he sent thither by *Seraiah* the Son of *Neriah*. The 52d Chapter does not belong to *Jeremiah*, whose Prophecy concludes at the end of the 51st Chapter with these Words: *Thus far are the Words of Jeremiah*. It is rather *Baruch's* or *Ezrah's*. It contains a Narration of the Taking of *Jerusalem*, and of what happen'd during the Captivity of the *Jews* in *Babylon* to the Death of *Jechonias*, taken almost entirely out of the Books of *Kings*. It serves to illustrate the Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, and particularly the *Lamentations* which follow it, and which formerly made part of the Book of *Jeremiah*. In this last piece, He in a Pathetical and Poetical manner (for this Work is writ in Verse, whose first Let-

(a) *He always kept in a State of Celibacy.* *St. Jerom* in his Preface before *Jeremiah*; *Virginitate sua Evangelicum Virum Christi Ecclesie dedicans*. And it

seems as if so much might be inferr'd from, *Ch. 16. Ver. 2. Thou shalt not take thee a Wife, neither shalt thou have Sons or Daughters in this place.*

ters are dispos'd according to the Order of the Alphabet (b), describes the Desolation and Ruin of *Jerusalem* (c), and takes notice of the Sorrow that he conceiv'd for it. There is a Preface to it in the *Greek*, and in the *Vulgar Latin*, which is not in the *Hebrew*, nor in the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, nor in the *Syriac*, and which was manifestly an Additional Piece set as an Argument of this Work. Lastly, These *Lamentations* conclude with a Prayer to God.

St. *Jerom* has observ'd, That *Jeremiah's* Style was more simple and easie than that of *Isaiah* or *Hosea*, and that he even retains something of the Rusticity of the Village wherein he was born; but that he was very Learned and Majestical, and equal to those two other Prophets in the Sense of his Prophecy. It seems as if these Words of St. *Jerom* ought only to be understood of some Expressions that are perhaps less proper; for tho' *Jeremiah* be not altogether so sublime as *Isaiah*, yet it must be own'd, that he is very lofty, not only in Sense, but also in Expression, in the Turn and Way of speaking things.

There was formerly another Prophecy of *Jeremiah*, mention'd by *Origen*, wherein are found these Words that are cited in the Gospel; *Appenderunt mercedem meam, &c.* But 'tis likely, that this was an *Apocryphal* Piece, which the *Nazarenes* made use of, as St. *Jerom* testifies upon *Matt. 27.*

(b) Dispos'd according to the Order of the Alphabet.] There were, as St. *Jerom* observes, Four Alphabets: The two first are written, as he pretends, in a kind of *Sapphic* Verses, because the three Verses, which are as it were link'd together, begin with the same Letter, and end with a *Dactyl* and *Spondee* like an Heroic Verse. The third Alphabet is writ in *Trimeter*, and three Verses one after another begin with the same Letter. The fourth Alphabet is like the two first. As to the quantity of the Verses, 'tis somewhat hard to discover them at present; but the Order of the Letters, which begin the Verses, is very Visible.

(c) The Desolation and Ruin of Jerusalem.] The *Hebrews*, *Josephus*, the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and St. *Jerom* would have it, that the *Lamentations* relate to

the Troubles which happen'd to the People of *Jerusalem* since the Death of *Josiah*. 'Tis certain, That *Jeremiah* made *Lamentations* upon the Death of *Josiah*, which were sung publicly, as 'tis related, 2 *Chron. 35. 25.* But we are not sure that they are the same with the others. *Eusebius* believes, That the Book of *Lamentations* ought to be applied to the Captivity of *Jechoniah*. *Origen*, *Theodore*, and most of the *Greeks*, pretend, That they were compos'd upon the Captivity that happen'd under the Reign of *Zedekiah*, when the City and Temple were destroy'd. 'Tis this Captivity that is set down in the Preface, and it must be confess'd, That the Descriptions in the Work it self do suit more naturally with this, than with any other time.

## S E C T. XIX.

### Of the Prophet Baruch and his Prophecy.

THE Prophecy of *BARUCH* the Son of *Neriah*, who was the Disciple and *Amanuensis* of *Jeremiah*, was formerly reckon'd part of the Book of *Jeremiah's* Prophecy. *Josephus* tells us, That *Baruch* was descended of a noble Family, and that he was a perfect Master of the Language of his Country. 'Tis said, Ch. 1. Ver. 1. That he wrote this Prophecy in *Babylon*, but at what time is uncertain (a). We have not at present the *Hebrew* Copy of *Baruch*; tho' no question can be made, but that it was writ in that Language, as the frequent *Hebraisms* to be met with therein do sufficiently Evince. There are two *Syriac* Versions of it, the one agreeable to the *Greek* Text, and the other very different from it. But 'tis very probable, That the *Greek* Text is more Ancient and Authentic than these Versions. There is a Letter in *Syriac* attributed to *Baruch*; but 'tis plain, that this is a Supposititious piece, made perhaps by some *Christian*. The Letter to the Captives of *Babylon*, which is at the end of *Baruch*, is *Jeremiah's*. The Author of the second Book of the *Maccabees* makes mention of it, Ch. 2. Ver. 1, 2. It is of that Prophet's Style, and contains nothing but what suits with the time wherein it was Penn'd.

(a) But at what time is uncertain.] Some believe that *Baruch* went not to *Babylon* till after the Death of his Master *Jeremiah*, whom he lov'd so well as not to leave him till then; and they confirm this Opinion upon the mention that is therein made of the Burning of *Jerusalem*. Others, on the contrary, say, That he wrote his Book before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, because mention is therein made of the Altar, Sacrifices, and consecrated Vessels. This

has made them to believe, That he was one of those that were sent to *Babylon* the fourth year of *Zedekiah*, of whom *Seraiah*, *Baruch's* Brother, was Chief, as is mention'd, *Jer. 51. 59.* They therefore say, That he having carried the Book of *Jeremiah* along with him, the next year made his Prophecy to comfort the Captives; and that the 5th year after the taking of *Jerusalem*, mention'd Ver. 2. ought to be reckon'd from the Captivity of *Jechoniah*.



S E C T. XX.

Of the Prophet Ezekiel and his Prophecy.

**EZEKIEL** the Son of *Buzi* the Priest, having been carried Captive to *Babylon* under *Jechoniah*, began to Prophesie the fifth year of the Captivity, the thirtieth of his Age (a), and continued to Prophesie during twenty years. He was kill'd, as 'tis supposed, by a Prince of his own Nation, whom he had reprov'd for Worshipping of Idols. His Prophecy is very obscure, especially at the beginning and latter end. 'Tis perhaps for this Reason, That the *Jews* would not have any to read it before thirty years of Age: Having laid open his Commission whereby he was call'd to be a Prophet, he foretells the Captivity and the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, to confirm the Predictions of *Jeremiah*, and to refute the vain Promises of the false Prophets. He likewise foretells the Evils that should befall the Neighbouring Nations, and Prophecies of the Re-establishment of the *Jews* and their Temple, which are no more than Types and Figures of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*, of the Calling of the Gentiles, and of the Establishment of the Church. Of all the Prophets, He abounds the most in Enigmatical Visions. *St. Jerom* says, That his Style is neither Eloquent, nor Mean, but between both. He abounds in fine Sentences, rich Comparisons, and shews a great deal of Learning in Prophane Things. His Prophecies or Visions, which are two and twenty in all, are rang'd according to the Order and Series of Time wherein they happen'd.

(a) *The thirtieth year of his Age.*] At the beginning of his Prophecy, he says, That he began to see Visions in the Thirtieth Year: Some understand this of the Jubilee; others, since the Solemn Renewal of the Covenant under *Josiah* the King; others of

the year of the Reign or Birth of *Nebuchadnezzar*: But 'tis more likely, that hereby is meant the thirtieth year of his Age, wherein according to the Law he began to be capable of performing the Priest's Office.

S E C T. XXI.

Of the Prophet Daniel, and of the Truth of his Prophecy. Of the Chapters which are not in the Hebrew Text.

**DANIEL** descended from the Royal Family of *Judah* (a), was carried Captive to *Babylon* in the time of *Jehoiakim* (b), being then very young. The *Jews* do not reckon him among the Prophets; but the *Christians* (following the Authority of *Jesus Christ*, who gives him this Title, *Matth.* 24. 15.) do Style him a Prophet. And indeed it cannot be question'd, but what he wrote was a Prophecy, as the *Jews* themselves do own: However, They did not bestow upon him the Name of Prophet, because his way of Living was not conformable to that of the other Prophets, but he liv'd more like the Grandees of *Babylon*; and they do likewise believe that he was an Eunuch, which it seems may be confirm'd by a Passage of his Book. Some produce more Reasons why they did not give him the Title of Prophet, but they are all very frivolous (c), and the *Christians* have a great deal more reason to acknowledge him as a true Prophet (d.) He prophesied in *Babylon* from the beginning of the Captivity under *Jehoiakim*, to the Reign of *Cyrus*, that is, for the space of above fourscore years. We do not

(a) *From the Royal Family of Judah.*] This is infer'd from *Ch.* 1. *Ver.* 3. where King *Nebuchadnezzar* order'd *Asshpenaz* to bring to him certain of the Children of *Israel*, and of the King's Seed, *de Semine Regio*. *Daniel* is the first of those that were chosen. However, This is not altogether Conclusive; for the place may be render'd, *De Semine Regni*, that is, Children of Quality: Besides, This is not said in particular of *Daniel*, and may be understood of the rest. Yet *Josephus* says positively, That *Daniel* was of the Royal Family.

(b) *In the time of Jehoiakim.*] This Prince was carry'd Captive the third year of his Reign, and *Daniel* with him, *Ch.* 1. *Ver.* 1, 2. *Daniel* is call'd *Puer*, which shews, That he was young. However, *Puer* may be said of a Person about 18 or 20 years of Age. He Prophesied to the Reign of *Cyrus*, as appears, *Ch.* 10. *Ver.* 1.

(c) *They are all very frivolous.*] The Rabbies say, That there are eleven Degrees of Prophecy, and to be a true Prophet, one must have three of them at least; that for the having them it must be said, that the Word of the Lord came to the Prophet, and that the Revelation made to him in a Dream, be no longer call'd a Vision. Now, say they, Both these Qualifications are wanting in *Daniel*; for 'tis not said, That the Word of the Lord came to him, and his

Revelations are call'd Visions. These are Chimerical Rules and Maxims, which they are pleas'd to suppose without any proof. Others, with greater probability argue, from the distinction of two sorts of Prophecies, which we have explain'd before; the one of which being properly call'd Prophecy, is made by Visions or Dreams to a Man who is not Master of himself or his Thoughts: And the other, Which is only stil'd Inspiration, is the Direction or Assistance of the Holy Ghost, which a Person receives without any extraordinary thing happening to him. But this distinction cannot be applied to the point in hand. For *Daniel* had Visions as well as the other Prophets, and the other Prophets have Prophesied as well as him without any extraordinary Emotion. What some alledge, That we ought not to Style the Revelations made out of the Holy-Land, Prophecies, is altogether frivolous.

(d) *To acknowledge him as a true Prophet.*] He had all the Qualifications of a Prophet: He was Inspir'd by God: He foretold things to come: He had Visions and Revelations: He is styl'd a Prophet by *Jesus Christ*, *Matth.* 24. 15. *Mark* 13. 14. The Historian *Josephus* calls him likewise a Great Prophet, and even prefers him above all the rest in the 10th Book of his *Antiquities*, *C. ult.* and he is reckon'd among the Prophets in the Book of the *Talmud*, nam'd *Megilah*.

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Tho' DANIEL's Name be not at the Top of his Prophecy, yet there are a great many Passages wherein he speaks in the first Person (*e*), which is sufficient Evidence that he was the Author of it. The Age of *Daniel* is manifest from the Testimony of *Ezekiel*, who commends him in three Places of his Prophecy, viz. *Ch. 14. Ver. 14.* and *20. Ch. 28. Ver. 3.* and in this last mentions the Spirit of Wisdom or Prophecy, in which he excell'd. *Jesus Christ* likewise cites the Prophecy of *Daniel*, *Matt. 24. 15. Mar. 13.*

The Book of *Daniel* may be divided into two Parts: The First is *Historical*, and contains the Relation of several things that happen'd to *Daniel* at *Babylon* under several Kings. The Second, Which begins at the 7th Chapter, and ends at the 12th, contains the *Visions* or *Prophecies* which he had, wherein he clearly foretels of several Events relating to the Monarchies of the World, and the time of the Coming of the *Messiah*, his Death and the Destruction of the Kingdom of the *Jews*. The two last Chapters, *viz.* the 13th and 14th, contain two particular Histories; The one of *Susanna*, and the other of *Bel* and the *Dragon*; the Truth of which we shall enquire into by and by. The 1st Chapter, and the beginning of the 2d to the 4th Verse, are writ in *Hebrew*: The next to the 8th in *Chaldee*, except the Song of the Three Children cast into the fiery Furnace, which is only in *Greek*: The Original of the following Chapters is *Hebrew*: And the two last are only in the *Greek* Copies. The Style of *Daniel* is not so lofty or figurative as that of the other Prophets; 'tis more Historical, clear and concise. He makes his Narrations and Descriptions simple and natural: In short, He writes more like an Historian than a Prophet.

(e) *A great many Passages, &c.*] Ch. 7. Ver. 1, 2. Ver. 1. *In the third year of the Reign of Belshazzar, a Vision appeared to me, even to Me Daniel. V. 27. And I Daniel fainted. Chap. 12. Ver. 5. Then I Daniel looked.*  
*in the first year of Belshazzar King of Babylon, Daniel had a Dream and Visions of his heart upon his Bed, &c. Daniel spake and said, I saw in my Vision by night, Ch. 8.*



the Elders related, *Ch. 13.* The History of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, and of *Daniel's* being cast into the *Lion's Den*, related *Ch. 14.* we have already treated at large of their *Canonical Authority*, and of the Opinions of the Ancients upon that Subject. We are at present to enquire who is the Author of the Additions, and to answer the Objections that are started against the Truth of these Histories.

The *Song of the Three Children* has no particular Title, and there is no other Argument to prove that it is not *Daniel's*, unless because 'tis not in the *Chaldee Original*. It might likewise so happen, That it was struck out of it at first, that so the History might not be interrupted, which was afterwards inserted to set off the Narration.

The History of *Susanna* was formerly at the head of the Book of *Daniel*, without any particular Title. *St. Jerom*, after *Eusebius* and *Apollinarius*, attributes it to the Prophet *Habakkuk*. We see no other Reason that might determine them to think so, unless upon the account of the *Greek Title* which is upon the Top of the History of *Bel*; *The Prophecy of Habakkuk the Son of Juda of the Tribe of Levi*. But this Title only relates to the History of *Bel*, which was at the end of the Book of *Daniel*, whereas the History of *Susanna* was formerly at the beginning. We know not of what Authority this Inscription is, nor yet who this Prophet *Habakkuk* is. It seems, as if *St. Jerom* had thought, That he was the same Person with him whose Prophecy is among those of the *Lesser Prophets*. Let this be as it will, Perhaps *Daniel* might not be the Author of these Histories, and yet they may be true notwithstanding. There have been some, both Ancients and Moderns, who have started Difficulties against the Truth of these Histories, which however are not unanswerable. You may see the Objections and the Solutions of them in the Notes (*f*).

(*f*) First, 'tis Objected, That these Histories are neither in the *Hebrew* nor *Chaldee Original*, and that the *Jews* did not look upon them as *Daniel's*. To this 'tis Answer'd, That they might have been there formerly, and that the Original Text is lost. But tho' they were another Author's, who had extracted them out of other creditable Memoirs; yet this does not hinder them from being Genuine. Secondly, 'tis pretended, That the Style of these Histories is different from that of *Daniel*. *Origen* discovers no difference in them, and tho' there were, it could only from thence be concluded, That *Daniel* was not the Author of them, but not that the Histories are false. Thirdly, they pretend, That the History of *Susanna* could not happen whilst *Daniel* was young, as is said in this Narration. For *Ch. 13. Ver. 65.* 'tis observ'd, That *Ashages* died, and *Cyrus* received his Kingdom. The History of *Susanna* is afterwards related, and consequently must have happen'd since. Now at that time *Daniel* was very old. 'Tis Answer'd, That this History happen'd long before, and that 'tis inserted into this Place by mistake. For in the Ancient Versions, 'tis at the head of the Book of *Daniel*, and was not plac'd at the end in the Vulgar Editions, but only because it was not in the *Hebrew Copy*. For which reason, these words, *Ch. 13. Ver. 65. King Ashages died, and Cyrus succeeded him*, have nothing to do with the History of *Susanna*, but the History of *Bel* and the *Dragon*, which immediately follows, and which even in the Edition of *Sixtus V.* is annex'd to these Words. Fourthly, 'tis objected, That 'tis incredible, that *Joachim* the Father of *Susanna* was so rich and powerful in the Captivity, as in this Book he is said to be, or that the Captives had any Authority of Condemning the Guilty, as is here related. *Origen* replies, That the *Jews* who were carried to *Babylon*, were not rifled of all that they had; that some of 'em were rich and powerful, and that 'tis probable, they had still a Power of Trying and Condemning their Criminals, according to the Law, as the *Romans* granted them the same Authority after they had conquer'd them. The Fifth Objection, and the most difficult to resolve, is that which is started from the Allusion, that is to be met with in the Narration of this History. When *Daniel* Interrogated the two Elders separately, and the one of 'em had said, That he saw *Susanna* commit Adultery under an Holm-Tree, which the *Greeks* call *αἰῖνα*, he return'd him this Answer, That the Angel of the Lord should cleave him asunder, alluding thereby to the Verb *αἰῖσαι*: And when the other had answer'd, That he saw her under a Mastick-Tree *αἰῖνα*, he replied, That he

should be cut asunder, thereby alluding to the Verb *αἰῖσαι*. Now these Allusions take place only in the *Greek*; it was therefore a *Greek* who wrote these things, and feign'd them, since *Daniel* speaking in *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* could not have said any thing like it. To this *Origen* replies, That in Truth *Daniel* did not make use of these Terms, nor of the Names of these Trees, but of some other *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* Names, to which the Verbs were answerable, which signifie to Cleave, and to cut asunder; and that the *Greek Interpreter* has render'd the Sense by seeking for the Names of such Trees, which might allude to the *Greek Verbs*, that signifie to cleave and cut asunder. Just as in *Genesis*, Where in *Hebrew* 'tis said, That the Woman was call'd *Ἰσῆα*, the Feminine of the *Hebrew* Word *ἰσῆ*, which signifies the Man: The *Latin Interpreter* has render'd it, *Has vocatur Virago*, and *Symmachus* in the *Greek*, *Ἄρδεις*, which is more proper than *Ἰσῆα*, which the *LXX* have made use of. To render this Reply the more forcible, *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* Names of Trees should have been found out, to allude to the Verbs which signifie to cleave and to cut asunder. But *Origen* has to no purpose consulted the *Jews* of his time about it, and we do not read of any that have been found out since. Sixthly, Against the History of *Bel* 'tis said, That the Ancient Title of the *LXX* attributed it to *Habakkuk*, and that *Daniel* mention'd in this History was a Priest: 'Tis therefore another *Daniel* to whom this History belongs. To this 'tis answer'd, That the Character of Priest is not given to *Daniel* in the Version of *Theodotion*, and that the Version attributed fallily to the *LXX* is not exact. Seventhly, Against the History of the *Dragon*, 'tis said, That *Habakkuk*, who lived in the time of *Manasses*, was dead when 'tis supposed, that he wrote these things, and was caught up by the Spirit to carry Provision to the Prophet *Daniel*. To this 'tis reply'd, That there were two *Habakkuks*; one, who was the Prophet, and liv'd in the time of *Manasses*; and the other of whom mention is made in this Place of *Daniel*. The latter was of the Tribe of *Levi*; the former of the Tribe of *Simeon*. Lastly, Against the same History, 'tis objected, that in this place 'tis said, That *Daniel* was six days in the *Lion's Den*, and that *Ch. 6. Ver. 22.* 'tis said, That he had been in only one Night. To this 'tis answer'd, That he was twice cast into the *Lion's Den*, under *Darius*, because he pray'd to his God against the King's Commandment, and under *Cyrus* upon the Account of the *Dragon*.

S E C T. XXII.

The Lives and Writings of the Twelve Lesser Prophets.

THE Prophecies of those which we call THE TWELVE LESSER PROPHETS, made but one Volume among the *Hebrews* (a). But the Order of them is not the same in the *Hebrew* Text, and in the Edition of the LXX. which last is follow'd by *Eusebius* and the *Greeks* (b).

HOSEA the Son of *Beeri* is the first (c). He Prophesied in the Kingdom of *Israel*, and under the Reign of *Jeroboam* II. and his Successors, Kings of *Israel*; and whilst *Uzziah* or *Azariah*, *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezekiah*, were Kings of *Judah*. His Name is at the Head of the Work, and he speaks frequently of himself in the first Person: So that it cannot be question'd, but that he was the Author of this Prophecy. He therein represents the *Jewish* Synagogue repudiated, foretels its Ruin, and the Calling in of the Gentiles. He upbraids the Children of *Israel* for their Idolatry, and foretels the Evils that should happen to them as the Punishment of that Crime. However, He comforts them by putting 'em in hopes, that these Miseries should have an end; and that God would show'r down his Blessings upon them if they turn'd unto the Lord. God's Commanding this Prophet to take to him a Wife of Whoredoms, and Children of Whoredoms, seems to be an extraordinary thing; but this ought to be understood, either simply as a Vision, according to what *St. Jerom* pretends in the Case; or one ought to suppose, that God did not Command him to commit Adultery, but to Marry a Woman of Whoredoms, as *St. Basil* and *St. Augustin* have explain'd it. The Style of this Prophet is Pathetical, and full of short and lively Sentences, as *St. Jerom* has observ'd.

The Prophecy of JOEL, the Son of *Pethuel*, comes next to that of *Hosea*, in the *Hebrew* Text. The time wherein he Prophesied being not set down in the Beginning of his Prophecy, is upon that account not so certain (d). Some believe him to be more Ancient than *Amos*; others say, That he did not write till after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes. There are Conjectures on both sides about it. He was (according to some) of the Tribe of *Gad*, according to others of the Tribe of *Reuben*. In the beginning of his Prophecy he foretels the Miseries that should befall the *Jews*, exhorts them to Repent, and Promises that God would come to their Relief and heap upon them Spiritual and Temporal Blessings. Afterwards he describes the Vengeance, which God would take of the Nations; and the Eternal Kingdom of God in *Sion*. The Style of this Prophet is strong, expressive, and figurative.

(a) Made but one Volume among the *Hebrews*.] *Josephus* and *St. Jerom* testify as much, and it may be prov'd from *Ecclesi* Ch. 49. Ver. 10. which says, Let the Bones of the Twelve Prophets flourish again out of their Place: For they comforted *Jacob*, and deliver'd them by assured Hope. This Citation of the Twelve Prophets, under a Collective Name, proves, That then their Prophecies made but one Volume. For which Reason, The *Jews* and *Greeks* have intitled these Prophecies, The Twelve Prophets.

(b) But the Order of them is not the same, &c.] *Hosea* is the First in both, and the Six last Prophets are in the same Order. But the LXX observe the following Order in the Five others, *Amos*, *Micah*, *Joel*, *Obadiab*, and *Jonah*: Whereas the Order of the *Hebrew* Text, and the *Vulgar* Latin, is this, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Obadiab*, *Jonah*, and *Micah*. Neither of them do exactly follow the Chronological Order; according to which we should dispose both the Greater and Lesser Prophets, thus, viz. *Jonah*, *Hosea*, *Joel*, *Amos*, *Isaiab*, *Micah*, *Zephaniab*, *Nahum*, *Habakkuk*, *Obadiab*, *Jeremiab*, *Baruch*, *Daniel*, *Ezekiel*, *Haggai*, *Zechariab*, and *Malachi*.

(c) *Hosea* the Son of *Beeri* is the first.] 'Tis suppos'd, That he was the most Ancient both of the Lesser and Greater Prophets. He certainly began to Prophesie under the Reign of *Jeroboam* and *Azariah*. Now *Azariah* began not to Reign till the 27th year of *Jeroboam* II. who reign'd no more than 41 years. So that *Hosea* must necessarily have begun his Prophecy in the 14th of *Azariah*, who reign'd 52 years; and consequently must be more Ancient than *Isaiab*. The forged *Epiphanius*, and the forged *Dionysius* re-

late, That he was of the Tribe of *Issachar*, and of the City of *Belemoth*, but these two Authors can hardly be credited.

(d) Is upon that account not so certain.] *St. Jerom* believes him to be Contemporary with *Hosea*; because he follows that Prophet in the *Hebrew* Text. He grounds his Opinion upon this Principle, viz. That the Prophets are ranged according to the Series of Time, and that the time of a Prophet not being set down, one must joyn him with the foregoing. This Rule does not always hold good. Some Place him before *Jehoram* the Son of *Ahab*, in whose time there was a 7 years Famine, which 'tis pretended, that he foretold. The Rabbies in the *Seder-Olam*, place the Prophet *Joel* under the Reign of *Hezekiab* or *Manasses*; others under the Reign of *Josiah*, in whose days there was a Famine. *Huetius* pretends, That *Joel* prophesied after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes, upon the account of what is said, Chap. 3. Ver. 2. That they had scatter'd the Children of *Israel* among the Nations; But he might have spoken of a future thing, as if it had been already past. He says, further, That not a Word is said of the Kingdom of *Israel* throughout the whole Prophecy, but this is not certain. They who say, That he Prophesied before *Amos*, ground their Opinion upon this Prophets predicting a Famine at the latter end of the first Chapter, of which, *Amos*, Ch. 4. of his Prophecy, speaks as of a thing past: But *Huetius* pretends, That these are two different Famines; that the Famine mention'd in *Amos* happen'd naturally, but that in *Joel* was to happen by the Incurfions of the Enemy.



## A Compleat History of the Canon, &c. Book I.

Amos the Shepherd, of the Town of *Tekoa*, which is two Leagues Southward off of *Bethlehem*, was chosen by God to be a Prophet in the time of *Uzziah* King of *Judah*, and of *Jeroboam* the Son of *Joash* King of *Israel*, two years before the Earthquake which happen'd in the 24th or 25th year of *Uzziah*. His Prophecy is chiefly against the Ten Tribes, whose Destruction and Captivity he Predicts. He concludes, by putting them in hopes of a Restoration, which can be nothing else but the Reign of the *Messias*. This Prophet is not so lofty as the rest, and makes use of Comparisons and Expressions taken from the Calling of which he was, and suitable to his State and Profession.

The Time of the Prophet *Obadiah* is wholly Uncertain. *St. Jerom*, with the *Hebrews*, believes, That this Prophet was the same with the Governor of *Ahab's* House, mention'd 1 *Kings* 18. 3. who hid and fed the hundred Prophets, whom *Jezebel* would have destroyed. Some say, He was that *Obadiah*, whom *Josiah* made Overseer of the Works of the Temple, mention'd 2 *Chron.* 34. 12. But most make him Contemporary with *Hosea*, *Amos*, and *Joel*. Lastly, Some believe him to be Contemporary with *Jeremiah* after the taking of *Jerusalem*. 'Tis more probable, That he liv'd in the time of *Ahaz*, when the *Edomites* in Conjunction with the *Israelites* made War against the Tribe of *Judah*, because his Prophecy is wholly against the *Edomites* or *Idumeans*.

*JONAH* the Son of *Amittai* the Prophet (e), who was of *Gath-hepher*, near *Dio-Casarea*, of the Tribe of *Zabulon* in *Galilee*, prophesied under the Reign of *Jeroboam* King of *Israel*, and in the days of *Uzziah* or *Azariah* King of *Judah*, and seems to be the most Ancient of all the Prophets (f). God sent him to the City of *Nineveh*, to preach Repentance to the Inhabitants thereof. Instead of Obeying this Command, he was for flying by Sea to another place. He was cast into the Sea, receiv'd into the Belly of a great Fish, which Vomited him out again upon the dry Land. He receiv'd a second Order to go to *Nineveh*: Thither he went, and denounc'd against that City its impending Destruction, which by the Repentance of the Inhabitants was respited. This is the History that is related in his Book. He had compos'd another Prophecy, mention'd 2 *Kings* 14. 25. wherein he foretold in the Reign of *Joash*, the Conquests which his Son *Jeroboam* should make. The Book of *Jonah*, which we have, seems to have been cited, *Tobit* 14. 8. and is approv'd by *Jesus Christ*.

The Prophet *MICAH*, born at *Morasthi* or *Moreseth* (g), a Town of *Palestine* in the Tribe of *Juda*, prophesied in the days of *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, and *Hezekiah*, after the other Prophets already mention'd, but before *Jeremiah*, who cites him, *Ch.* 26. *Ver.* 18. of his Prophecy. He is not the same with that Prophet who liv'd in the days of *Ahab* and *Jehoshaphat*, mention'd *Ch.* 22. of the first Book of *Kings*. The Prophecy of him we now speak of, is against *Samaria* and *Jerusalem*; that is, against the Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*. He reproves the Irregularities of the *Israelites*, foretels their Captivity, and comforts them in hopes of a future Deliverance. It is Penn'd in a sublime, tho' natural and intelligible Style.

The Prophet *NAHUM*, in the Title of his Prophecy, is styl'd the *Elkoshite*. *Elkosh*, according to *St. Jerom*, is a little Town of *Galilee*. Others believe, That 'tis the Name of his Family. Nor have we any greater Assurance of the time wherein he liv'd. His speaking of the Destruction of *Nineveh*, has made some believe, That he liv'd in the days of *Sardanapalus* under *Joash* and *Jehu*: If this were so, He would be the most Ancient of the Prophets. *Josephus* believes, That he liv'd in the days of *Jotham*, and that he foretold the Destruction of *Nineveh*, which happen'd several years after, in the time of *Josiah*. *St. Jerom*, *Theodoret*, and *Theophylact* say, That he Prophesied after the Captivity of the *Israelites*, either under *Hezekiah*, or *Manasses*. The most general Opinion is, That he Prophesied since the Destruction of the Ten Tribes by *Salmanezar*, and before *Sennacherib's* Expedition against the Tribe of *Judah*, which is foretold in the first Chapter of his Prophecy; and that in the next he foretels the taking of *Nineveh* in the days of *Nabuchodonosor*, and *Ahasuerus*, mention'd in the *Greek Text* of *Tobit*, *Ch.* 14. *Ver.* 15. That is, by *Cyaxeres* and *Nabopalassar*, or according to others, by *Astyages* and *Nabuchodonosor*. The Style of *Nahum* is figurative, and full of Comparisons.

(e) *Jonah the Son of Amittai the Prophet.*] The *Jews* say, That he was the Son of the Widow Woman of *Sarepta*, but this is a groundless Imagination.

(f) *The most Ancient of all the Prophets.*] He began to Prophesie in the Reign of *Joash*, the Father of *Jeroboam*, 2 *Kings* 14. 25. The History related in this Prophecy, came to pass in the days of *Pul* the Father of *Sardanapalus* King of *Nineveh*, who was invited by *Menabem*, and came into the Kingdom of

*Israel* with an Army in the life-time of the Prophet *Hosea*.

(g) *Morasthi or Moreseth.*] Some believe it to be *Maresbab*, mention'd *Ch.* 1. *Ver.* 15. and *Josb.* 15. 44. But this Name is written differently in those Places, from what it is *Ver.* 26. 18. where *Misab* is call'd the *Morasthi*. *St. Jerom* has observ'd, That this *Morasthi* was no more than a Village situate near *Eleutheropolis*.

We know neither the Country, nor the Time wherein HABAUKKUK liv'd: The Jews say, That he Prophesied in the days of Manasses or Jehoiakim, just before the Captivity: St. Epiphanius, and the false Epiphanius, in the days of Zedekiah, and Jeremiah: And others in the time of Josiah. St. Jerom, who makes him to be the same, with the Prophet Habakkuk, to whom the History of Bel and the Dragon is ascrib'd, believes him to be Contemporary with Daniel. The most probable Opinion is, That he liv'd under the Reign of Manasses, whose Sins he seems to describe, Ch. 1. Ver. 3, 4. and before the Chaldeans had carried the Jews into Captivity. He foretels this Misfortune to the Jews, Ver. 6. and the following: But afterwards comforts them by assuring them that they should be restor'd, and the Chaldeans destroyed. He concludes with an Excellent Prayer to God. This Prophecy is obscure and hard to be understood.

We cannot tell of what Country ZEPHANIAH was (b), but the time when he Prophesied is denoted by these Words at the beginning of his Prophecy: *The Word of the Lord which came to Zephaniah the Son of Cushi, the Son of Gedalia, the Son of Amariah, the Son of Hizkiah, in the days of Josiah, the Son of Amon King of Judah.* He doubtless began to Prophecy, before Josiah had re-established the Worship of God, and the Observation of the Law in its Purity: For he declaims against the Idolatry and Vices of the Jews; foretels their Destruction, and the taking of Jerusalem, and according to the Custom of the Prophets, comforts them at last, by promising them a Re-establishment, and an Happiness which was not perfectly accomplish'd till the Coming of the Messiah. The Style of this Prophet is like Jeremiah's, of whom he seems to be the Abbreviator, as St. Isidorus observes.

HAGGAI, and the two following Prophets, Prophesied not till after the Return of the Jews from the Captivity of Babylon. It is said in the beginning of Haggai's Prophecy, *That in the second year of Darius, (that is, the Son of Hystaspes (i)) in the sixth Month in the first day of the Month, came the Word of the Lord by Haggai the Prophet unto Zerubbabel the Son of Shealtiel Governor of Judah, and to Joshua the Son of Josedech the High-Priest;* whereby he reproves the Jews for having delay'd the Re-building of the Temple; and tells them, that this their Negligence was the Cause of the Famine they then suffer'd. Zerubbabel, Joshua, and all the People harkened to the Advice of Haggai, and the 24th day of the same Month the Work was begun. The 21th day of the Seventh Month, Haggai told the People from the Lord, That tho' the Building which they made, was not so Magnificent as that of the first Temple, yet it should have a greater Glory, because it should be honour'd with the Coming of Him who was the Desire of the Nations; that is, the Messiah (a very clear Prediction of Jesus Christ.). The 24th of the Ninth Month he declares to them, That God had chang'd their Scarcity into Plenty, from the day that they had laid the Foundations of the Temple; and assures Zerubbabel of the Divine Protection. The Prophecy of Haggai is clear and Historical.

ZECHARIAH the SON of Barachiah, Grandson of Iddo (k), began his Prophecy the same year of Darius, in the Eighth Month, as himself has observ'd in the beginning, and continued

(b) Of what Country Zephaniah was.] If Hizkiah mention'd in this place as his Great Grandfather, be Hezekiah the King, he would be of the Tribe of Judah, and of the Royal Family; but this cannot be. 'Tis perhaps upon this, that St. Cyril went, in asserting that this Prophet was of Noble Extraction.

(i) That is, the Son of Hystaspes.] This is the Opinion of Josephus, St. Clement of Alexandria, St. Jerom and Theodoret. Scaliger thinks, That it was Darius Notus, because, Eyr. 4. 6, 7. mention is made of Abasuerus and Artaxerxes his Predecessors, whom he takes to be Xerxes and Artaxerxes Longimanus. But it is easie to answer him, by saying, That these Names are given in Scripture to all the Kings of Persia; and that by them we may understand Cyrus and Cambyeser, the Predecessors of Darius the Son of Hystaspes, or Cambyeser, and the false Smerdis, or even Cambyeser himself only, to whom the Scripture gives two Names. Scaliger's other Argument is stronger; He says, That Zechariah and Haggai prophesied at the same time: That Zechariah, Chap. 1. Ver. 12. and Ch. 7. Ver. 5. testifies, That when he wrote, the People of Israel had been seventy years in Affliction, and that God was Angry with them. Now the 2d year of Darius the Son of Hystaspes, is

not the 70th year of the Captivity. To this 'tis answer'd, That the Prophet Zechariah does not say, that it was 70 years since the People of Israel were in Captivity, neither that they were then in Captivity; but only says in general, that they had been in Affliction, and that God had poured down his Indignation upon them for the space of threescore and ten years, which ought to be understood of the 70 years Captivity, tho' it was already past. The Hebrew and Greek Phrase of this Passage denotes no more the present time, than the past. One very convincing Argument, to prove, that Haggai wrote in the days of Darius the Son of Hystaspes, is this, That speaking of the Second Temple, Ch. 2. Ver. 3. he says, That there were some Persons present, who had seen the first Temple, *Who is left among you that saw this House in her first Glory?* Now if this had been Written under Darius Notus, these Persons ought to have been 176 years old, or thereabouts: And consequently Ezrah should have been 100 years old, Zerubbabel and Joshua 140, for so great a space of time there is from the first year of Cyrus to the time of Darius Notus.

(k) Grandson of Iddo.] In Ezrah he is call'd the Son of Iddo; in the Septuagint, and in St. Jerom's Ver-



## A Compleat History of the Canon, &c. Book I.

tinued it to the fourth year of the same Prince, to the 4th day of the Ninth Month. He is a different Person from that *Zechariah*, mention'd by *Isaiah*, Ch. 8. (1): and from him who was slain by the Command of King *Joash*, between the Temple and the Altar, as is related, 2 *Chron.* 24. 20. He exhorts the *Jews* in his Prophecy to rebuild the Temple, and advises them not to imitate the Idolatry, the Sins, and the Disobedience of their Fathers. He assures them of the Favour and Protection of God, foretels the Judgments that should befall the other Nations, and the Blessings that should be show'd down upon the People of God when the *Messiah* should come. All this was reveal'd to him by Visions, and described by Types and Figures which he relates and explains.

*MALACHI*, whose Name signifies, *My Angel (m)*, Prophesied since *Haggai* and *Zechariah*, after the Rebuilding of the Temple: For the two first exhorted the People to build the Temple; but he exhorts them to observe the Law, and to offer their Sacrifices with Purity; which supposes, that the Temple was already rebuilt. Beside, the Disorders which he reproves are the same for which *Nehemiah* upbraided the *Jews*, which shews that they were Contemporary. *Malachi* is the last of the Prophets, and since there was none to come after him till, *Jesus Christ's* appearing, he concludes his Prophecy with Exhorting the *Jews* to observe the Law of *Moses*, and to wait for the great and dreadful day of the Lord; *Who should turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and the Hearts of the Children to the Fathers*: which Passage clearly denotes St. *John Baptist* and *Jesus Christ*.

Version, the Son of *Barachiah*, the Son of *Ido*. St. *Jerom* believes, That he was the Natural Son of *Barachiah*, and the Son of *Ido* by Imitation: Others say, That he was the Son of the latter, according to the Law, but 'tis more probable, that he was his Grandson, as is observ'd in our Vulgar Translation. St. *Jerom* is mistaken in making this *Ido* the same Person with him, who was sent to *Jerusalem* in the days of *Feroboam*, since there were 240 years between *Feroboam* and *Darius*, a time too long to be allow'd between Grandfather and Grandson.

(1) *He is a different Person from that Zechariah, mention'd by Isaiah, &c.* Chronology shews, That this was not the Prophet, no more than he, who is mention'd in the *Chronicles*, and who died in the time of *Joash*. He whose Prophecy we have, is the Son of *Barachiah*, but the Person kill'd in the time of *Joash*, was the Son of *Jehoiaada*. That which causes the Difficulty, is, *Jesus Christ's* saying, *Matth.* 23. That *Zechariah* the Son of *Barachiah* was slain between the Temple and the Altar, which agrees with what is related in the *Chronicles* concerning *Zechariah* the Son of *Jehoiaada*. This induc'd St. *Jerom* to believe, That he was the Person meant by *Jesus Christ*, and that we ought to read, as 'tis in the Gospel of the *Naqarenes*, the Son of *Jehoiaada*, and not of *Barachiah*. *Origen* on the contrary, and several others, understand it of the Prophet, who they say was kill'd after the same manner, and they have the Text of the Gospel on their side, which imports, That he who was kill'd between the Temple and the Altar, was the Son of *Barachiah*. It cannot be said that the Evangelist is mistaken; and there is no reason to pretend that there is any fault in the Text of this Place. Secondly, *Zechariah* the Son of *Jehoiaada*, was not killed between the Temple and the Altar, but in the Court of the Temple. Notwithstanding all this, the instance of *Zechariah* the Son of *Jehoiaada*, agrees so exactly with what *Jesus Christ* says, that one can hardly doubt but this is the History he speaks of. This *Zechariah*, when he died, said, *The Lord look upon it, and require it*: 'Tis to these Words that the saying of our Saviour has a Reference. We do not meet with the History of any other Righteous Person nam'd *Zechariah*, that was put to Death before *Jesus Christ* for the sake of Religion, and *Jesus Christ* doubtless speaks of an History that was known and related in the Books of the *Jews*, as well as that of the Murther of *Abel*. We no where read that the Prophet *Zechariah* was slain after this manner: Neither the Scripture, nor any Ancient Writer mentions it: Therefore there is no probability that he was the Person that *Jesus Christ* intended to speak of. Some are of Opinion, That *Jesus Christ* spake this Prophe-

tically of *Zechariah* the Son of *Baruch*, a righteous Man, who was slain in the Temple a little before the Siege of *Jerusalem*, as *Josephus* relates it in his Book concerning the War of the *Jews*. This Opinion has something of Probability in it; but it appears, That *Jesus Christ* speaks of the time past, and of a Man who had been kill'd formerly, *by isord'ours, whom he slew*, that is, *whom the Jews had slain*. It seems therefore, as if the first Opinion were the most probable, and the Reasons urg'd to the contrary are not unanswerable. The second Objection is not conclusive: For whereas the Name of Temple was given to all that Area which was inclos'd with Walls, wherein was contain'd the first part nam'd *Atrium*, the *Court*, where the Altar of Whole-Burnt-Offerings was, one may well say of a Person slain in this place, and perhaps between the Altar and the Inner-Porch of the Temple, that he was kill'd between the Temple and the Altar. The first Objection only, is that which causes the greatest Difficulty, and it cannot be solv'd unless by answering with St. *Jerom*, That *Jehoiaada* ought to be read for *Barachiah*, or by saying that this *Jehoiaada* had two Names.

(m) *Malachi, whose Name signifies My Angel.* This has made *Origen* and *Tertullian* to believe, That he was an Angel Incarnate. He is call'd an Angel by most of the Fathers, and in the Version of the *Septuagint*, but he was an Angel by Office not by Nature, as he himself styles the Priests, *Angels*. Some, as for instance, *Jonathan*, the *Chaldea* Paraphrast, St. *Jerom*, and several *Jews* believ'd, That it was an Appellative Name which *Ezrab* assumed, and that he was the Author of this Book; but this Opinion is founded upon very weak Conjectures; and besides *Ezrab* is no where in Scripture call'd a Prophet. St. *Jerom* proves his Opinion, First, Because *Malachi* and *Ezrab* were Contemporary: Secondly, Because what we find in *Malachi* is very like to what is in *Ezrab*: And lastly, Because Ch. 2. V. 7. he seems to aim at *Ezrab* by these Words, *Verba Sacerdotis custodiunt Scientiam, &c.* But these Conjectures are light and frivolous. For the first only proves, That *Malachi* and *Ezrab* liv'd at the same time, not that they were one and the same: The second is not true, and if it were, it would prove just nothing. The Words allieg'd in the third ought to be understood of *Levi*, and all the Priests of the Law. St. *Jerom* adds, That in *Ecclesiasticus*, Ch. 49. where mention is made of all the Prophets, the Name of *Malachi* is not to be found. To this 'tis answer'd, That we ought not to be surpriz'd, because he is not nam'd there, since in the same place there is no mention made of *Daniel*, and several others.

## S E C T. XXIII.

## Of the Books of the Maccabees.

THE Books of the *Maccabees* are so call'd from *Judas* the Son of *Mattathias*, sur-named *Maccabeus*, either on the Account of his Valour, or because he put on his Standard the first Letters of a Sentence in *Exodus*, which join'd together form the Name of *Maccabee* (a). The *Hebrews* call them also, the Books of the *Assmoneans*, from the Name of the Family of *Mattathias* (b) and his Children, whose History those Books contain.

The two Books of *Maccabees* are not writ by the same Author, as the difference in Style, Chronology, and Matter of Fact makes Evident (c). The Author of the first is not certainly known; some think it to be one of the *Maccabees* themselves; some say 'twas *John Hircanus*, the Son of *Simon*; and divers think it to be the Work of the great Synagogue. All that can be said of any certainty concerning it is, that the Author of the Book is an *Hebrew*, who wrote during the Priesthood of *John Hircanus*. St. *Jerom* saw an *Hebrew* or *Syro-Chaldaic* Copy of this Book. We have only the *Greek*, and from thence our Vulgar Translation. The *Syriac* in the *Polyglots* is of a later Date, tho' it differs from the *Greek* Text in some places.

The Author of the Second is a *Grecian*, as appears by the Style. It is an Abridgment of the History of *Jason* or *Jesus*, one of the *Jews* of *Cyrenais*, which he had wrote in Five Books; as appears by the Preface of that Book, which begins at Verse 20 Chap. 2. It is preceded by two Letters from the *Jews* of *Jerusalem*, to the *Jews* of *Egypt*, added by the Author of the Abridgment. It's thought also he added the two last Chapters, because *Jason* only wrote what pass'd in the Reign of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and of his Son *Eupator*, Kings of *Syria*; as is observ'd, Chap. 2 Ver. 21. And that those two Chapters contain things which pass'd in the Reign of *Demetrius*, who succeeded *Eupator*. But what is said in this Place, of the Extent of the History of *Jason*, is not so precise, but it may be extended beyond the Reign of *Eupator*. However that be, the Author of this Abridgment hath not abridg'd *Jason* exactly; sometimes he Copies him, sometimes he Abridges him, oftentimes he passes from one Narration to another, and does not relate Matters of Fact in their due Order.

These two Books contain the History of the *Jews*, for 45 Years, or thereabouts, from the End of the Reign of *Seleucus Philopator*, to the End of that of *Antiochus Soter*, first brought under subjection to the Kings of *Syria*, and afterwards restor'd to their Liberty, and govern'd successively by *Judas Maccabeus* and his two Brethren, *Jonathan* and *Simon*, chosen High-Priests and Princes of the *Jews*.

(a) Which join'd together form the Name of *Maccabee*.] Some derive it from *Hebrew* Words, signifying [by me a Wound is given;] or, [a Murderer.] But the most common Opinion is, that it is deriv'd from the first Letters of *Exod.* 15. v. 12. *Mi Camoca Be Elim Jehova. Who among the Gods is like unto the Lord?* Which they say *Judas* put in his Ensigns. But this is not very certain, for *Judas* and all the Children of *Mattathias*, had their Surnames before they undertook any thing, as appears by 1 *Mac.* Chap. 2. Neither is it certain that this Device was on *Judas*'s Colours.

(b) From the Name of the Family of *Mattathias*.] The *Hebrews* call him and his Descendants *Hasmoneans*, or *Assmoneans*; but why, is not known. *Josephus* and *Eusebius* think he was the Son of *Hasmo-*

*neus*; and, it's probable, 'twas the Name of their Family. The word *Hasmoneans* is found in the *Psalms*, where it signifies *Great Lords*. Perhaps it's an Appellative, and was us'd as the proper Name of that Family. *Origen*, quoted by *Eusebius*, *Eccl. Hist. Lib. 6. cap. 25.* says those Books were intitled in *Syriac*, *Sarbes Saborne — El.* Which some translate, *The Scourge of the Rebels against the Lord*: And others, *The Scepter of the Princes of the Children of God*.

(c) As the Difference in Style, &c. makes Evident.] The first is in *Hebrew*, the latter in *Greek*; the latter begins his History higher than the former: The one follows the *Jewish* *Æra*; the other, that of *Alexandria*, which begins 6 Months after. The Phrase of the first is *Hebrew*, that of the second is not so.



## C H A P. IV.

*Of the Hebrew Text of the Books of the Old Testament.*

## S E C T. I.

*Of the Origin and Division of Languages. What was the first Language in the World, Whence the Name Hebrew is deriv'd.*

**B**Eing to Treat of the Ancientest Book in the World, it is proper to Enquire into the Origin of Speech; whereof Writing is only the Expression. Speech is the Interpreter of Mens Thoughts, or the Art by which they make others to understand their Meaning by Arbitrary Signs. This Property belongs only to Man, and is an effect and evident Proof of his Thinking. For no other Creature but Man hath invented Arbitrary Signs to express his Thoughts, which for the most part have no Affinity to his Sensations or Passions. The Beasts have Natural Signs to express their Grief, Hunger and Thirst; that is to say, certain Dispositions in their Body, by certain Motions, which are the Effect of their Machine. But there is no sort of Beasts that makes use of Arbitrary Signs and Rules to express Things independant on the Machine of their Body. There are no Beasts that converse with other Beasts (either by means of the Voice or other Signs) upon things that don't affect their Senses. They may indeed by force of Blows, by making much of them, or by giving them Victuals, make them contract a habit of certain Motions, and of forming particular Cries; which look like Arbitrary and free Signs, to those that know not the Cause and Origin of them. But that Beasts do naturally form a Language amongst themselves, or Invent Signs to express things, which have no relation to the Motions within themselves, is what the Experience of all Ages teaches us to be impossible. Whereas Man no sooner comes to the use of Reason, but he searches for and invents means of expressing his Thoughts; and those also upon things which do no ways relate to his Sensations or Passions. If he can't do it by Voice, he does it by other Signs; as appears by those who are born Deaf and Dumb, and express themselves by Signs as others do by the Voice.

It is true nevertheless, That of all the Arbitrary Signs, that can be made use of by Men to communicate their Thoughts to one another, there's none more Commodious than the Voice, which, by its different Articulations, furnishes an infinite number of different Words; to each of which Men fix such an Idea as they please; wherein being once agreed, they may by means thereof communicate all the Thoughts that come into their Mind. Man is by Nature provided with Organs, proper to form an Articulate Voice; a thing peculiar to himself, and which none of the other Creatures enjoy to that degree of Perfection. Having this aptitude to speak, it is easie to conceive, that he might by degrees form divers Words, join a particular Idea to them, accustom himself thereunto, make them known to others, and so establish an uniform Language to express his Thoughts. It is moreover easie to conceive, that as the relation there is betwixt certain Words, that is to say, a certain Articulation of the Voice, and the things which we would express are purely Arbitrary, they may be chang'd at different Times, in different Places, and by different Persons. Nay, it is very hard to prevent changes in living Languages, by the variety of Mens Wits and Inclinations; the different occasions of expressing our selves; the different turns of Thought; the forgetting of old Words; and the easiness which is found in one Expression beyond what is found in another; by new things, upon which we must explain our selves; by Strangers who intermix with the natural Inhabitants of a Country; and abundance of other Causes. Hence it comes to pass, that we are so far from having any just Cause to wonder, that Languages are not always the same; that on the contrary, 'tis almost impossible they should continue long in the same Condition. This might serve to give us an Account of the Origin of the diversity of Tongues, though the Holy Scriptures had taught us nothing more on that Subject.

But as it is to them we owe the Knowledge of our Original, it is also from thence that we ought to learn the Origin and Division of Languages. Now the Scripture informs us, that God having created the first Man, which it calls *Adam*; and formed out

of the Earth all the Beasts of the Field, and the Birds of the Air, he made them to pass before *Adam*, that he might give them Names; that *Adam* nam'd them, and that the Name which he gave to each was its Name. The same Scripture relates to us, That God made use of a Voice to forbid our Parents the eating of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. It also represents to us the Devil, tempting the Woman by his Discourse; the Woman, answering him and seducing her Husband; God speaking to *Adam* and upbraiding him, and *Adam* and *Eve* endeavouring to excuse themselves. All this supposes that *Adam* and *Eve* were created with a Language. For *Adam* gave Names to the Creatures immediately after his Creation, and before the Woman was made. If he had been Dumb, if he had not then known any Language, how could he immediately give Names to the Creatures, and such Names too as have continued with them? How could *Adam* and *Eve* when newly created have understood what God said to them by Articulate Sounds, understand one another mutually and converse together as soon as plac'd in the Terrestrial Paradise? There must be time to agree on Signs, by which we express our Thoughts, time to retain those Signs, & to adapt them to all the things whereof we speak. All this could not be done of a sudden, but gradually, and demands a considerable time. But that which we have reported happened soon after the Creation: And, moreover, what reason is there to think that God, who had created Man perfect, created him without Speech, which is his principal Ornament, and that he would have plac'd *Adam* and *Eve* in the Terrestrial Paradise, in a Place of Delight, Pleasure and Satisfaction, without being able to converse together, but after a great deal of Labour and Trouble? It is then much more likely (tho' *St. Gregory Nyssene* seems to be of the contrary Opinion) that *Adam* and *Eve* had the Gift of Speech by Infusion, from the Moment of their Creation, than to imagine that they were only created with Organs proper to form Words, and that in time they formed a Language to themselves.

This being suppos'd, there's no great Difficulty in explaining how the Posterity of *Adam* and *Eve* learn'd and preserv'd that Language. Daily Experience shews us, how Infants learn to speak from their Parents, Nurses and those about them. Nor is it any greater wonder, that all Mankind inhabiting still one Corner of the World, having Commerce together, and living also many Ages, that this Language should be preserved among them without any considerable Change till the Deluge. But granting there had been any other, all Men being destroyed by the Deluge, except *Noah* and his Family, the Language of that Patriarch was the only Language that subsisted, and easily preserv'd it self among his Descendants, so long as they continued together in that same Country. But, when before their dispersion, they undertook the building of a City and Tower, whose Top might reach to Heaven, the Lord being willing to put a stop to that rash Enterprize, sent a Confusion amongst them by changing their Language; so that not understanding one another, they could not continue that great Work, and were oblig'd to separate before they had finish'd it. Behold in what manner *Moses* gives us an Account of this great Event, *Gen. 11. There was then (from the Deluge to the Division of Nations) but one Language in the Earth. And as they journey'd from the East, they found a Plain in the Land of Shinar, and dwelt there, and said one to another, Go to, let us make Brick, and burn them. And they had Brick for Stone, and Lime for Mortar. And they said, Go to, let us build a City, and a Tower, whose top may reach unto Heaven, and let us make our Name famous, before we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole Earth. And the Lord came down to see the City, and the Tower, which the Children of Men built. And the Lord said, Behold, the People is one, and they have all one Language, and this they begin to do; and now nothing will be restrained from them, which they have imagined to do. Go to, let us go down, and there confound their Language, that they may not understand one anothers Speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the Earth; and they left off to build the City. Therefore is the Name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the Language of all the Earth: And from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the Earth.*

It is not without Reason, that I give this Narrative at large; because there are modern Authors (such as *Monsieur Simon* and *Monsieur Le Clerk*) who have dar'd to advance, That God is not the Author of the Diversity of Tongues, but only of the Confusion and Diffension; which taking place amongst Men, was the cause of their dispersion: From whence comes the change and diversity of Languages. But whatever these Authors say, 'tis very difficult to find that to be the Sense of *Moses's* Words, which give us to understand naturally, that it was not the Diffension and Division of Men that occasion'd the difference of their Language: But, on the contrary, the difference of the Language which God sent among them, was the cause, that not being able to understand



stand one another, nor to work by Concert together, they abandoned their Design and separated from one another.

The Scripture does not tell us precisely the time of that Division, but says only that it happened in the time of *Phaleg*, to whom that Name which signifies *Division* was given, because the Earth was divided in his time; as appears by *Gen. 10. 25. Heber had two Sons, and one of them was called Phaleg, because the Earth was divided in his time.* But the Scripture does not inform us, whether that happened at the time of his Birth, towards that of his Death, or in the middle of his Life; which makes a considerable difference. *Phaleg* having liv'd 239 Years, the Text seems to suppose that the Division happened at the time of his Birth, because it is then that Men have their Names given them, and that his was given on occasion of this Event. If he was call'd by the Name of *Phaleg*, which signifies *Division*, as the Scripture says expressly, because the Earth was divided in his time, it was then divided at the time when this Name was given him. If it be so, this Division must be made 100 Years, or thereabouts, after the Deluge, according to the Chronologie of the *Hebrew* Text. But this space of Time seems too short for that Multiplication in Number, to which 'tis supposed Mankind was then arrived; therefore the *Jews* believe that it was at *Phaleg's* Death this Division happened, and say, That *Heber* call'd him so by a Spirit of Prophecie. But on the other hand, they don't allow time enough betwixt that Division and *Abraham's* Journey to the Land of *Canaan*, for that prodigious multiplication of *Abraham's* Descendants in the Land of *Canaan* and *Egypt*, there being only fourscore Years betwixt the Death of *Phaleg* and the Passage of *Abraham* into the Land of *Canaan*. The Division of the People might be more commodiously placed in the middle of *Phaleg's* Life, 200 Years, or thereabouts, after the Deluge. If we follow the Chronologie of the *Greek* or *Samaritan* Text, it were easie to remove this Difficulty entirely, because, according to the first, there are 541 Years betwixt the Deluge and the Birth of *Phaleg*; and according to the latter 411 Years. In fine, if we keep to the *Hebrew* Text, and say, That the Undertaking of the Tower of *Babylon*, and the Division of the Nations, happened at the Birth of *Phaleg*, that is about 100 Years after the Deluge, we may very well suppose, that in the time of a Century the Number of Men might be multiplied enough to undertake this Enterprize, and to divide themselves into different Colonies for Peopling the Earth.

We have the same difficulty to find out into how many Languages Men were divided. The *Rabbies* count 70, because the *Hebrew* Text reckons so many of *Noah's* Descendants; that is, 14 from *Japhet*, 30 from *Cham*, and 26 from *Sem*, of whom it is said, *These are the Heads of the People, and of the Nations, who divided the Earth after the Flood.* According to the *Greek* Text, we must add two Persons, and by consequence two Languages to the Number. But we cannot infer from the Number of *Noah's* Posterity, contained in that Genealogie, the Number of different Languages; for divers of those mentioned in that Catalogue might have preserv'd the same Language, as 'tis certain in the Children of *Canaan*, who make several of the Heads enumerated in that Genealogie, whose Posterity nevertheless, had only one Language, *viz.* The *Canaanitish* Tongue, which was common to all the Inhabitants of *Palestina*, before the *Israelites* were possessed of it.

It is not necessary to think, that this diversity of Tongues was as great at first as it was afterward, and that the different People had Languages altogether differing, so that they had nothing wherein they agreed in common; that the ancient Language was entirely abolish'd, and that God inspir'd Men with Languages altogether new. It is much more reasonable to believe, that God divided and diversified the same Tongue into different Dialects; but so, however, that they could not easily understand one another. This is what is properly meant by those Terms of Scripture. *Let us confound their Language: In this place God confounded the Language of all the Earth.* These Terms signify nothing but the change of the same Language into different Dialects. There's therefore a great probability, that there was much less difference amongst the People in the World at the beginning, than there is at present; since process of Time does necessarily occasion a change in all Languages: Besides, we see the most ancient Languages of the Eastern People, which are nearest the Tower of *Babel*, *Hebrews*, *Chaldeans*, *Arabs*, *Syrians* and *Phenicians*, or *Canaanites*, have still more Conformity to one another than others, and that they are nothing almost but the Dialects of the same Language. A Learned Man of our own Time pretends to prove the same thing of the *Greek* and *Latin*; nay, even of the *Saxon*, *Teutonical*, *Celtique*, *British*, and all others; whose Words he derives from the *Hebrew*. But without entring upon that Question, or upon the Particulars of those Proofs in regard of the said Languages, in the state wherein

wherein they were for divers Ages after the division of Languages, we may rest assur'd of it as a thing altogether likely, that at the beginning there was not so great a difference in the Language of *Noah's* Descendants, who divided themselves into different Colonies to People the Earth.

Let us come now to that famous Question: Which was the first Language of the World? We have already observ'd, that the long Lives of the Patriarchs contributed much to preserve *Adam's* Language in the same state; for the same Man does not ordinarily change his Language during his Life, but retains that which he learn'd at first: So that living for divers Ages, he preserves and teaches the same to others; the necessity they are under of conversing with him, and the easiness they find to learn it of him, occasion that they make no change therein. *Adam*, for Example, having lived 930 Years, and *Noah* being 630 Years old when the Deluge happened, in the Year of the World 1656. The latter was born some Years after the death of the former, and convers'd for 600 Years with many of those that had convers'd with *Adam* and *Eve* for some hundreds of Years. It is then in a manner necessary that they understood and spoke *Adam's* Language. *Noah's* Children, born before the Deluge, did without all doubt speak the Language of their Father, and preserv'd it until the Division of the People and their Languages. The Question is, If that first Tongue subsisted amongst any of them in its Purity, when this Division happened; or, if it was corrupted and degenerate in Dialect? This is what the Scripture says nothing of. We must own, it is difficult enough to conceive, that *Noah* and his Children entirely forgot their natural Language, and that none amongst them preserv'd it. Nevertheless, it seems probable enough, That in the Division of Tongues, the Primitive Tongue was chang'd into different Dialects, without being preserv'd in its Purity by any of *Noah's* Posterity. However that is, they demand, What was the most ancient Language? The *Jews* and some *Christians* have easily persuad'd themselves that it was the *Hebrew* (a): Others give the preference to the *Chaldee*. The first say, That the Language which *Noah* receiv'd from *Adam* was preserv'd without change in the Family of *Sem* and *Heber*; from whom they believe it deriv'd its Name; that *Abraham* receiv'd it from his Father *Thara* or *Terah*, the Descendant of *Heber*, and that it was convey'd from them to the *Israelites* call'd *Hebrews*, because they spoke the same Language with *Heber*. Others say, That the most ancient Language was that spoken in *Mesopotamia* beyond *Euphrates*; that is to say, the *Chaldee*, spoken by *Abraham*, who was bred in the City of *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and spent part of his Days in *Mesopotamia*; that having afterwards changed his Habitation, and cross'd the *Euphrates* to enter into the Land of *Canaan*, he was call'd *Hebraeus* by those People; a Term deriv'd from the Name *Heber*, which signifies *from beyond*, because he came from beyond the *Euphrates*; that here he learn'd the *Canaanitish* Language, which was that of his Son *Isaac*, his Grand-Son *Jacob* and his Posterity; that is to say, the *Hebrew* Tongue.

The former alledge in Proof of their Sentiments many Etymologies of the Names of the first Patriarchs, which the Author of *Genesis* derives from the *Hebrew*. It is said, Chap. 2. ver. 7. *God form'd Adam of the Dust of the Earth*, by way of Allusion to the word *Adamah*, which signifies *Earth* in *Hebrew*. This Allusion is not found in the *Chaldee*. It is said, Chap. 3. ver. 20. That *Adam* call'd his Wife *Eve*, because she was the Mother of all living. The word *Chai*, whence that of *Chavah* is deriv'd, is *Hebrew*. There is no such Allusion in the *Chaldee*. Chap. 2. ver. 23. It is said the Woman is call'd *Isca* from the word *Eisch*, which signifies *Man*. This *Paronomasia* is not found in any other Language. Chap. 4. ver. 1. The Name of *Cain* is deriv'd from a *Hebrew* word signifying Possession, or Acquisition. In the same Chapter, ver. 25. that of *Seth* comes from the *Hebrew* Verb *Schath*, which signifies to substitute. Gen. 10. ver. 25. *Phaleg* comes from the *Hebrew* *Palag*, signifying to Divide. That of *Babel*, from the *Hebrew* *Balal*, signifying Confusion. *Eden*, the Name of the Terrestrial Paradise, signifies in *Hebrew*, Delight, Pleasure. Those Derivations and Allusions have no place but in the *Hebrew* Tongue; whence it follows, that we must necessarily suppose that this Lan-

(a) Persuaded themselves that it was the *Hebrew*.] It is the Sentiment of *Origen*, *Homil. 11. on Numbers*, where he says, That the Angels having formed different Languages, that of *Adam*, which he supposes to have been the *Hebrew*, was preserv'd amongst those who belonged to God. *S. Chrysostom, Homil. 3. on Genesis*, says, *Heber* preserv'd the Language he had before. *St. Augustin* mentions this as certain, *Lib. 16. De Civit. Dei, cap. 11.* *St. Jerom Comment. on Zephani. 3.* says, The *Hebrew* Tongue is the

most Ancient, and the Mother of all Languages. But *Theodoret* says, The *Syriack* or *Chaldee* is the most Ancient. *St. Gregory of Nyssen, Lib. 12.* against *Eunomius* says, That divers learned Men look upon the *Hebrew* Tongue to be new, and that it had its Original when the Children of *Israel* came out of *Egypt*. Amongst Modern Authors *Serarius, Bonfrerius, Buxtorf, Walton*, and Father *Thomassin* are of the former Opinion; and *Grotius, Huetius* and *le Clerc* of the latter.



guage was in use in the time of the Patriarchs, and that they spoke it, because their proper Names are derived from it.

They alledge further, to prove the Antiquity of the *Hebrew* Tongue, That the most ancient People deriv'd their Names from it, as *St. Jerom* proves in his Book of *Hebrew* Names. The *Assyrians* come from *Assur*, the *Aramians* from *Aram*, the *Lydians* from *Lud*, the *Medes* from *Madai*, the *Ionians* from *Javan*: Nay, even the Names of the false Gods are, for the most part, taken from the *Hebrew*; as that of *Saturn* from *Satar*, which signifies to *hide ones self*; *Jupiter* from *Jehova*, *Belus* from *Baal*; and, as some say, *Vulcan* from *Tubal-Cain*; that of *Japetus*, the Father of *Prometheus*, from *Japhet*, the Son of *Noah*; and that of *Ceres* from *Geres*, which in *Hebrew* signifies *the Fruits of the Earth*. It is moreover alledged, That not only the *Oriental* Tongues, but likewise all the rest are derived from it. To this may be added, That the *Hebrew* Tongue is the most pure, the most simple; and, according to some others, the most perfect Language.

The greatest part of those, who on the other hand maintain the Antiquity of the *Chaldee* Tongue, answer to the first Argument, which is the chief and only one that can be of any weight, That *Moses* changed the ancient Names into *Hebrew* Names of the same signification; and bring divers Examples of this Custom from *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, and even from the Interpreters of the Scriptures. Thus it is that *Aquila*, to imitate the Allusion which is in the Name of *Man* and *Woman* in the *Hebrew*, made use of the Terms of *Am* and *Ardes*. The Author of the *Vulgar* Translation hath also imitated it, by translating the *Hebrew* Term into *Virago*, deriv'd from the word *Vir*. Thus likewise the Evangelists changed the Name of *Cephas* into that of *Petrus*, to preserve the signification of the *Syriack* word *Cephas*, and the Allusion to *Petra*. It is said in *Genesis*, that *Pharaoh's* Daughter gave *Moses* that Name, because she drew him out of the Water. This Name must needs have been chang'd, for 'tis in *Hebrew*, that *Moses* signifies *drawn out of the Water*. And the Name *Pharaoh's* Daughter gave him, must have been an *Egyptian* Name of the same signification. The Authors of the *Septuagint* Translation, have in the same manner translated into *Greek* the Name of *Babel* by the word *Σύγχυσις*, which signifies *Confusion*; as *Babel* does in *Hebrew*. And *Alexander Polyhistor*, that of *Isaac* into *Cheerful*, according to the signification of the *Hebrew* word. And other *Greeks* have translated that of *Esau* or *Edom*, which signifies *red*, by that of *Erythrean*, which has the same signification in *Greek*. There's an infinite Number of those sort of changes in all Authors. The Name of *Adam*, which is not a proper Name, but the appellative Name of *Man*, which was given to the first *Man* by way of Excellence, might have been chang'd without any difficulty, and the ancient Name, as well as that of *Adam*, might have been deriv'd from the Term which signifies the Earth, as the *Latin* word *Homo* is deriv'd from the word *humus*, which signifies the same thing. It is not likely, however, that *Moses* did intirely change the Names of the Patriarchs, nor is it necessary to have recourse to that Solution. 1. Because the greatest part of the Names might have the same derivation in the *Chaldee*; that is to say, the words *Eve*, *Cain*, *Phaleg* and *Babel*. 2. Because there are some of them which it's difficult enough to derive from the *Hebrew* Tongue, as that of *Noah*, in the Sense which the Author of *Genesis* puts upon it; that is to say, in the deriving it from the Verb, which signifies to *Comfort*; for that Verb is in *Hebrew* *Jenbhemou*; whence, according to the Analogie of the Tongue, we must form *Nobhem*, and not *Noah*. The Name of *Cain* would also be more naturally deriv'd from *Koun*, which signifies to *lament*, than from *Kana*, which signifies to *purchase*. Nor do we find in the *Hebrew*, the Etymologie of the Name of *Tubal-Cain*, which is found in the *Arabick*, where the words *Tubalon* and *Kunaon* signify a *Plate of Brass and Iron*: To which signification the Author of *Genesis* does plainly allude. Which shews that we cannot lay any great stress upon those sorts of Allusions and Etymologies.

But admitting we should insist upon that Proof, it would only shew that some words of the ancient Language were preserv'd in the *Hebrew* Tongue. But it would not prove that 'twas precisely the same Language in its Purity, and without any change of Dialect. The other Proofs are still more weak. Most of the Derivations alledg'd being arbitrary or uncertain; and tho' some of them might pass for true, they would only let us see that the *Greeks* and other Nations, took several things from the *Hebrew* Books; which is a Truth that every one is agreed in, and signifies nothing to the Matter in hand. The pretended Simplicity of the *Hebrew* Tongue, is not so well prov'd as is imagin'd; and besides, the Simplicity of a Tongue is not always an Evidence of its Antiquity. It is true, that the *Chaldee*, *Phenician*, *Arabian* Tongues, &c. have a great deal of Conformity

mity with the *Hebrew* Tongue, but that does not prove them to be deriv'd from it: It only shews that they may be Dialects of one and the same Tongue: And why may not the *Hebrew* be so too?

We have no Proof, that this First and Mother Tongue did rather continue without change in the Family of *Heber* than in other Families that descended from *Noah*. On the contrary, it is certain, that the Descendants of *Heber*, the Ancestors of *Abraham* dwelt in *Chaldea*, and that they did not preserve the worship of the true God, as appears by *Josh. 24. ver. 2.* where God speaking to the *Israelites* says, *That their Fathers dwelt on the other side of the Flood, in old Times, even Terah the Father of Abraham, and Nachor the Father of Terah, and they served other Gods.* The Family of *Heber* did not make a separate People, they dwelt in *Mesopotamia* among the *Chaldeans*, and as they were of their Religion, without doubt they spoke also their Language. *Abraham* having lived near 70 Years in *Ur* of the *Chaldees*, and in *Charran* in *Mesopotamia*, did, questionless, speak the Language of the Country. It is easie to prove that the *Chaldee* is different from the *Hebrew* Tongue, which *Abraham*, without all doubt, learned in *Canaan*, and which became proper to *Jacob* and his Posterity. We have a convincing Proof of this difference in *Gen. 31. 47.* where *Laban* of the Family of *Heber*, who remain'd in *Chaldea*, and had preserv'd the Language of his Ancestors, gave the Name of *Jagar Sabadutha* to the Heap of Stones which they gathered together, whereas *Jacob* call'd it *Galaad*, both of 'em signifying the same thing, viz. That the Heap of Stones was a Monument or Testimony of the Covenant which they entered into there. It is then evident, That in those Days the *Chaldee* Tongue which *Nachor* and *Terah* had spoken, and which *Laban* still spoke, because he resided in *Mesopotamia*, was different from that which *Jacob* spoke, which was the *Hebrew*. It is also certain, That in the Ages following, the *Aramick*, *Chaldee* or *Assyrian* Tongue was different from that which the *Hebrews* spoke, and that the common People of the *Jews* did not understand the *Chaldee*. For Example, when *Rabshakeh*, the *Assyrian* General, would have excited the People to a Rebellion, he spoke *Hebrew* to King *Hezekiah's* Deputies, that the People might understand it: They pray'd him to speak in the *Aramick* or *Syrian* Language, for they understood it, and not to speak in the *Jewish* Tongue, which the People upon the Wall did understand, *2 Kings 18. 26.* *Jeremy* Propheying the ruine of the *Jews* by the *Chaldeans* says, *Chap. 5. ver. 15.* *God would bring a Nation upon them from far, a mighty, ancient People, whose Language they knew not, neither did they understand.* It is also of the *Chaldeans* that *Isaiah* speaks, when he says, *Isai. 28. 11.* That he would speak to this People with another Tongue. So does the Prophet *Baruch* when he threatens the *Israelites*, *That God will bring against them, a People from far, a wicked People, and of another Language,* *Baruch 4. ver. 15.* When the *Israelites* were carried away into *Babylon*, they found the Language of the Country different from their own, so that *Nebuchadnezzar* was oblig'd to instruct the young *Israelites*, which he had at his Court, in the Learning and Language of the *Chaldeans*. The *Chaldee* Characters were different from the ancient *Hebrew* Characters, as we shall make it evident in the sequel: Therefore none of the *Chaldeans* could read or understand those words, *Mene Tekel Perez*, writ in *Hebrew*, which *Daniel* read and explained immediately. We have then already proved two things; First, That the Language of *Heber's* Family, which was spoken by *Terah*, *Nachor* and *Abraham* before he went out of *Chaldee*, was the *Chaldee* Tongue. 2dly, That that Language hath always been different from the *Hebrew*. A third Thing we have to prove is, That the *Hebrew* Tongue, which is that that *Abraham* learn'd when he went out of his Country, which his Posterity have preserv'd, and which is certainly the *Hebrew*, is the *Canaanitish* or *Phenician* Tongue, which those spoke who inhabited the Land of *Canaan*, betwixt *Jordan* and the *Mediterranean*. Tho' we had no other Proof to show it, than the abode which he made in that Country, which he look'd upon then as ascertain'd to him for his Heritage, and the Place of Residence for his Posterity by the Promises of God. If we had no other Proof, I say, this alone might be sufficient to convince all those who judge equitably: For what other Language should *Abraham* learn, but that of the Country whither he retir'd to inhabit? The necessity of conversing with the *Canaanites*, did not that oblige him to learn their Language, and to neglect or to forget (if we may so say) his own natural Language? He spent 100 Years in that Country, made Alliances with the Inhabitants, had a great Commerce with them, acquir'd Riches, married Wives, and settled his Children there, and was assur'd by the Word of God himself, that the Country should be given to his Posterity. Is it possible then that he should not have learn'd the Language of the Country? Can any one think that *Isaac* and *Jacob*, who continued to dwell there, did not retain that Language?



guage? But it is easie to bring convincing Proofs for this Conjecture. The first is taken from the Testimony of the Prophet *Isaiah*, who calls the *Hebrew* Tongue, *The Language of Canaan*, Chap. 19. ver. 18. The Second is taken from the Names of Places and Men in the Land of *Canaan* (b), whereof mention is made in *Genesis* and *Joshua*. All those Names are *Hebrew*; nor is it observ'd that they were chang'd, excepting a very few. The Third may be infer'd from hence, That it is nowhere observ'd in Scripture, that the *Israelites* and *Canaanites* had different Languages, and did not understand one another, as it is observ'd of the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*. The Scripture speaks often of the Conferences of the *Canaanites* with *Abraham* and his Posterity, and always as if they understood one another; nor is it ever said, that they made use of Interpreters. The Fourth is founded on the History of *Joseph* and his Brethren. It is said, That *Joseph*, not willing to make himself known unto them, spoke to them by Interpreters. If the Tongue which they spoke had been peculiar to their Family, where could *Joseph* have found an Interpreter in *Egypt* that understood it? It was then the Language of *Canaan*, where they made their Abode. The Fifth Proof is taken from the Conformity there, is betwixt the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* Tongue, which is the *Phœnician*, and by Consequence that of the Land of *Canaan* and the *Hebrews*. *St. Jerom* and *St. Augustin* observe this Conformity (c), which is so great, that most of the *Punick* words are *Hebrew*.

The Origin of the *Hebrew* Tongue being discovered, it is not difficult to find the true Reason of the *Hebrew* Names, which *Abraham* and his Posterity bore. It must be confessed, that divers of the Ancients (d) and some Moderns have deriv'd it from *Heber*, the Son of *Salah* and Grand-Son to *Arphaxad*, who was Son to *Shem*: They look on it to be a Patronimick, and that from *Heber* is form'd *Hibri*, as from *Israel* *Israeliti*, and from *Ismael* *Ismaeli*; but what agreement soever there be in this Analogy, yet nevertheless there's no appearance that the Name of *Hebrew* was deriv'd from *Heber*. To convince us of this, let us only consider that betwixt *Heber* and *Abraham*, who is the first that was called *Hebrew*: There are six Generations and five Persons. Then why should *Abraham* rather have taken the Name of *Heber*, six Generations upwards, than that of his own Father *Terah*, or of his Grand-Father *Nachor*? If he would have taken the Name of any one of his more remote Ancestors, he should rather have taken that of *Shem*, who was the first of that Generation. Why should not those betwixt *Abra-*

(b) Names of Places and Men in the Land of *Canaan*.] For Example, The Names of the following Towns, *Jericho*, *Salem*, *Sichem*, *Bethlehem*, *Segor*, *Kirjath-Arba*, *Kirjath-Sepher*, &c. which were certainly the ancient Names of those Towns, at the time when the *Canaanites* possessed them, are *Hebrew* Names, and deriv'd from the *Hebrew*. The Name *Beer-sheba*, which both *Abraham* and *Abimelech* gave to the Place where they contracted an Alliance together, is an *Hebrew* word. But it is to be observ'd, That it is not the same as to the Denomination which *Jacob* and *Laban* gave to the Heap of Stones, upon which they contracted an Alliance. *Jacob* and *Laban* gave it different Names, but signifying the same thing, because they spoke two different Languages: But here *Abraham* and *Abimelech* agree on the same Name, to signify the same thing, therefore they spoke the same Language. It is certain, that *Kirjath-Sepher* is the ancient Name of that City, as well as that of *Kirjath-Arba*, seeing that is observ'd by the Author of the Book of *Joshua*, Chap. 15. and in *Judges*, Ch. 1. Now the words *Kirjath* and *Sepher* are certainly *Hebrew*. The proper Names of *Melchisedeck*, *Adonibezek*, *Abimelech*, &c. are *Hebrew*, not only in their Termination, but in their Root.

(c) *S. Jerom* and *S. Augustin* observe the Conformity.] *St. Jerome*, Lib. 5. on *Jerem.* Chap. 25. They are called *Pœni*, corruptly, instead of *Phœni*, whose Language for the most part is nearly allied to the *Hebrew*. And, cap. 19. on *Isaiah*, Chap. 7. *St. Austin* Quest. on *Gen.* Lib. 2. *Contra Literarum Petil.* c. 104. Him the *Hebrews* call *Messias*; which word agrees with the *Punick* Tongue, as do many other *Hebrew* words, nay, almost all of them. Idem, Tract. 15. on *John*, The anointed, in *Greek* is *Xristos*, in *Hebrew* *Messiah*: From whence *Mes.* in the *Punick* Tongue signifies Anoint, because those Languages, the *Hebrew*, *Punick* and

*Syriac*, are a *Rin* and near Neighbours. He observes also in his 15th Sermon, on the Words of our Lord, That the *Hebrew* word *Mammona*, which signifies *Riches*, is also *Punic*, and has the same signification. He observes likewise in his Comment on the Epistle to the *Romans*, That the Peasants near *Hippo* being ask'd what Country-men they were, answered *Canaanites*. It is true, he says in his Confessions, [Lib. 11. cap. 3. That if any one spoke *Hebrew* to him, he heard the sound of the Voice, but understood nothing of what he said: Whence it would seem, that we may conclude, that the *Hebrew* and *Punick* Tongues were different: But, perhaps, *St. Augustin* did not very well understand the *Punick* Tongue, having learned the *Latin* in his Infancy: And besides the Pronunciation, the different construction and change of some Words might render a Language unintelligible. *Origen*, lib. 3. against *Celsus*; *Josephus*, lib. 1. against *Appion*; and *Eusebius*, lib. 9. of *Evangelical Preparation*, Cap. 9. make the same Observations upon the *Punick* and *Hebrew* Tongues. *Lucian* says something to the same purpose in his *Pseudomantis*, where he says of *Alexander*, That he pronounced unknown words, as *Hebrew*, or *Phœnician*. In fine, the learned *Bochart* hath prov'd it so clearly in his Second Book of *Canaan*, That the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* words which are to be found in the ancient Authors are *Hebrew*; that this may pass for a Demonstration in its kind.

(d) It must be confess that divers of the Ancients, &c.] Amongst the Ancients are *Josephus*, *Antiquit.* Lib. 1. c. 6. *Euseb. Preparat. Evangel.* Lib. 7. c. 2. *St. August. de Civit. Dei*, Lib. 16. c. 3. & 18. c. 39. *St. Eucherius*, Lib. 2. on *Genesis*, chap. 7. Amongst the Moderns are *Pererius*, *Steuchus*, *Ganebrard*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, *Bonsrierius*, *Buxtorf*, &c. Amongst the Rabbins, *Aben-Ezra*, *Kimchi*, and *Abraham*.

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ham and Heber have carried the same Name? Why was not this Name given to Abraham till after he pass'd the Euphrates? It will be said, perhaps, that the Name of Heber continued amongst his Posterity, because the ancient Language and Worship of God continued in his Family: But this is a meer Supposition, of which we have demonstrated the falshood, or at least the uncertainty. The Family of Heber did not make up a particular People. Those who compos'd it liv'd among the Chaldeans, follow'd their Religion and Customs, and spok'd their Language. Nachor, Terah, and Abraham's other Ancestors that descended from Heber, worshipp'd false Gods, as 'tis said expressly, Joshua 24. Abraham did not leave that Country, but that he might worship the true God with more freedom, and was the first who publicly renounc'd the worship of the false Gods, by renouncing his Country. In that he obey'd the Call of God, and by his Obedience merited to be the Father of the People of God: As a Reward of which God promis'd his Posterity the whole Land of Canaan. In hope of this, he made his Abode there, learn'd the Language of the Country, and left his Children there. He had not then any Reason to take the Name of Heber, therefore we must seek after another Origin of the Name Hebrews, under which he went.

This is easie to be discovered, by considering the Circumstances of the Time and Place where this Name was given him. Abraham was not call'd so till after he had pass'd the Euphrates, and made his Residence in the Land of Canaan. It is then very probable that this Name was given him by the Canaanites, who perceiving a Stranger, whose Name was not familiar and known to them, they contented themselves, according to Custom, to name him from the Place whence he came; which being from beyond the Euphrates, in respect of them, and that Heber signifies from beyond, therefore they call'd him Hebrews. That Name might have been given to all those who pass'd that River; but it remain'd as proper to Abraham and his Offspring, because they were the most Considerable of those that pass'd the Euphrates to come into Canaan, and establish'd themselves there without following the Customs of the Inhabitants of the Country. According to this Etymologie, the Name of Hebrews comes from the word Heber, which signifies from beyond. It was with Respect to this Etymologie, that the Septuagint translating Genesis 14. 13. which is the first Place where Abraham is called Hebrews, have rendred it by *μεγιστος*; i. e. to the Passenger; or rather, to him who pass'd over from another Country. Aquila the Interpreter hath translated it in the same manner. This Etymologie is founded upon what is said of Abraham's Ancestors, Josh. 24. ver. 2, &c. Thus saith the Lord God of Israel, Your Fathers dwelt on the other side of the flood in old time, even Terah the Father of Abraham, and the Father of Nachor; and they served other Gods. And I took your Father Abraham from the other side of the flood, Beheber Hannahar, and led him throughout all the Land of Canaan. And ver. 14. Put away the Gods whom your Fathers served on the other side of the flood. This word Heber Hannahar, is commonly us'd in the Scripture, to signify those that were beyond the Euphrates. It is in this Sense that Balaam says in his Prophecie, Numb. 24. 24. Ships shall come from the Coasts of Chittim, and shall afflict Ashur and Heber. That is to say, The Macedonians should become Masters of Assyria, and of all that is beyond the Euphrates.

This Opinion is so probable, that the most ancient and able Interpreters of the Scripture have imbrac'd it (e). Nor can there be any Objection rais'd against the likelihood of it. Those who object, Gen. 10. 21. [Unto Shem the Father of all the Children of Heber were born, as if the word Heber were in this Place the Name of the Patriarch.] beg the thing in Question: For we maintain, that the word Heber, in this Place, signifies from beyond; and that the Father of the Children of Heber, is the Father of those who dwell beyond the Euphrates, and are therefore called Hebrews. If it were not to be understood so, what Necessity was there for Moses to take Notice, that Shem was the Father of the Children of his Grand-Son? That which some others Object, [That if the Name Hebrew derive its Origin as we say, it had been no more proper to the Posterity of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, than to those of Lot, Ishmael and Esau,] does not raise

(e) Jul. Africans, cited by Eusebius, says, They were called Hebrews, as if you should say Passengers, because Abraham pass'd the Euphrates, and not as some will have it, from Heber. Origen, on Matthew, p. 239. The Hebrews; that is, those who are landed from beyond the River. So Homil. 19. on Numbers, and Homil. 35. on Genesis. St. Jerome on Ezekiel, chap. 7. Abraham is called an Hebrew; that is, *μεγιστος*, a Stranger, and Passenger. So on Isaiah 19. All the Greek Fathers are

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guage? But it is eafie to bring convincing Proofs for this Conjecture. The firft is taken from the Testimony of the Prophet *Iſaiah*, who calls the *Hebrew* Tongue, *The Language of Canaan*, Chap. 19. ver. 18. The Second is taken from the Names of Places and Men in the Land of *Canaan* (b), whereof mention is made in *Genefis* and *Joſhua*. All thoſe Names are *Hebrew*; nor is it obſerv'd that they were chang'd, excepting a very few. The Third may be inferr'd from hence, That it is no where obſerv'd in Scripture, that the *Iſraelites* and *Canaanites* had different Languages, and did not underſtand one another, as it is obſerv'd of the *Chaldeans* and *Egyptians*. The Scripture ſpeaks often of the Conferences of the *Canaanites* with *Abraham* and his Poſterity, and always as if they underſtood one another; nor is it ever ſaid, that they made uſe of Interpreters. The Fourth is founded on the Hiſtory of *Joſeph* and his Brethren. It is ſaid, That *Joſeph*, not willing to make himſelf known unto them, ſpoke to them by Interpreters. If the Tongue which they ſpoke had been peculiar to their Family, where could *Joſeph* have found an Interpreter in *Egypt* that underſtood it? It was then the Language of *Canaan*, where they made their Abode. The Fifth Proof is taken from the Conformity there, is betwixt the *Punick* or *Carthaginean* Tongue, which is the *Phenician*, and by Conſequence that of the Land of *Canaan* and the *Hebrews*. St. *Jerom* and St. *Auguſtin* obſerve this Conformity (c), which is ſo great, that moſt of the *Punick* words are *Hebrew*.

The Origin of the *Hebrew* Tongue being diſcovered, it is not difficult to find the true Reaſon of the *Hebrew* Names, which *Abraham* and his Poſterity bore. It muſt be confeſſed, that divers of the Ancients (d) and ſome Moderns have deriv'd it from *Heber*, the Son of *Salah* and Grand-Son to *Arphaxad*, who was Son to *Shem*: They look on it to be a Patronimick, and that from *Heber* is form'd *Hibri*, as from *Iſrael* *Iſraeli*, and from *Iſmael* *Iſmaeli*; but what agreement ſoever there be in this Analogy, yet nevertheless there's no appearance that the Name of *Hebrew* was deriv'd from *Heber*. To convince us of this, let us only conſider that betwixt *Heber* and *Abraham*, who is the firſt that was called *Hebrew*: There are fix Generations and five Perſons. Then why ſhould *Abraham* rather have taken the Name of *Heber*, fix Generations upwards, than that of his own Father *Terah*, or of his Grand-Father *Nachor*? If he would have taken the Name of any one of his more remote Anceſtors, he ſhould rather have taken that of *Shem*, who was the firſt of that Generation. Why ſhould not thoſe betwixt *Abra-*

(b) *Names of Places and Men in the Land of Canaan.*] For Example, The Names of the following Towns, *Jericho*, *Salem*, *Sichem*, *Bethlehem*, *Segor*, *Kirjath-Arba*, *Kirjath-Sepher*, &c. which were certainly the ancient Names of thoſe Towns, at the time when the *Canaanites* poſſeſſed them, are *Hebrew* Names, and deriv'd from the *Hebrew*. The Name *Beersheba*, which both *Abraham* and *Abimelech* gave to the Place where they contracted an Alliance together, is an *Hebrew* word. But it is to be obſerv'd, That it is not the ſame as to the Denomination which *Jacob* and *Laban* gave to the Heap of Stones, upon which they contracted an Alliance. *Jacob* and *Laban* gave it different Names, but ſignifying the ſame thing, becauſe they ſpoke two different Languages: But here *Abraham* and *Abimelech* agree on the ſame Name, to ſignifie the ſame thing, therefore they ſpoke the ſame Language. It is certain, that *Kirjath-Sepher* is the ancient Name of that City, as well as that of *Kirjath-Arba*, ſeeing that is obſerv'd by the Author of the Book of *Joſhua*, Chap. 15. and in *Judges*, Ch. 1. Now the words *Kirjath* and *Sepher* are certainly *Hebrew*. The proper Names of *Melchizedeck*, *Adonibezek*, *Abimelech*, &c. are *Hebrew*, not only in their Termination, but in their Root.

(c) S. *Jerom* and S. *Auguſtin* obſerve the Conformity.] St. *Jerome*, Lib. 5. on *Jerem.* Chap. 25. They are called *Pœni*, corruptly, inſtead of *Phœni*, whoſe Language for the moſt part is nearly allied to the *Hebrew*. And, cap. 19. on *Iſaiah*, Chap. 7. St. *Auſtin* Queſt. on *Gen.* Lib. 2. *Contra Literas Petil.* c. 104. Him the *Hebrews* call *Meſſias*; which word agrees with the *Punick* Tongue, as do many other *Hebrew* words, nay, almoſt all of them. Idem, Tract. 15. on *John*, The anointed, in *Greek* is *Χριστός*, in *Hebrew* *Meſſiah*: From whence *Meſ.* in the *Punick* Tongue ſignifies Anoint, becauſe thoſe Languages, the *Hebrew*, *Punick* and

*Syriac*, are a *Rin* and near Neighbours. He obſerves alſo in his 15th Sermon, on the Words of our Lord, That the *Hebrew* word *Mammona*, which ſignifies *Riches*, is alſo *Punick*, and has the ſame ſignification. He obſerves likewiſe in his Comment on the Epistle to the *Romans*, That the Peaſants near *Hippo* being ask'd what Country-men they were, answered *Canaanites*. It is true, he ſays in his Confessions, [Lib. 11. cap. 3. That if any one ſpoke *Hebrew* to him, he heard the ſound of the Voice, but underſtood nothing of what he ſaid: Whence it would ſeem, that we may conclude, that the *Hebrew* and *Punick* Tongues were different: But, perhaps, St. *Auguſtin* did not very well underſtand the *Punick* Tongue, having learned the *Latin* in his Infancy: And beſides the Pronunciation, the different conſtruction and change of ſome Words might render a Language unintelligible. *Origen*, lib. 3. againſt *Ceſſus*; *Joſephus*, lib. 1. againſt *Appion*; and *Eusebius*, lib. 9. of *Evangelical Preparation*, Cap. 9. make the ſame Obſervations upon the *Punick* and *Hebrew* Tongues. *Lucian* ſays ſomething to the ſame purpoſe in his *Pſeudomantis*, where he ſays of *Alexander*, That he pronounced unknown words, as *Hebrew*, or *Phenician*. In fine, the learned *Bochart* hath prov'd it ſo clearly in his Second Book of *Canaan*, That the *Punick* or *Carthaginian* words which are to be found in the ancient Authors are *Hebrew*; that this may paſs for a Demonſtration in its kind.

(d) It muſt be confeſſed that divers of the Ancients, &c.] Amongſt the Ancients are *Joſephus*, *Antiquit.* Lib. 1. c. 6. *Euseb.* *Preparat. Evangel.* Lib. 7. c. 2. St. *Auguſt.* de *Civit. Dei*, Lib. 16. c. 3. & 18. c. 39. St. *Eucherius*, Lib. 2. on *Genefis*, chap. 7. Amongſt the Moderns are *Pererius*, *Steuchus*, *Genebrard*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, *Benſerius*, *Buxtorf*, &c. Amongſt the Rabbins, *Aben-Eſra*, *Kimchi*, and *Abrabanel*.

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any particular Difficulty against this Sentiment; for it may be retorted against those who are of Opinion, that the word *Hebrew* is deriv'd from the Name of the Patriarch *Heber*, since *Lot*, *Ishmael* and *Esau* were of *Heber's* Family as well as *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*. But this Difficulty is easily solv'd by observing, that tho' this Name might be given, or was given to all those who had pass'd the *Euphrates*; it continued nevertheless proper to *Abraham* and his Posterity by *Jacob*, because they continued distinct and separate from the People of *Canaan* in their Religion and Morals; whereas the Posterity of *Lot*, *Ishmael* and *Esau*, abandon'd the Religion of their Fathers, and mix'd and united with the *Canaanites*. Thus it came to pass that this Name, which at first was general and appellative, did by Custom become proper to *Abraham's* Descendants. They were afterwards called *Israelites*, from the Name which God gave to *Jacob*; and *Jews*, from the Tribe of *Judah*, when the other Tribes were scattered or mix'd with the said Tribe.

But tho' the Name of *Hebrew* be very ancient, we don't find that the Language of the *Jews* was formerly called the *Hebrew Tongue*. It is call'd *Jewish*, 2 Chron. 32. 18. And it's said, That those who spoke the common Language of the Country, spoke the *Jews* Language, 2 Kin. 18. 26. & 28. 2. *Esd.* 13. 24. *Isai.* 36. 11. & 13.) It is only since the Captivity that the *Hellenists* or *Jews*, who spoke *Greek*, to distinguish themselves from those who spoke the ancient Language of the *Jews*, call'd their Tongue *Hebrew*. Thus the Translator of the Book of *Esther* observes, that the Urn in which they cast Lots is called *Phur* in *Hebrew*. The Author of the Prologue to *Ecclesiasticus* makes use of the same Term. And this Name was so common in our Saviour's Time, that when the Evangelists give us Names in the Jewish Tongue, they tell us, that in *Hebrew* it is called so and so; as *Gabatha* and *Golgotha*, John 19. And in the same Place 'tis said, That the Inscription on the Cross was in *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*. But that which deserves to be remark'd is, That the Evangelists give the Name of *Hebrew* to the *Syriack* or *Chaldaick*, which was become the common Language of the *Jews*. It carried then the Name of the *Hebrew Tongue*, as well as the *Ancient Hebrew*; as the *Arabian* and *Vulgar Greek* carried the Name of *Arabian* and *Greek*, tho' differing much from the ancient *Greek* and *Arabick*. But since that time the Name of the *Hebrew Tongue* hath been restrained to the old Language of the *Jews*, in which the Books of *Moses*, and the greatest Part of the other Books of the *Old Testament*, were wrote.

*Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, spoke this Language in the Land of *Canaan*. The latter and his Children being obliged to go into *Egypt*, their Posterity multiplied there prodigiously, and staid in that Country 200 Years, but neither chang'd their Religion, Customs, nor Language; because they liv'd separate from the *Egyptians*, in the Land of *Goshen*. The *Egyptian* Tongue differ'd very much from the *Hebrew*; for *Joseph* spoke to his Brethren by an Interpreter, and the *Egyptians* understood them not when they spoke together. Therefore the Author of the 80th *Psalms*, speaking of the time when the *Israelites* were in *Egypt*, ver. 6. says, *They heard a Language that they did not understand*. Some of them, no doubt, learn'd the *Egyptian* Tongue, and spoke both Languages; but the Bulk of the People preserv'd their ancient Language.

The *Israelites* then came out of *Egypt* speaking the Language of their Fathers; that is to say, the same Language which *Jacob* and his Children brought from the Land of *Canaan*, and preserv'd it without any change till the *Babylonish* Captivity; as the Books written from the time of *Moses*, till the destruction of the first Temple, give us ground to believe; for they are almost Uniform in the Language, and no considerable Change is to be found in them; which is particularly occasion'd by the *Jews* living separate from other People, not mixing with them, taking no Wives but those of their own Nation, and entertaining no Commerce with Strangers. And therefore we have no Reason to wonder that they preserv'd their Language so long without mixture or change.

It was not the same during the *Babylonish* Captivity. The *Jews* did not then live in a particular Place, as when they were in *Egypt*, but being dispers'd and mix'd amongst the *Chaldeans*, were oblig'd to learn their Language, which by degrees became common amongst them. We read in *Dan.* 1. 4. That he and his Companions were oblig'd to learn the *Chaldee*. And *Chap.* 2. 4. It is said, That the wise Men whom *Nebuchadnezzar* sent for to explain his Dream, spoke to him in the *Aramick* Tongue; which the *Greek* Interpreters as well as *St. Jerom* have translated *Syriack*. This *Aramick* Tongue was the Language of the *Assyrians*, or *Syrians* descended from *Aram* the Son of *Shem*; as appears by this that *Rabshakeh* the *Assyrian* General, was intreated by King *Hezekiah's* Deputies to speak in the *Aramick* Tongue, 2 Kings 18. 26. *Isai.* 36. 11. which the *Greek* and

and Latin Interpreters have again rendred *Syriack*. Now we cannot doubt but the *Arumick*, *Syrian*, or *Affyrian* Language was the *Chaldee*, since *Daniel* himself, when relating in their own terms, the Discourse which the *Chaldeans* had with *Nebuchadnezzar*; and all that passed afterwards betwixt himself, his Companions and the King, writes all these things in the *Chaldaick* Tongue. It is not then to be doubted, but that the *Syriack* and *Chaldee* Tongue were Originally one and the same Language, which is to be found in its Purity in the Prophecy of *Daniel*, from the 4th Verse of the 2d Chapter, to the End of the 7th Chapter; and in some Chapters of the first Book of *Esdras*, from the 8th Verse of the 4th Chapter, to the 27th Verse of the 7th Chapter, where the Original Letters of the Kings of *Affyria* are related in *Chaldaick*. It is evident that was the Language spoken at *Babylon*, where the *Hebrew* Tongue was not understood; inſomuch, that none of the *Chaldeans* could read or understand the *Hebrew* words that were wrote upon the Wall, at *Belſhazzar's* Feaſt; which *Daniel*, who understood both Languages, read and explain'd with great Eaſe, *Dan.* 5.

The *Chaldee* by degrees became common amongst the *Jews*; but we muſt not imagine with ſome of the *Rabbies*, that they intirely forgot their ancient Language during the Captivity, and that the Priests only ſpoke and understood it before their return. It's much more likely, that this Change did not happen all of a ſudden, but gradually, as all Changes in Language do. We muſt ſuppoſe, that at the beginning of the Captivity the *Jews* ſpoke *Hebrew*, and did not underſtand the *Chaldee*; as is evident, becauſe *Daniel* was oblig'd to learn it. That a little time after, the Commerce which they were under a Neceſſity to entertain with the Inhabitants of the Country, made that Language more common amongst them, and that they began to underſtand it, to ſpeak it, and teach it to their Children: But 'tis almoſt impoſſible, that in 70 Years, the time of the Captivity, they could intirely forget the uſe or Knowledge of their ancient Language. There muſt of neceſſity have been a time, and that too pretty conſiderable, wherein the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* were common amongst the *Jews*, but by degrees the *Chaldee* got the Aſcendant, and became the only Language ſpoke amongst the *Jews* after their return from the Captivity; but ſo, however, as there was a mixture of *Hebrew* words. This is the Language that was commonly ſpoke in *Judea* in our Saviour's time, which is called *Hebrew* throughout the *New Teſtament*: In the mean time the Sacred Books continued always writ in the ancient *Hebrew* Tongue, and in that Language the *Jews* read them in their Synagogues; but this not being the common Tongue, and beginning to be not underſtand by all the *Jews*, the *Hebrew* Original was explain'd in the Vulgar Language in their Synagogues; and perhaps that was the Origin of the *Chaldee* Paraphraſes, of which we ſhall ſpeak afterwards.

We cannot certainly ſay when it was that the old *Hebrew* Tongue ceaſ'd to be underſtood by the *Jewiſh* Commonalty, but there are many things to prove that it was not till ſome Years after their return from the Captivity. For, if the *Hebrew* had not been underſtood by the *Jews*, after their return, why ſhould *Daniel*, *Esdras*, *Nehemiah*, *Haggai*, *Zechariah* and *Malachi* have wrote in *Hebrew*, things which they deſign'd ſhould be underſtood by the common People, eſpecially ſeeing thoſe Writers were not ignorant of the *Chaldee*, but made uſe of it in writing things that relate to the *Affyrians*? But it is ſo far from being true, that the *Chaldee* Tongue was the only Language in uſe amongst the *Jews*, immediately after the Captivity, that on the contrary it is obſerv'd, *Nehemiah* 13. 24. as an extraordinary thing, That the Children of the *Jews* who had married ſtrangers, ſpoke the Language of *Aſhdod*, and not the Language of the *Jews*. We have already obſerv'd, That to ſpeak in the *Jewiſh* Language, is to ſpeak in *Hebrew*, and that the *Jewiſh* Tongue is the ancient *Hebrew* Language. This Tongue then was common among the *Jews*; but nothing, in my Opinion, proves more invincibly that the *Hebrew* was ſtill underſtood by the common People, even after the Captivity, than the 8th of *Nehemiah*, where 'tis ſaid, That the Law was read in *Hebrew* before all the People, and that they all heard and underſtood it. *All the People*, ſays he, *gathered themſelves together as one Man, into the Street that was before the Water-gate, and they ſpoke unto Ezra the Scribe, to bring the Book of the Law of Moſes, which the Lord had commanded to Iſrael. And Ezra the Priest brought the Law before the Congregation, both of Men and Women; and all that could bear with underſtanding, upon the firſt day of the ſeventh Month, and he, read therein, in the Street that was before the Water-gate, from the morning until mid-day, before the Men and Women, and thoſe that could underſtand: And the Ears of all the People were attentive unto the Book of the Law.* Can we reaſonably think, that *Ezra* read to the People for divers Hours in a Language they did not underſtand? What likelihood is there that the People would have liſten'd attentively to it



so considerable a time? It's in vain to object, That we can never make this pass for likely Matter of Fact. The People demanded that the Book of the Law should be brought: It was certainly that they might be instructed in it: Would they have desir'd to hear a Book, of which they could understand nothing? It was read to them, they listen'd to it attentively, Men, Women and Children that were capable to understand the Law of God, gave heed thereunto, they were touch'd with it, and melted into Tears. Then that which was read to them was not unknown to them. Perhaps it may be said, they did not understand that Book, but that *Esdra* translated it into the *Chaldee*, and in that Sense they understand what is said in the 7th and 8th Verses, *That the Levites caused the People to understand the Law, and that they read in the Book of the Law distinctly, and gave the Sense, and caus'd them to understand the reading*. But if *Ezra* had repeated the Law word for word in another Language, and that the People had understood nothing of it in *Hebrew*, to what purpose was it read? Neither does the cited Passage say any such thing; for either it signifies only, that the *Levites* caus'd the People to keep Silence, and give Attention to the Law, which was read with a distinct and intelligible Voice; or, it supposes, that *Esdra* and those who were with him explain'd the Law: But that does not say, that they rendered the Text word for word in another Tongue, but that they explain'd the difficult Places, by a Discourse more at large, and better suited to the Capacity of the People. So it is that the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers explain'd the Books of the Scripture in their Discourses to the People, not by Translating them into another Language, but by Illustrating or Clearing the Text in that same Language wherein 'twas read. In fine, 'tis said, *Chap. 9. ver. 2, & 3. That the Children of Israel being separated from the strangers, confessed their sins, and the sins of their Fathers: And standing up in their places, read in the Book of the Law of the Lord their God one fourth part of the day; and another fourth part they confessed and worshipp'd the Lord their God. And that afterwards the Levites made a long Discourse to the People, which is contain'd in that Chapter, to exhort 'em to praise God and to give Thanks for his Favours. The People read the Law in Hebrew, this Discourse was in Hebrew; it must needs be then that the People understood Hebrew. Those Proofs which have been already brought by Learned Men (f), to me appear unanswerable. M. Simon boasts that he has irrefragable Arguments to destroy them, which, when he publishes, we shall see whether they will oblige us to change our Mind; but, until such time as he does so, he will not take it ill if we continue in the same Sentiments.*

I shall not insist upon the Question which some Divines that Interpret the Scripture enlarge upon; that is to say, whether the *Hebrew* Tongue shall be that of the Saints in Glory. This sort of Questions is of the Number of those which *St. Paul* calls *foolish and unlearned*, that are good for nothing but to engender Strife, and can neither be decided by Reason nor Authority. Neither shall I enter upon the detail of the Perfection and Advantages of the *Hebrew* Tongue, which some magnifie above all other Languages, as the most Pure, Elegant and Pathetical: And others, on the contrary, who don't judge so favourably of it, look upon it as a poor Language, which hath but very few Words, in comparison of the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue; and which, consequently wants abundance of necessary Terms, and is full of Obscurities and Ambiguities. I shall say nothing of *Hebrew Grammar*, nor of those who have wrote on that Head among the *Hebrews*, because those things don't belong to my Subject.

(f) *Proofs already brought by Learned Men.* Maier | *naud* in his Treatise of reading the Holy Scripture,  
*Philol. Sacr. P. 2. C. 2. Gourdan's Chronol. T. 1. fol.* | *Lib. 1. cap. 8.*  
 115. *Pfeiffer's Exercit. 2. de Targumin. and M. Ar-*

## S E C T. II.

*Of the Origin and Invention of Characters ; their Diversity. The Ancient Hebrew Characters ; their Variation. The Vowel Points : When they were invented and brought into Use.*

NEXT to Speech, Man has no better way to express his Thoughts by Arbitrary Signs, than by Writing, in which we make use of Figures and Characters perceptible to the Eye, whose difference and distinction represents different things to the Mind. There may be some which express their Thoughts at once, and represent them without any relation to Speech ; such as were the Characters of the ancient *Egyptians*, who by Hieroglyphicks or Symbolical Figures represented a thing at once : Such are still most of the *Chinese* and *Mexican* Characters. Their Ciphers are of the same Nature, seeing they represent all at once, the Number they would express, without forming the Idea of any particular word ; but the more ordinary and common manner of expressing our Thoughts in Writing, is to make use of Characters, to which Custom hath affix'd an expression of certain Sounds of the Articulate Voice that are call'd Words, which make up Speech, and by that means give us an Idea of things. So that Writing, properly speaking, is not the Pourtraicture of our Thoughts, or of Things, but only of Speech, which expresses and makes known our Thoughts. It has this advantage above simple Speech, that this reaches only those who are within hearing, whereas Writing communicates our Thoughts at the greatest distance, and preserves to future Ages the Thoughts and Discourses of those now alive.

The most common Opinion among the *Pagans*, as to the Origin of Letters, is that the *Phenicians* are the Authors of 'em, and that *Cadmus* brought the Invention from *Greece*. *Eupolemus* says, *Moses* was the Inventer of 'em ; and his Sentiment is approv'd by *Eusebius* in his 9th Book of *Gospel Preparations*, Chap. 4. And also by *Isidore* of *Sevil*. It is however certain, that the Art of Writing is older than *Moses*, and he himself makes mention of things that were wrote before him. *Suidas* thinks *Abraham* was the first Inventer of Letters, as well as of the *Hebrew* Tongue ; but he is mistaken, for since the *Assyrians* or *Chaldeans*, amongst whom he liv'd, had the Language which *Abraham* spoke, they had also their Characters. It is the same as to the *Canaanites* or *Phenicians*, to whose Countries he travelled. So that we may be assured, that Writing is older than *Abraham* ; but the precise time when it began, cannot be discovered with any certainty. Divers are of Opinion, that *Adam* knew how to write as well as to speak ; and that not without great probability. If it be certain that *Enoch*, the 7th from *Adam*, wrote that Book quoted by *St. Jude*, it would be an uncontestable Monument to prove that Writing was invented before the Flood ; for to believe that the Prophecy of that Patriarch was preserv'd for divers Ages by simple Oral Tradition, is a thing not to be imagin'd. But there's great likelihood, as we have observ'd, that this Book of *Enoch's* was an Apocryphal Book ; therefore there's no relying on that Proof, no more than on what *Josephus* reports in the first Book of his *Antiquities*, Chap. 3. of Characters wrote on two Columns before the Deluge, whereof he assures us there was one remaining in his time. Nor is there any relying upon what the *Chinese* boast of the Antiquity of their Characters. It is not those Apocryphal Monuments which convince us of the Antiquity of Writing, but the Wit and Industry which we cannot doubt was in *Adam* and the first Men, which makes us conjecture, as a thing very probable, that the Art of Writing was invented during the Infancy of the World, and in use before the Deluge ; that *Noah* receiv'd it from his Ancestors ; that his Posterity, who Peopled the Earth, preserv'd it ; and that the Characters of Writing, as well as Languages, had their Variation and Change.

It is to no purpose to enquire what was the Figure of the Characters in use before and immediately after the Deluge, because we have no Monuments left us of those Times, and that no credible Writer makes any mention of 'em ; but 'tis a famous Question amongst the Criticks, what the Characters were which were used by the ancient *Hebrews* ? Some pretend that they were the same as now ; but the more common Opinion, both amongst the Ancients and Moderns, and that which is best receiv'd, is that the ancient *Hebrew* Characters made use of by *Moses* and others, before the Captivity, are those which the *Samaritans* preserv'd ; and that those now in Use came in after the *Babylonish* Captivity.



The *Hebrew* Tongue being in its Origin the same with the *Canaanitish* or *Phenician*, we must allow, that the *Hebrew* Characters of that Language were the same. Now the *Phenician* Characters, from whence the *Greek* Characters are deriv'd (a), were agreeable to the *Samaritan* Characters, as appears by the ancient *Ionian* or *Greek* Letters, which are altogether like them, as may be seen by ancient Monuments. These are then the Characters that *Abraham* and his Posterity made use of. That we may understand how they were preserv'd amongst the *Samaritans*, and how they were lost by the *Jews*, we must know, That the Kingdom of *Israel* being divided in the Reign of *Rehoboam* the Son of *Solomon*, the *Ten Tribes* which separated from that of *Judah* and made a particular Kingdom, preserv'd the *Pentateuch* in the same manner as they receiv'd it from *Moses*; but that Kingdom being intirely destroy'd by *Salmanassar* King of *Affyria*, who took the City of *Samaria*, and carried away the *Israelites*, sent other Inhabitants in their Place, who were called *Chuteans*, and afterwards *Samaritans*, from the City of *Samaria*: The latter being molested with wild Beasts, as a Judgment for not adoring the true God, sent for some *Israelites*, who gave them Copies of the Books of the Law, which they always preserv'd as they had receiv'd them. The Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin* did also retain the same Characters till the *Babylonish* Captivity; but the *Jews* being transported to that City, they insensibly accustomed themselves to write like the *Chaldeans*; and therefore, after their return, *Esdra*s having collected and receiv'd the Books of the Bible, made use of the *Chaldee* Characters (which were better known to the *Jews* than the ancient Characters) whereof they have constantly made use since that time. But a convincing Proof, that they were not in use before, is this, That there are many ancient Shekels found of the *Jewish* Money before the Captivity, whose Inscriptions are wrote in *Samaritan* Characters; and on the Reverse there are found these words, *Jerusalem* Kodeska, the Holy *Jerusalem* (b): Which proves that 'twas the *Jews* and not the *Samaritans* amongst whom that Money was current; because the latter (nay, nor the *Israelites* themselves) did not after their Division acknowledge *Jerusalem* as a Holy City, and would not have called it by that Title in their Money, since they were the declar'd Enemies of that City and Temple. We cannot then doubt but that the *Hebrew* Characters were those we call *Samaritan*. This the ancient Authors, who pry'd into those Matters, have deliver'd as a certainty (c), *Origen* on the 9th of *Ezekiel* says, He understood by a converted *Jew*, that the ancient

*Hebrew*

(a) From whence the *Greek* Characters are deriv'd.] Most ancient Authors agree that the *Greeks* receiv'd their Letters from the *Phenicians*, and that *Cadmus* a *Phenician* brought them to *Greece*. *Herodotus* in his History says, The *Ionians* receiv'd their Letters from the *Phenicians*, and assures us that he saw in the Temple of *Apollo* of *Thebes* in *Beotia*, ancient Inscriptions upon the Tripods in *Cadmean* Letters, altogether resembling those of the *Ionians*. *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, *Sextus Empiricus*, the Poet *Callimachus*, *Philostrophus*, *Critias*, *Pausanias*, *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Eusebius* of *Casarea*, and all, except *Tzetzes*, are agreed in it. *Joseph Scaliger*, who hath treated largely of this Matter in his Notes on *Eusebius*'s Chronicle, relates a *Greek* Inscription on an ancient Column in the *Aprian* way, writ in *Ionian* Characters, and comparing them with the *Samaritan* Characters, makes their Conformity evident.

(b) On the Reverse are found these Words, &c.] The Rabbi *Ramban*, who died about 1260, says in his Commentary on the *Pentateuch*, That being at *Ancona*, he found in the Hands of some ancient Men, a Silver Shekel of about half an Ounce weight; on one side of which was represented an Almond Branch, and on the other an Urn, with Inscriptions in *Samaritan* Characters; which being shew'd to some *Samaritans*, they read on one side, The Shekel of Shekels; and on the other, Holy *Jerusalem*. *Postel*, *Avias Montanus*, *Vilalpandus*, *Waserus*, *Morin*, and divers others, had of those Shekels, which on one side had the Representation of an Urn with *Manna*; and on the other, the Branch of an Almond-Tree flourishing, which is *Aaron*'s Rod, with two Inscriptions in *Samaritan* Characters; that round the Urn being, the Shekel of *Israel*; and that on the other side, Holy

*Jerusalem*. The oldest of the *Jewish* Shekels are also in *Samaritan* Characters, and the new ones in *Hebrew*. The first Inscription on these Shekels shews them to be ancient, and coin'd at least before the Captivity: For after the return, the *Jews* of *Babylon* were no more call'd *Israelites*, but *Jews*. And the 2d shews, That it was not the *Samaritans* who coin'd them, but that it was the current Money of the Kingdom of *Judea*.

(c) *Origen* on the 9th of *Ezekiel* says, &c.] *Origen* on those Words, *Ezek.* 9. 4. (*Signa Tau super frontes Gementium*) Set a Mark upon the Foreheads of the Men that sigh. A certain *Hebrew* who embrac'd the Christian Religion said, That in the ancient Alphabets, the Letter *Tau* was in the form of a Cross, and was foretold concerning the Sign which Christians make on their Forehead; which all Believers indeed make, whatever they go about, but chiefly at Prayers and Holy Lessons. *Syncellus* relates the Passage out of *Africanus* as follows. They differ in their Computation of the Years till the time of the Deluge, as hath been made plain from what is already said. The *Hebrew* Copies or Counterparts are taken from the oldest *Samaritan* Code, which is wrote in different Characters, and confessed by the *Hebrews* themselves to be the genuine & first Book. *Eusebius*, *Chron.* Olympiad. 40. says, *Esdra*s is acknowledged to have been an eminent Priest amongst the *Jews*, in whose time the High-priest was *Neciasib* the Son of *Joachim*, the Son of *Jesus* the Son of *Josedec*. *Esdra*s was most learned in the Divine Law, and the famous Master of all the *Jews*, who return'd from the Captivity into *Judea*; and it is affirmed of him, that he had the Holy Scriptures by Heart, and that they might not be mix'd with the *Samaritans*, chang'd the *Jewish* Characters. Thus that Passage is read in the ancient

Hebrew Characters differ'd from those that were us'd in his time : St. *Jerom* speaks of this Change as a thing not to be doubted of. It is certain, says he, in his General Prologue to the Holy Scripture, That *Esdras* invented the new Letters we make use of at present, and that till his time, the Samaritan and Hebrew Characters were the same. He assures us, that the *Pentateuch* wrote by the Samaritans is Letter for Letter the same with that of the Hebrews, and differs only in the Figure and Strokes of the Character. And afterwards tells us, He hath seen the Name of *Jehovah* writ in the Greek Copies in those ancient Characters. *Africanus*, *Eusebius* and *Syncellus* confirm this Truth, when they distinguish the Samaritan Hebrew from the Jewish Hebrew. The (d) Talmudists do likewise agree, That *Esdras* changed the Hebrew into Assyrian Characters, and left the Hebrew Characters to the Chuteans and Samaritans. (e) Divers of the Rabbies are of the same Opinion, and the ablest of the (f) R. Catholick Interpreters as well as Protestants agree in this Truth ; which is oppos'd by those only who are too much prepossessed in favour of the Hebrew Tongue ; but their Arguments for it are very weak (g) : Nor have they any solid Answer to give to the Proofs we have brought for the contrary.

The Hebrew Alphabet is compos'd of 22 Letters, as well as those of the Samaritans, Chaldeans and Syrians. But besides those Letters, none of which is at present a Vowel, and by Consequence they cannot determine the Pronunciation. The Hebrews have invented Points, which being put under the Letters, serve instead of Vowels. Those

ancient Editions of *Eusebius's* Chronicle, but the last Words, after, *It is affirmed*, are neither found in the Greek nor Latin of St. *Jerom*, according to *Scaliger's* Edition : And there's great probability that 'tis an Interpolation. But we cannot doubt of St. *Jerom's* Sentiment, which in *Prologo Galeato* runs thus. The Samaritans also write the *Pentateuch* of *Moses* in the same Number of Letters, differing only in Character and Accent. And 'tis certain, that *Esdras* the Scribe and Doctor of the Law, after the taking of Jerusalem, and the re-building of the Temple of Zerobabel, did invent the Letters which we now make use of, since until that time the Samaritan and Hebrew Characters were the same : And even to this day we find the Name of the Lord Tetragrammaton, express'd in the ancient Characters in some Greek Volumes. He makes the same Remark in his Commentary upon the 3d Chapter of the *Epistle to the Galatians*, where he proves that we must read the word *All* in the Passage of *Deuteronomy* quoted by the Apostle, because 'tis found in the Samaritan Copies, whose Characters are more Ancient. That same Father in his Commentary on *Ezek.* 9. says, That in the ancient Hebrew Characters which the Samaritans make use of, the Letter *Tau* hath the Form of the Cross, which is drawn upon the Foreheads of Christians. This latter Passage hath some difficulty in it, because the Samaritan *Tau* at present is not in the Form of a Cross : *Origen* observ'd the same thing before St. *Jerom* upon the Credit of an ancient Jew ; but the ancient Shekels form the Samaritan *Tau* much like that of the Greeks.

(d) The Talmudists do likewise agree, &c. ] In the Babilonish Talmud, the Treatise of the Sanhedrim, §. 2. In the beginning the Law was given to Israel in the Hebrew Character, and Holy Tongue ; and afterwards in *Esdras's* time in Assyrian Letter, and the Aramick Tongue. In that same place R. *Jose*, comparing *Esdras* with *Moses*, says, That as the Law was wrote by *Moses's* Hand, it was chang'd by that of *Esdras* into the Assyrian Character. In the Jerusalem Talmud, Tract. Magil. Leff. 1. it is observ'd, that *Esdras's* Character was Assyrian, but his Language Hebrew.

(e) Divers of the Rabbies of the same Opinion, &c. ] Among others *Ramban* in his Commentary on the *Pentateuch*, *Josephus Albo*, &c. The Rabbies who are of the contrary Opinion, are oblig'd to say, that the Hebrews had two sorts of Characters before the Captivity, one Sacred and another Prophane : That the Sacred was that which was preserv'd in the Holy Books ; and that the prophane was us'd by the Samaritans. But this is a Supposition that hath no Founda-

tion. If it were true, why would not the Samaritans have also preserv'd the Books of the Law in the Sacred Character ? The Shekels whereof we have spoke, being the Shekels of the Sanctuary and Sacred, their Inscriptions must also have been in Hebrew Characters.

(f) Amongst the R. Catholick Interpreters. ] *Sixtus de Sienna*, *Serarius*, *Bellarmino*, *Villalpandus*, *Bonferrius*, *Guido*, *Fabricius*, *Morin*, *Despierres*, &c. Amongst the Protestants, *Postel*, *Joseph Scaliger*, *Gerard Vossius*, *Causabon*, *Grotius*, *Sistinus Amama*, *Capelle*, *Bochart*, *Waser*, *Mayer*, *Walton*, &c. There's none but *Buxtorf* and *Schichard*, and it may be *Lightfoot*, *Matthias Valemuth*, and a small Number of Protestants who are wedded to the contrary Opinion, which they had maintain'd, and it is at present abandon'd in a manner by most of the Learned.

(g) Are very weak. ] Their Arguments are founded, 1. On the Testimony of the Rabbies, which is of no great Authority. 2. Upon the ancient Shekels, as they pretend, whose Inscriptions are in Hebrew Characters. But in this they are deceiv'd. They are new Shekels, made in imitation of the old ones. There are some of them also which must needs be Counterfeit, because they represent the Head of a King which was forbid amongst the Jews. 3. They alledge some Inscriptions of ancient Monuments, as they pretend, but they are either Impositions or Epitaphs of the late Jews. 4. They say, that St. *Jerom* in his Epistle to *Fabian* reports, That the Golden Breast-Plate of the High-Priest contain'd the Name of God, *Jehovah*, in Hebrew Characters : That may be true after *Esdras's* time, but before, that Name was wrote in Samaritan Characters, as St. *Jerom* acknowledges. 5. They object as a Positive Reason, that which Christ says, *Matth.* 5. 17, 18. That the Heaven and the Earth shall pass away, but not one jot or tittle of the Law, but what shall be fulfilled. Whence they think may be concluded, that the *Iota* of the Hebrews was only a small stroke, whereas that of the Samaritans consisted of three, made in form of an *m*. But they don't observe, that Christ spoke at a time when the Jews made use of the Characters which they have at present, and by consequence of the *Jod*, which is a very small Letter ; and that he did not think of the Characters of the Ancients. We have already answer'd to what concerns the Letter *Tau* : And the other Objections being founded on the Fictions of the Rabbies, deserve no Answer.

Vowel



Vowel Points serve not only to fix the Pronunciation, but also the Signification of a Word; because many times the Word being differently pointed and pronounced signifies things wholly different. This is the thing that has made the Question about the Antiquity of the Points seem to be of Consequence, and hath therefore been treated of very prolixly. Some have pretended that those Points are as ancient as the *Hebrew Tongue* (b), and that *Abraham* made use of them. Others make *Moses* (i) the Author of them. But the most (k) common Opinion, among the *Jews*, is that *Moses* having learn'd of God the true Pronunciation of *Hebrew Words*, this Science was preserv'd in the Synagogue by Oral Tradition until the time of *Esdra*s, who invented the Points and Accents to preserve it. (l) *Elias Levita*, a German *Jew* of the last Age, and very Learned in the *Hebrew Grammar*, hath rejected this Sentiment, and maintain'd that the Invention of the Points was much later. He ascribes it to the *Jews of Tiberias*, about the 500th Year of Christ; and alledges, that this Art was not perfected till about the Year 1040, by two famous *Massorets*, *Ben-Asher* and *Ben-Naphtali*. This Opinion hath been embrac'd in the last and present Age by divers Criticks (m): But it is become more common since *Lewis Capelle*, a Learned Protestant Professor of *Hebrew* at *Saumur*, establish'd that Opinion against *Buxtorf*, in his Book, Intituled, *Arcanum Punctuationis Revelatum: The Secret of the Punctuation Reveald*. Printed in the Year 1624. Since that time, notwithstanding the Efforts of *Buxtorf's* Son, and of some other Protestants, the Newness of the Points hath been acknowledg'd, not only by R. Catholick Authors, but also by the Learnedst of the Protestants (n). Father *Morin*, one of those who hath writ with the greatest Strength against the Antiquity of the Points, believes the Invention to be later than *Elias Levita* thinks it, and fixes it about the beginning of the 10th Century.

Before we produce to the Reasons alledg'd for shewing the Novelty of the *Hebrew* Points, we must observe, That the *Hebrew Tongue* had real Vowels at first as other Languages; to wit, the *Aleph*, which is the *A*; the *Jod*, which is the *I*; and the *Vau*, which answers to the *O* and the *U*; and it may be, the *Hajin* for the *E*. Those Letters which at present are Consonants, when they are not pronounced, were Originally true Vowels. But as there are abundance of *Hebrew words* where several Consonants are found successively without any of those Letters, they were supplied by them for pronouncing those Words, whose true Pronunciation were learn'd by Custom. This being laid down, we come now to *Capelle's* Reasons for the Novelty of those Points.

His first Argument is from the Testimony of the modern *Rabbies*: The first he quotes is *Aben-Ezra*, that liv'd about the Year 1150, who in his Book call'd *Tzachut* or *Elengancies*, treating of the Punctuation of a Word. He says, to justify his Decision, *That such is the Custom of the Sages of Tiberias, which ought to serve as a Foundation and Rule, because 'tis they who are the Massorets, from whom we have receiv'd the Punctuation of the Law*. He further observes in the same Book, That there are Interpreters who accuse the Author of the *Pauses*, or of the Distinction of Verses in the Scripture, of Error; and he says, he wonders how he could mistake, especially if 'twas *Esdra*s, seeing it is certain that since his time there's none who hath come near him in Wisdom; and that 'tis evident, he hath made no Distinction in the whole Bible but what is very well placed. *Buxtorf* Answers, That in the first Passage *Aben-Ezra* does not speak of the first Introduction of Points, but only of their Re-establishment by the *Jews of Tiberias*, the Authors of the *Massora*, who pointed the Text more Exactly and Correctly than Others. As to the 2d Passage, He pretends that it makes for him, and that the *Rabbie Aben-Ezra*, does there acknowledge *Esdra*s to be the Author of the *Pauses*; that is to say, of the Points, Accents and Distinctions of the *Hebrew Text*. He adds,

(b) *As the Hebrew Tongue.*] This is the Opinion of R. *Azarias*, *Meor Enajim*, cap. 59. of *Rodolph* and *Peter Chevalier*, *Matthias Flaccius Illyricus*, in his Key of the Scripture.

(i) *Others make Moses the Author of them.*] Some say God shew'd the Punctuation to *Moses*, and that it was preserv'd by Oral Tradition among the *Jews*. Others say, *Moses* made use of them, and wrote the Law with Points.

(k) *Common Opinion.*] It is the Opinion of the Author of the Book call'd *Zohar*, and of most of the Ancient and Modern *Rabbies*.

(l) *Elias Levita.*] In the third Preface of the Book call'd *Massoreth Ham Massoreth*.

(m) *Divers Criticks.*] Among the R. Catholicks,

*Martin Raymond*, *Galatinus*, *Genebrard*, *Mercerus*, *Bellarmino*, *Serarius*, *Salmeron*, *Villalpandus*, *Masius*. And among the Protestants, *Luther*, *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Joseph Scaliger*, *Munster*, *Olivetanus*, *Chamier*, *Drusius*, *Pelicanus*, *Zuinger*, *Piscator*, *Fagius*, *Sistinus Amama*, &c.

(n) *Learnedest of the Protestants.*] It is the Sentiment of all the R. Catholick Authors, who have wrote since *Capelle*; and among Protestants it hath been approv'd by *Erpenius*, *Grotius*, *Causabon*, *Bochart*, *Vossius*, *Ludovicus de Dieu*, *Selden* and *Boetius* himself, tho' a Defender of *Buxtorf*; as also by Archbishop *Usher*, *Walton*, and *Le Clerc*. After this, those among them must needs be very heady, who maintain the Antiquity of the Points as an Article of Faith.

That

that this Rabbi in a Book, Intituled, *The Ballance of the Holy Tongue*, ascribes to *Esdra*s and the Assembly of the great Synagogue, the Institution of the Accents, Points and Distinctions. It must be confessed, That those Passages of *Aben-Ezra*, particularly the last, do not prove altogether what *Capellus* pretends to; but it shews at least, that in the time of *Aben-Ezra* there were Interpreters among the *Jews*, who doubted whether *Esdra*s was the Author of the Vowel Points; and that *Aben-Ezra* himself was not very far from being of that Opinion.

The second Testimony produc'd by *Capellus*, is from the Rabbi *Kimchi*'s Book called *Michlol*, who speaking of the difference in the Punctuation between the *Prater Tense* and the *Participle Niphal*, says, this difference was made by the Orderers of the Punctuation. If he had believ'd *Esdra*s to be the Author of those Points, he would never have made use of the term *Orderer*; which is more applicable to the *Massorets* than to *Esdra*s. *Buxtorf* answers, That by this he understands those of the great Synagogue, to whom the Rabbi ascribes the Restitution and Punctuation of the Text, in the Preface to his Commentary on the Prophets, where he says, that the Origin of *Keri* and *Ketib* was thus; Those of the Grand Synagogue, who establish'd the Law after the first Captivity, having found differences in the Copies, about which they could receive no Light, wrote one of the Readings without Points, or at least put it so in the Margin. This being supposed. *Buxtorf* says, the Points were in use at the time of this Re-establishment, according to the Opinion of Rabbi *Kimchi*; wherein he seems to be in the right.

His third Testimony is from the Book called *Tzach Septhajim*, ascrib'd to Rabbi *Juda*, who liv'd about the Year 1140, where he observes, that the Points were given upon Mount *Sinai*, but that the Tables of the Law were not pointed; and that God speaking the Holy Language, those who heard his Voice, learn'd from him how to pronounce the Vowels. But this Passage, as *Buxtorf* observes, proves only that the Tables of the Law were not pointed; or, at least, that the Points were not mark'd in *Moses*'s time, according to the Opinion of Rabbi *Juda*: And it cannot be concluded from thence, that he did not believe the Points to be invented in *Esdra*s's time, to fix the Pronunciation which was preserv'd by Oral Tradition from the time of *Moses*.

The last Testimony of the *Rabbies* alledg'd by *Capellus*, is taken from the Book *Cofri*, where 'tis said, the Vowels were preserv'd in the Memory of the Priests, Kings, and Judges, and of those of the Sanhedrim, and of righteous and holy Men, and even in the Memories of the Prophane. And that, in fine, they put the Seven Points and the Accents to serve as proper Marks for the guiding of those who copied and read those Books, according to the Cabala and the Tradition receiv'd by *Moses*, and preserv'd afterwards. But this Author not setting down the time of the Invention, decides nothing. Therefore we don't think much stress ought to be laid upon the Testimony of the *Rabbies* for the Decision of this Question; and so much the less, that most of 'em do plainly ascribe the Invention of the Points to *Moses* or *Esdra*s.

*Capel*'s second Argument is taken from the present Practice of the *Jews*, who in their Synagogues do, for the publick reading of the Law, make use of Copies without Points; which they revere and lock up with Care, as representing the Copy of *Moses* that was preserv'd in the Ark. This Argument proves indeed, That the *Jews* have always been of Opinion, that *Moses* did not make use of the Points when he wrote the Law; but it does not prove the same thing as to *Esdra*s; tho' it would seem that they had no reason to be afraid of making use of pointed Copies of the Law; and less still, to look upon them as Prophane, had they been persuad'd that *Esdra*s and the Great Synagogue, whose Authority they rever'd, had been the Authors of those Points.

His third Argument is founded on this, That it appears the Points were not known to the ancient *Cabalists* and *Talmudists*. There's nothing more usual amongst the new *Cabalists*, than to seek for Mysteries in the Punctuation. Nor would the old ones have fail'd to have done the same, if those Points had been in use; and had they believ'd they came from *Moses* or *Esdra*s. The *Talmudist* Doctors do frequently raise Questions upon the manner of reading and pronouncing certain Words: Had the Points been invented in their time, they would not have fail'd to say with the Modern *Jewish* Commentators, *Don't read by a Camets but by a Cholem, &c.* And would either have made use of those Names, or of the Figures of those Vowel Points. Mean while they contented themselves only to write the same Consonants, putting sometimes over them a *Vau* or a *Fod*, to denote what Pronunciation they intended. It's true the *Massora* is mention'd in the *Talmud*, but the *Massora* is generally a Critick upon the Text of the Bible, and has no particular regard to the Points. This Argument of Mr. *Capel*'s, to



me seems very convincing. *Buxtorf* opposes to him Testimonies taken from the Book *Zohar*, where the Points and Accents are mentioned: But this Book being new, and writ since the 1000th Year of Christ, makes nothing to the purpose.

*Capel's* fourth Argument is taken from the *Samaritan* Character; which is certainly, as we have already shewed, the ancient *Hebrew*. The *Samaritans* have no Points, and use the Letters *Aleph, He, Vau* and *Jod* for Vowels. This Argument proves still, that the Points were not in use from the time of *Moses* till that of *Esdra*, since the *Samaritan* Characters, which the *Hebrews* make use of, admit of none; but it does not prove that *Esdra*, who chang'd those Characters, did not make use of Points.

His fifth Argument is taken from *Keri* and *Ketib*; that is to say, the different Readings put in the Margin of the Bibles. All those different Readings are upon the Consonants, and none upon the Vowels. Had the Points been in use of old, there's no doubt but they would have produced many more different Readings than the Consonants. This then is an evident Proof, That they came neither from *Moses* nor from *Esdra*.

*Mr. Capel's* sixth Argument is founded on the ancient *Greek, Latin* and *Chaldee* Versions, which he maintains were from Copies not pointed. Then what likelihood is there, if the Points had been invented in their time, and that there had then been pointed Copies, that the Interpreters should not have made use of 'em, since 'twould have been much more Commodious, and a great Ease to them in determining the Sense of divers Words. Let *Buxtorf* say what he will, it will never be believ'd that the Interpreters were so negligent and ill advis'd, as not to make use of pointed Copies, had there been any such then: And the Consequence is morally certain, that there were none, if it be well prov'd that they did not make use of any such. Now this is it, that *M. Capel* demonstrates in particular of the following Versions. 1. Of that of the *LXX*, even by the Confession of his Adversaries, who don't deny that it was from an unpointed Copy, but give frivolous Reasons for it: And if they denied it, 'twere easie to prove it, because it appears, that in divers Places of the *Greek* Version, the Interpreter hath read the Words otherwise than they are pointed at present. 2. *Capel* assures us of the same as to the *Chaldee* Paraphrases of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, where that difference of the Version, because of the different ways of reading does still appear. 3. He makes the same Remarks on the *Greek* Versions of *Aquila, Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, and of the other *Greek* Versions, whereof we have some Fragments remaining; by which it appears that those Interpreters have translated certain Words differently, because the Pronunciation of it was not fixed; which they would not have done, had they had pointed Copies. It's true, there are such Differences which happen sometime from the change of Consonants, Faults of the *Hebrew* Copy, or Negligence of Translators; but the greatest part comes manifestly from the different Pronunciation of the Words, which was not then fix'd by the Vowel Points.

The Testimonies of *Origen, St. Jerom*, and other *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, are *M. Capel's* 7th Argument to prove the Novelty of the Points. It is morally impossible, had there been any pointed Copies in *St. Jerom's* time, but some of them must have fallen into the Hands of that Father, that he would have made use of them, have spoke of them, and that the *Jews*, who taught him *Hebrew*, would have taught him the Points and Accents; or, at least, have given him Notice that there were *Hebrew* pointed Copies; which would have been a great Ease to him. But it appears, That *St. Jerom* had no knowledge of those Points, and that he not only did not make use of 'em, but that he never heard them spoke of; tho' he could not have avoided it on so many Occasions: For in speaking of the Differences 'twixt his Version and that of the *Septuagint*, could he have forgot to observe, that the principal Cause of the Differences betwixt them was occasion'd by the different Punctuation that the *LXX* had read by a *Kametz*, a *Tseré*, or a *Chirék*, &c. that which he read by a *Cholem*, or a *Segol*, &c. How could it be, that in speaking of the *Hebrew* Letters, he should say nothing of the Points nor Accents? And that in marking the different Pronunciations of the same Word, in different Places, he should not have spoke of the Consonants, and have expressed the different ways of pronouncing those Words, without ever taking notice that this different Pronunciation was occasion'd by the different Pointing (o). Supposing al-

ways

(o) Different Pointings. ] *Hieron. Comment. on Hosea*, Chap. 8. ver. 10. When he shall roar, then the Sons of the Sea or Waters shall be afraid. [ In the English Translation it is, *The Children shall tremble from*

the West. ] For the word *Mim*, which is writ by three Letters, if read *Majim*, signifies *Waters*; if *Mijam*, it is meant of the *Sea*. *Idem. chap. 13. ver. 3.* We ask why the *LXX*, instead of a *Ghimney*, (which

ways that the *Hebrew* Words which were without Vowels were capable of divers Pronunciations, and that the *Hebrews*, in reading, supplied by Memory or Conjecture the necessary Vowels, without any thing in the Text that could determine them to one Pronunciation more than another, but only the Sequel of the Discourse. The *Hebrew* Word, says he, in his Commentary on *Jeremy*, is writ by 3 Letters, which are *Daleth*, *Beth*, and *Resch*, for the *Hebrews* have no Vowel in the middle, and they read according to the Sense which the following part requires in the Judgment of the Reader. If we read *Dabar*, that signifies *Discourse*; if *Deber*, that signifies *Death*; if *Daber*, that signifies *to speak*. The same Father moreover acknowledges, That the *Hebrews* have their Vowels which are not Points; but the *Fod*, which is the *I*; and the *Vau*, which is the *O* (*p*): And observes that they don't place those Vowels in the middle of Words. Tho' these Testimonies of St. *Jerom* seem to shew plainly, that the Vowel Points were not invented in his time, and tho' those Passages be clear, yet they object some other Passages, in which he seems to make mention of the Accents and Points; as in the Epistle to *Evagrius*, where he says, that the word *Salem* is sometimes pronounced *Salem*, and sometimes *Salim*, having a different Tone and Accent according to the difference of the Country. And in his Commentary on *Amos* 8. he observes that the word *Bersabee* [in the English Bible *Beerseba*] is translated according to the variety of the Accents; the *Fountains of an Oath*, the *Fountains of Abundance*, or the *Fountains of the Seventh*. He takes notice of the same variety, because of the Accents in his Commentary on *Jeremy* concerning the word *Soced*, which signifies both a *Nut* and the *Watch* if the Accent be varied. He likewise mentions Accents in his Commentary on *Jonas* 3. And, in fine, speaking of the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Text in his General Preface, he says the *Samaritans* wrote the *Pentateuch* in the same Letters, and that there's no difference but in the Figures and Points: *Figuris & apicibus tantum discrepantes*. It is added, That in divers Places St. *Jerom* observes that the *Hebrew* differs from the *LXX*; where the difference is occasioned by the Punctuation. How, say they, could he observe that difference, if there had been no Points in his *Hebrew* Copy? He says himself, divers times, that he followed the *Hebrew* Text, and that we need but ask the *Jews* as to the Alterations that he hath made in his Version. And they tell us, that he hath follow'd the *Hebrew* faithfully. Now his Version is conformable to the pointed *Hebrew* Text, and he hath almost every where given ambiguous Words the Sense that is fix'd upon them by the present Points. He himself expresses by an *E* the quiescent *Scheva* that is found in the middle of *Hebrew* words. These Objections, tho' specious in appearance, have yet no difficulty in them. Let's but read the quoted Passages, and we shall soon see that St. *Jerom* does no ways speak there of the Accents or Points mark'd in the Text,

*Theodotion* hath translated *אֲרֻבָּחַי* rendered it *Locusts*? The *Hebrews* write *Locust* and *Chimney* in the same Letters; so that if it be read *Arbe*, it signifies a *Locust*; if *Aruba*, a *Chimney*. *Idem* in *Tradition*. *Hebraicis* on *Genesis* says, Tho' *Estimation* and *Barley* be writ in the same Letters, yet *Estimation* is read *Searin*, and *Barley* *Seorin*. In that same Place, he says, That for *Shepherd* they read *Friend*, because both of them are writ in the same Letters; but *Friend* is read *Re*, and *Shepherd* *Roe*. On *Habak*. 3. The Verb *Schan* is understood for the quality of the Place, and he hath plac'd [and there,] but it is rather to be read *there* in this Place. *Ibid.* on these words, *Death shall go before his Face*. [The English Translation has it, *before him went the Pestilence*.] For that which we translate *Death*, in the *Hebrew* there are three Letters without a Vowel, which if read *Dabar*, signifies *Word*; if *Deber*, *Pestilence* or *Death*. And on *Jer.* 9. 22. the *Hebrew* word which is writ in three Letters (for it has no Vowels in the middle) if according to the Connexion and the Judgment of the Reader it be read *Dabar*, it signifies *Speech*; if *Deber*, *Death*; if *Daber*, *speak*. On *Isaiah* 26. 14. *Thou hast made all their Memory to perish*. The *LXX* translate *Male* instead of *Memory*; but all the rest of the Interpreters render it *Memory*, for the *Hebrews* write both of 'em with the same three Letters: But when we translate it *Memory*, we read *Zecur*; and when a *Male*, *Zacar*. In *Isaiah* 31. *Fire* and *Light* are wrote by the same Letters in *Hebrew*. If it be read *Ur*, it is *Fire*; if *Or*, 'tis *Light*. In *Ze-*

*phaniah* 3. 8. Also where we have translated, *In the day of my rising again, in time coming*: All others have interpreted it, *rising again for a Testimony*. [The English Translation is, *until the day that I rise up to the prey*.] The *Jew* who taught me said, That in this Place it ought rather to be understood *in time coming*, than for a *Testimony*. For *Ad*, which is wrote by the Letter *Hajin* and *Vau*, may signify either *in time coming* or for a *Testimony*.

(*p*) And the *Vau*, which is the *O*.] In *Tradit. Hebraic.* in *Genesis*, concerning the Name *Ephron*, in *Genesis* 13. In the *Hebrew* the first Name is writ *Ephron*, as we have put it; the 2d *Ephran*. For after he was prevailed with to sell the Burying-place for Silver, the Letter *Vau*, which the *Hebrews* read for *O*, was taken out of its Name, and it was called *Ephran* instead of *Ephron*. *Idem* in *Epist.* 145. *Hosi* therefore is interpreted, *God save you*. *Anna* is an Interjection of Deprecation. If you would compose a Word of those two, it will be *Hosianna*, or as we say *Hosanna*, the middle Vowel being struck out; for *Aleph*, the first Letter of the following Word, finding *Jod* the last of the foregoing, excludes it. *Idem* in *Epist.* ad *Evagrium* de *Melchisedec*. It's no matter whether it be called *Salem* or *Salim*, since the *Hebrews* very seldom make use of a Vowel in the middle of a Word; and according to the Custom of Places and the diversity of Countries, they pronounce the same Words with different Sounds and Accents.

but



but only of the Sound and Pronunciation. This is clear in his Epistle to *Evagrius* before-mentioned. *It matters not whether it be pronounced Salem or Salim, since the Hebrews seldom make use of Vowels in the middle of a Word, and pronounce the same Words after different manners, according to the Custom of the Place and the Diversity of the Country.* Does not *St. Jerom* clearly observe in this Passage, that the *Hebrews* had Vowels which were really Letters and not Points, but that they rarely made use of them in the middle of Words, and that in his time the Pronunciation was different and arbitrary? It was not then fix'd by Points which served instead of Vowels, as at present. The Accent or Tone was known by Custom, as it's ordinary almost in all living Languages, and particularly in the *French* and *English*, where abundance of Words are pronounced otherwise than they are writ. *St. Jerom* learn'd this from the *Jews*, therefore it's not to be wonder'd at, that he observes that such a Word signifies such a Thing according to the Pronunciation, and that he refers us to the *Jews* to prove that it ought to be read and translated so. The *Massorets*, who invented the Points, having followed the common Custom among themselves, and only fix'd them by the Points and Accents, it is not at all to be thought strange that *St. Jerom's* Version, which was agreeable to Custom, be found conformable to their Punctuation. As to the Points, or rather the Extremities (*Apicibus*) of the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Letters, whereof he speaks in his General Prologue, it can in no ways be understood of our Points, since 'tis certain that the *Samaritans* never made use of 'em. But it is naturally to be understood of the Corners of the Letters, and *St. Jerom* explains himself so in divers Places, as in his Commentary on the 12th of *Zechariah*, where he says, The Letters *Dalet* and *Resh* are alike, and differ *parvo tantum apice*; that is to say, only by the Corner of the upper stroke of those two Letters, as may be seen by their Characters. The Silence of *Origen*, who certainly understood *Hebrew*, and who himself copied the *Hebrew* Text in his *Hexapla* in *Hebrew* and *Greek* Characters; his Silence, I say, as to the Points, is still a Proof that they were not in use in his time. But it is not from his Silence alone that the newness of the Points may be concluded, we have still some Fragments of his *Hebrew* Copy wrote in *Greek* Characters, by which it appears, that he knew no other Vowels but the real Letters; for instead of the *Aleph* he puts *α*, for *Jod* *ι*, for *Hajin* *ε*, for *Vau* *ο*, or *υ*, or *ω*. We may also alledge the Silence of all the ancient Fathers who have spoke of the *Hebrew* Text, yet none of them hath spoke one word of the Vowel Points. To this we must add *Philo* and *Josephus*, who have said nothing of the Invention or Use of the Points, no more than of the pretended Difference of the Copies of the Law; whereof some, that is to say, the pointed ones, were read in the Synagogue; and the rest, that were for common Use, not so. The Silence of those two Authors, who were very well versed in the Customs of their Country, might justly surprize us, if those Customs had been common in their time.

*Mr. Capel's* other Arguments, to prove the Novelty of the Points, are taken from the Points themselves, their Number, Use, Name, &c. In general we may observe, That the Points and Accents of a Language are not much in Use whilst the Tongue is living; they were not invented in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues till after they ceased to be commonly spoken. The *Oriental* Tongues, as the *Chaldee*, *Samaritan* and *Syriac*, have none; the *Arabick* had none at first. Nor is there any appearance that the *Hebrew* Tongue is different in that respect from the other *Oriental* Tongues. The Number of its Vowels, which is 14 or 15, without reckoning the *Raphé*, the *Daggesh* and *Mappick*, and an infinite Number of Accents now in use amongst the *Hebrews*, make it plain enough how far those things are from the natural Simplicity of a Language commonly spoke. These are the Niceties and Subtleties of the *Grammarians* upon a dead Language, rather than the Custom of a living Language. The Names given to the Points are *Chaldee* and *Syriac*. Most of the Rules given for those things, are either useles or contrary to the Custom of the Ancients: As for Example, the difference betwixt *Schin* and *Sin*, which is the same Letter differently pointed, is unknown to *St. Jerom*, who observes in his Commentary on *Titus*, that the *Hebrews* had three *S's*, the *Sameck*, the *Tsadee*, and the *Sin*, and therefore he counted only 22 Letters in the Alphabet, and made no distinction betwixt *Sin* and *Schin*. The Accents are almost of no Use amongst the *Hebrews*. In fine, there are divers words, whose Pointings occasions a Pronunciation monstrous, irregular, and altogether contrary to the manner wherein the *LXX* and other ancient *Jews*, such as *Philo* and *Josephus*, read and pronounced, as the proper Names do manifestly shew. The same thing appears by the *Greek* Names put in *Hebrew*, as *Darius* and *Cyrus*, which being read without Points, in taking the *Jod* and *Vau* for the Vowels *i*, *e*, *ο*, are much more conformable to the true *Greek* Names than they

they are with the Points, which form the Names of *Dariæ* and *Cores*, which are altogether different from *Darius* and *Cyrus*.

The Reasons alledg'd on the other side, to prove the Antiquity of the Points, are mighty weak. They say first, That there's no Tongue without Vowels. We answer, That this is true, and that the *Hebrew* Tongue had its Vowels as well as others, as we have already observ'd divers times, viz. *Aleph*, *Jod*, *Hajin* and *Vau*, as in other Languages *a, e, i, o, u*. Perhaps they will say, That there being divers Words wherein none of those Letters are found, and which we very seldom meet with in the middle of any Word, the *Hebrew* Pronunciation must have been very difficult. But it is easie to answer, That Custom supplied that Defect, as in the *Chaldee*, *Samaritan* and *Arabick*, and that it was no way difficult to those that were instructed from their Youth in that Pronunciation, who spoke the Language continually, or read the Bible every day without Points. It is certain, even by the Confession of those who are most wedded to the Antiquity of the Points, that the Copies of the Law which were read in the Synagogues had no Points, yet the *Jews* read 'em commonly and without Error. And don't we see every day, that not only the *Jews*, who learn the *Hebrew* in their Infancy, but also those amongst us who are versed in that Tongue read without difficulty or mistake, the Copies that are not pointed, and that they pronounce those Words truly, which by their different Pronunciation may have a different Sense? Therefore it is easie to answer those who say, That if the *Hebrew* Tongue had not had Points, there would have been divers ambiguous Words in it; by telling them, That Custom and the Sequel of the Discourse, does most frequently determine the true Sense, and that it's rare if any Ambiguity remain. In a word, all those Objections cannot be made by those who agree, that *Esdra*s is the first who brought the Points in Use, and that until his time the *Jews* preserv'd by meer Oral Tradition, the Punctuation and Pronunciation of the *Hebrew* Words: For if they could be without them from *Moses* to *Esdra*s, why might they not have been as well without them from *Esdra*s till the time they were invented?

In the 2d Place, They object the Authority of the Book *Zohar*, which they alledge is very ancient, and compos'd by Rabbi *Simeon*, the Son of *Jochai*, who died about the 120 Year of Christ, and mentions the Points and Vowels, of which he believes *Moses* to have been the Author. But *Buxtorf* himself confesses, That the Book *Zohar* was compos'd after the 10th Century (q); or, at least, that divers things are added unto it. They alledge also, the Authority of the *Gemara* and the *Misna*, wherein mention is made of the Accents, and Pauses or Verses: But those Accents are to be understood of the Tone of the Pronunciation, and as to the Pauses and Distinctions they have nothing common with the Vowel Points. There's mention likewise made in the *Talmud* of 15 Words in the Bible that are pointed above; but it is a different sort of Points, which did not serve for directing the Pronunciation, but only to denote some Mysteries.

It is further objected, That the *Massorets* take notice of anomalous or irregular Punctuations; whence they conclude that they were not the Authors of the Points, because they would always have followed the same Rule. This Irregularity could come from nothing else, but that they found this Difference of Punctuation in their Copies. This Objection would be of some Weight, if we suppose that the Art of Pointing was form'd all at once, and by one Man; but, as it's more probable that this was done gradually, and by divers Hands, there's no Reason to wonder if there be some Irregularity in the Punctuations.

They pretend also, to prove the Antiquity of the Points and Accents by the Antiquity of the Musick, or the singing of the *Canticles*. They say, The Notes could not be retain'd in the Memory, that there was a Necessity of marking them, and that the great Number of *Hebrew* Accents serv'd for that very End. This Argument has so much the less strength, because all are agreed that there's now no Knowledge left of

(q) After the 10th Century.] Rabbi *Gedalia* and Rabbi *Zacuth* acknowledg'd, that there was no mention made of this Book before the Year 1290; and indeed no *Jewish* Authors spoke of it. The *Cabalistic* Art, in the manner there taught, is new among the *Jews*, and is not to be found in the *Talmud*. He distinguishes the great and small Letters, makes use of *Latin*, *Greek* and *Arabian* Terms, and even of new *French* Words. He follows the *Talmud*, calls the *Chaldee* the Language of the *Targum*, proves that it was not in use amongst the *Jews* when he wrote. He

alleges the Paraphrase of *Onkelos* as of an ancient Author. His Book is full of new Rabbinical Fables. The Book of *Bahir* is also new, and not writ by *Nechoniam* the Son of *Gana*, who liv'd before the Destruction of the Temple, as some of the *Jews* have believ'd. He quotes some *Chaldee* Paraphrases: He calls the *Roman* Empire *Edom*: He treats at large of the Points and their Characters, and searches for Mysteries in them: All which proves the newness of the thing.



The ancient Musick of the *Hebrews*, and that by Consequence we cannot have any certainty that the Accents which are come to our Hands are the Notes of it; forasmuch as they are not only made use of in the Poetical Works and Canticles, but also in other Books which certainly were never sung. If then there were any Musical Notes in the time of *David* or *Moses*, they differ'd from those Accents. But it is very likely, that in those ancient Times, they had the Tunes by Heart, and sung without Notes.

Some in order to prove, That in the time of our Saviour at least, the *Jews* made use of Points, alledge his Words, *Matth. 5. 18.* *That not one jot or tittle of the Law should pass away till all was fulfill'd*: That is, all that is wrote in the Law shall be fulfill'd, even to one single Jot or Point. But it is easie to answer, That the Word *Jot* or *Tittle* there, in *Greek* *ῥαβδίον*, does not signifie Vowel Points, but the Corners of the Letters. This is the natural Sense of the Word in *Greek* (*a*), and of *Apex* in *Latin*, and agrees perfectly well to this place.

We believe that we have hitherto sufficiently shew'n, That there's not only nothing which proves the Antiquity of the Points, but also that there are Arguments enough to convince reasonable persons, that they are newer than *St. Jerom's* time. We must now examine if they were invented about the 500th Year of Christ by the *Jews* of *Tiberias*, as most of the Criticks assure us; or, whether they be much later, as *Father Morin* will have it. The Arguments that we have brought, proves well that the Points were invented since the time of *St. Jerom* and the *Talmud*; but they are of no Use to prove the time when; so that 'tis only by Conjecture, they say, that the *Jews* of *Tiberias* invented them. In the mean time, there's Reason to believe that this is not the true *Epocha*, and that the Points were not invented and brought in Use but since the Year 800. For, first the *Misna*, which is the oldest part of the *Talmud*, was not compos'd till the 6th Age, and the *Talmud* of *Babylon* was not completed till towards the End of the 7th; which we shall make evident in the sequel. The Books *Midraschim* and *Megilloth* are still later. Now it's easie to prove, That the Authors of those Books knew nothing of the Punctuation, and that it was not used in their time; for, as we have already said, there's not one word of it said in the *Talmud*: On the contrary, when they speak of any ambiguous Word, whose Sense must be determin'd by the Pronunciation, they take notice of the Difficulty and Ambiguity of the Word, and say only, that it must be understood so or so, without speaking of the Points. If they had had pointed Copies, they would have found no Ambiguity in the Term, or would have determin'd it by the Punctuation. Here's a remarkable Instance of it from the 2d Chapter of the Book *Bababatra*, *When Joab came before David, David said to him, What's the Reason that you have done so? Joab answer'd him, Because it is written, you shall make to perish z, c, r, of Amaleck.* David replied to him, *But we read z, c, r.* Joab says to him, *They taught me to read z, c, r.* He went and ask'd his Master, *how he had taught him to read? He told him, z, c, r.* For the understanding of this place, we must observe that the Word compos'd of three *Hebrew* Consonants, *Zain*, *Caph* and *Resch*, which answer our three Letters *z, c, r*, signifies different things, according to the difference of the Pronunciation. If we pronounce it *Zacar*, as *Joab* pronounced it, it signifies *Male*; and so the Commandment was only to cut off all the Males; whereas if we pronounce it *Zecer*, as *David* did, it signifies to *Remember*; and so the Sense was, That they must cut off the Name or Remembrance of *Amaleck*. If the Points had been invented, they would have taken away the Ambiguity, and the *Talmudists* would have made mention of them in this place. There's another Instance in the 1st Chapter of the Treatise *Kiduschim*, where it's said, That two *Rabbies* being in Controverſie upon *Exod. 21. 8.* where it's said, That he who hath bought a Maid that does not please him, he shall not sell her, because he hath abus'd her. [In the English Bible] it is, *dealt deceitfully with her.* These last Words are ambiguous in the *Hebrew*; for, if we read *Bebigdo Bah*, it signifies *because of his Garment*: But if we read it *Bebagdo Bah*, it signifies *because he has prevaricated with her, and abus'd her.* One of the *Rabbies* understood it one way, and the other another; the one pleaded the ordinary way of reading; the other pleaded the Authority of the *Massora*; but neither of 'em alledge the Points in defence of their Opinion. In the 1st Chapter of the Treaty call'd *Sanhedrim*, there's another Controverſie betwixt the *Rabbies*, upon the Sense of a Word in *Levit.*

(r) This is the natural Sense, &c.] *Gellinus* says, That the *Apices* of the Letters are the Strokes or Points of 'em: Whence came the Saying, *De apicibus juris disputare*, to dispute Points of Law. In the ancient *Greek* Glosses, *κεῖρα γὰρ μὴ αὐτὰ ἀνεῖν*, is

the Summit or Point of the Letter. The Word is taken in this Sense in *Plutarch*, *Dion*, *Chrysostom*, *Philo* the Jew, *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, and in the *Sybelline Verses*. *St. Jerom* uses it in the same Sense, as we have shewn.

12. 5. which being pronounced *Sibheim*, signifies 70; and *Sebuhaim* signifies two Weeks. This Difference might have been decided, had there been then any Points: But we see the *Rabbies* make no mention of them. In the Book *Midraschim*, or the ancient *Mystical Commentaries of the Rabbies upon the Scriptures*, there's no mention of the Points in any place, no more than there is in the Book *Sophrim*, which treats expressly of the manner of writing the Law: There he speaks of the choice of Parchment to be used, of the Space there ought to be betwixt the Letters, how many Letters in each Line, how many Lines in a Page, that the Words ought to be separated, that the Letters ought to be great or small, and speaks nothing of the Vowel Points. Could it be possible he should have forgot them? This Book is later than the *Talmud*, and speaks of it with Applause. The Points then are later than the 7th Age. Since this Book was compos'd, there was about the beginning of the 9th Age, two Reviews of the Text of the Bible, one by the Western, and another by the Eastern *Jews*. It appears, that in those Reviews they made no use of the Points, nor observed any difference in the Punctuation. Whereas the *Rabbies Ben-Asher* and *Ben-Naphtali*, who made a Review about 100 Years after, that is about 940, spent the greatest part of their Criticks on the Points.

Another Proof of the time when the Points were invented, is the Origin of *Grammar* among the *Jews*. The first of their *Grammarians* was Rabbi *Judas Ching*, an *Arabian*, who lived in the 10th Century. Since then they have had divers. Now there are two things we may lay down as Matter of Fact. 1. That it's almost impossible to know the Rules and the Use of the Points without *Grammar*. 2. That the *Hebrew Grammar* is chiefly founded upon the Knowledge of the Points. Which makes it evident, That those two Things must be invented near upon the same time. In fine, 'tis very probable, that the *Hebrews* had their Vowel Points from the *Arabs*, and that they were the first Inventers of them. History informs us, That the *Arabs* or *Saracens* becoming Masters of a great part of *Asia* and *Africk*, and of *Sicily* and *Spain* in *Europe*, in the 7th and 8th Age, their Language, as usual, spread with their Dominions, and became common in all the Countries under their Obedience. Then it was, that to fix the Pronunciation of that Language amongst so many different People, they invented the Points and set up *Grammarians* to compose Rules for their Tongue. The *Jews* as well as other Eastern Nations did commonly write in *Arabick*. Their first *Grammarians* wrote in that Language, and followed the Method and Rules of the *Arabian Grammar*. The *Massorets*, whose natural Tongue was the *Arabick*, imitated the Custom, and followed the Example of the *Arabs* in pointing the Letters of the *Hebrew* Text, to fix the Pronunciation of it. As the *Arabians* changed their ancient Vowels into Consonants, they did the like, and followed their Distinction into those that are pronounc'd by the Throat, Lips, Roof of the Mouth, Teeth and Tongue. They called the Primitive Words *Roots*, as they did; and the Vowel Points they called *Movements*. In the same manner they admitted useless Letters, which they call *Quiescent*, and don't pronounce: From them they had the *Dagesch lene* and *Dagesch forte*; the former directing to pronounce the *Aspirates* softly; and the latter teaching to double them. This Conformity in *Grammar* and *Punctuation* shews that the *Jews* had both from the *Arabs*.

This is the most probable Opinion concerning the Origin of the Vowel Points, which were not in use among the *Jews* till the 9th Age. The Invention is commonly ascrib'd to the *Massorets* of *Tiberias*, who are renown'd amongst the *Grammarians* for the Exactness of their Punctuation: And 'tis probable enough that they introduc'd it first, and by degrees reduc'd it to an Art. We shall examine afterwards, whether we are to follow their Punctuation, or whether we may vary from it.



## I S E C T. III.

*That the Hebrew Text of the Sacred Scriptures was not lost during the Captivity: And that Esdras did not make it over again intirely, but only restor'd and corrected it.*

THE Story related by the Author of the 4th Book of *Esdras*, chap. 14. That *Esdras* having taken with him five Scribes, and gone to a place of Retirement, where in 40 Days he dictated to them divers Volumes by Divine Inspiration, occasion'd some of the Ancients to look upon him as the Restorer of the Books of the Bible, and to assert that all the Copies of the Sacred Books were lost during the Captivity, and that *Esdras* being divinely Inspired, restored them by his Memory. This *St. Irenaeus*, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, *St. Basil*, and some others of the Ancients seem to have believed (a); but without any Ground, in my Opinion. For besides, that the 4th Book of *Esdras* is Apocryphal, and full of Fables, it is not said there that the Books which *Esdras* compos'd in this Retirement, were the Books that made up the Jewish Canon. And it is altogether incredible, as we we shall presently see, That all the Copies of the Sacred Books should be lost during the Captivity. It is true, that *Esdras* took pains to re-establish the Books of the Law. *First*, By making a Collection and a Canon of the Sacred Books. *Secondly*, By reviewing them Exactly, and correcting the Faults that might have slipp'd into them. *Thirdly*, By putting them in Order. *Fourthly*, By writing them in new Characters, as we have already said. *Fifthly*, By adding thereunto some Connexions and Explications. It is in this Sense, that he may justly be called, The Restorer of the Sacred Books; and that we may reasonably say, he renew'd and re-establish'd them. It is thus that *St. Jerom*, *St. Hilary*, *St. Chrysostom* and *Theodoret* explain themselves (b). And 'tis, perhaps, in this Sense that we are to understand the Passages of the other Fathers, which we have quoted for the contrary Opinion, tho' some of 'em seem to say more. But to say, That God inspired him with all the Sacred Books *verbatim*, and that he did dictate them on this Inspiration, is to admit a Miracle without necessity, which is attested by no Body, and to suppose a thing that is plainly false. It is to maintain an Opinion injurious to Religion, in making the Authority of the Sacred Books to depend only upon a fabulous, or at least, an uncertain History. How shall we prove to a Libertine, that we have the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets, if we suppose they were lost during the Captivity? Is it enough to tell him, That *Esdras* restor'd them by the Inspiration of God? What Proof can we bring for it? Is it possible that God, who by an Effect of his Providence hath made the Verity of the Sacred Histories as certain as any other, (to consider things only according to the Light of Reason.) Is it possible, I say, that he would have permitted an Event which might have rendred the whole Body of the Sacred History uncertain and doubtful, to those who had not the Eye of Faith, and put the Faithful under an impossibility of proving

(a) *Others of the Ancients seem to have believed.* ] *Irenaeus Lib. 3. Advers. Hares. cap. 25.* Because the Scriptures were interpreted by Divine Inspiration, and it is not to be wonder'd at, that God wrought this upon them, when during the Captivity of the People by *Nebuchadnezzar*, the Writings being corrupted, and the *Jews* after 70 Years returning into their own Country; and afterwards, in the time of *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*, he inspired *Esdras* the Priest, of the Tribe of *Levi*, to remember all the Discourses of the Prophets, and to restore to the People the Law that was given by *Moses*. This Passage is related by *Enseb. in Greek. Hist. Lib. 5. Cap. 8.* where he makes use of the Terms *ἀνακαταστήσας* and *ἀνακαταστήσας*, which signifie to compose and restore. *St. Clement of Alexandria*, in the first Book of his *Stromata*, says, *Esdras* is the Author of the Review and of the Renewing, *ἀνακαταστήσας* and *ἀνακαταστήσας*, of the Divinely Inspired Scriptures. *Tertullian*, in his first Book concerning the *Habits of Women*, cap. 3. says, As after *Jerusalem* was destroy'd & taken by the *Babylonians*, it is certain that all the Monuments of the Jewish Learning were restored. *St. Basil* in his

*Epistle to Chilo* says, *Esdras* retiring into a Valley, did by the Command of God, *ἐκκαθαίρειν*, audibly repeat all the Divinely inspired Scriptures. *St. Isidore* and *Rabanus* are of this Sentiment. *Driedo* and some other Moderns have embrac'd it, as well as some *Rabbies* mentioned by *Elias Levita*.

(b) *St. Jerom, St. Hilary, St. Chrysostom and Theodoret.* ] *St. Jerom* allows *Esdras* only to have corrected, gathered together, put in order, and wrote in new Characters the Books of the Bible. *St. Hilary* in his Preface to the *Psalms*, says, That *Esdras* collected and made into one Book all the *Psalms*. *St. Chrysostom* says expressly, That *Esdras* form'd the Body of the Books of the Scripture, of such Books as remain'd, *ἀπὸ λείπωντων*, *Hom. 8.* on the *Hebrews*. *Theodoret* in his Preface to the *Psalms* does not say, that the Holy Scripture was intirely lost in the Captivity, but only that it was corrupted, and *Esdras* corrected it. This Opinion is receiv'd by almost all the Modern Interpreters, *Jews* and *Christians*, particularly by *Beſſarmin*, *Salmero*, *Serarius*, *Bonfrerius*, &c.

the Truth of it. But, without insisting on those Consequences, the thing in it self is not to be maintain'd; there's a great number of Proofs which shew it to be manifestly impossible, that all the Copies of the Sacred Books should be consumed by the burning of the Temple, or lost during the Captivity. For, in the first place, there were abundance of *Jews*, of the ten Tribes, who had kept to the Religion of their Fathers, and had without doubt preserv'd Copies of the Law. We see that *Tobit* profess'd the Jewish Religion during the Captivity, he had not only the Law of *Moses*, but also the Prophecy of *Amos*: For when they brought him the News, That there was in the open Market-place the Body of an *Israelite* that had been strangled; he remembered this Prophecy of *Amos*, *Your Feasts shall be changed into Mourning, and your Mirth into Lamentation.* In the second place, The *Samaritan Pentateuch* is a convincing Proof, that the Copies of the Law were not lost, and that the *Samaritans* had preserv'd it. Their Copies could not be burnt in the Temple, and the Captivity of the *Jews* contributed nothing to the loss of them. There were then, at least, Copies of the *Pentateuch* remaining in *Esdra's* time. In the third place, 11 Years before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, *Ezekiel* and *Daniel* were transported into *Babylon* with King *Joachim*, and divers others of the *Israelites* that feared God. Is it any way likely then, that none of those Captives carried the Sacred Books with them, and that no Copy of them was preserv'd during the Captivity? *Jeremy* staid in his Country after the Destruction of *Jerusalem* and the Temple: And shall we believe that neither he, nor none of those that staid with him, preserv'd Copies of the Holy Books? In the fourth place it appears, That *Daniel* had the Books of *Moses* during the Captivity of *Babylon*, because he says in the 9th Chapter (speaking to God) *All the People of Israel have transgressed thy Law, even by departing, that they might not obey thy Voice; therefore the Curse is poured upon us, and the Oath that is written in the Law of Moses, the servant of God, because we have sinned against him.* And a little after, *As it is written in the Law of Moses, All this Evil is come upon us.* There is likewise mention made in the Book of *Daniel*, of the Prophecies of *Isaiah* and *Jeremiah*. They must then have had Copies of them during the Captivity. In the fifth place, 'tis said, in the 6th Chapter of the first Book of *Esdra*, *That the building of the Temple was finished in the sixth year of King Darius, and that the Priests and Levites were establish'd in their Functions, according as it is written in the Law of Moses.* But *Esdra* was not then come from *Jerusalem*; for it is not till the following Chapter, that he gives an Account of his coming to *Judea* in the 7th Year of King *Artaxerxes*. Sixthly, In the 2d Book of *Esdra*, Chap. 8. The People being willing to be instructed in the Law of *Moses*, pray'd *Esdra* not to dictate the same afresh, but only to bring the Book of the Law of *Moses*, which the Lord had given to the People of *Israel*. And the Scribes spoke to *Esdra*, that he might bring the Book of the Law of *Moses*, which the Lord had commanded *Israel*. And it is said, That *Esdra* forthwith brought the Book of the Law and read it before all the People. In the 7th place, It is certain that the *Jews*, besides the Copies of the Sacred Books which were in the Temple and in the Synagogues, had a great many private Copies which they kept carefully, and had 'em read to their Families. How then can we imagine, that in 70 Years time all those Copies were utterly lost, so that none of 'em should be left remaining? It is a Supposition altogether ridiculous, nay impossible. In short, the Priests and Levites had a particular Obligation to read and preserve the Sacred Books; their Duty requir'd it, and it was their Interest they should not be lost. Can we reasonably suppose that they would suffer 'em to be lost by Negligence, or that they deliver'd 'em all up by manifest Impiety, and that not so much as one single one did escape? It is the greatest Absurdity in the World.

#### S E C T. IV.

*That the Hebrew Text of the Sacred Books was not corrupted by the Malice of the Jews.*

Divers Authors accuse the *Jews*, of having maliciously corrupted the *Hebrew Text* of the Sacred Books, and pretend to found their Charge on the Authority of the ancient Fathers of the Church. They do likewise alledge Passages, whose Corruption they maintain to be visible, and that this could never have been done but out of Hatred to Christianity. We must examine, if the Testimonies and Examples which they bring be



Conclusive: For, supposing that the Accusation is not prov'd, it must be agreed that it was a great piece of Presumption to have advanc'd it. Justice is due to all the World, to Enemies as well as Friends, Jews as well as Christians; and, moreover, 'tis the Interest of Christians to prove, that the Original of the Books upon which their Religion is founded, hath suffered no considerable Change or Corruption. For, if we suppose that the *Jews* have alter'd and chang'd them as they pleas'd, what stress can we lay upon those Books? Perhaps they will say, That there are Versions which have preserv'd the Purity of them: But who can persuade us of that, if the Original upon which those Versions were founded have not a Being. It is then not only an unjust but an inconsiderate Zeal, to accuse the *Jews* of having corrupted the *Hebrew* Text, if we have no convincing Proofs of it, tho' there were no Proofs to the contrary, as there certainly are. Let us then examine those that they alledge, and begin with the Testimonies produc'd against them.

The first is *St. Justin Martyr*, the oldest of the Christian Authors that wrote against the *Jews*: It's said, This Father accuses them in his Dialogue against *Trypho*, of having altered the Holy Scriptures in those Places that favour'd the Christians. But if we weigh it duly, we shall find no such Accusation in *Justin*. He does not say any where, that the *Jews* changed or corrupted the *Hebrew* Text; but only, that they made unfaithful Translations of it, and such as differ'd from those of the *Septuagint*, and that they had cut off from that Version some Places where there were Prophecies of Jesus Christ. *Vos autem, &c.* i. e. *But you have dared to corrupt the Translations of your Elders, which they made by Order of the King of Egypt, alledging that the Scripture has it not as they translated it . . . . . They endeavour to interpret them otherwise: And have likewise taken away several whole Passages out of the Edition of the 70 Elders, which manifestly foretold this Crucified Jesus to be God and Man, and that he died on the Cross.* For Instance, he alledges, *Isaiah* 7. 14. which they translated, *Behold a young Woman shall conceive.* Whereas the LXX translated it, *Behold, a Virgin shall conceive.* So that we see *St. Justin's* Charge is not founded on the Alteration of the Text, but on the Translation of the word *Halmah*, which they rendred by *Neayia*, a young Woman, instead of rendring it by *παρθένη*, a Virgin, as the LXX did. *Trypho* pressing him to give Examples of Places which the *Jews* had cut off, not from the Text (for that was not the Matter in Debate) but from the Version of the *Septuagint*; *St. Justin* brings him a Passage from *Esdra*s, two Passages of *Jeremy*, and another of *Psalms* 95. where he pretends they have cut off those words *à Ligno, from the Wood.* We shall afterwards examine the Truth of those Charges: It's sufficient to observe here, That they don't fall upon the Text, that *St. Justin* does not accuse the *Jews* of falsifying that, but only upon the *Greek* Text, from whence they had cut off those things which were in the Version of the LXX. He charges them only with having translated amiss; and being so bold, that when the Version of the LXX is alledg'd against them, which he believes to be very faithful, to say that it is not so in the Text.

The 2d Testimony they quote is from *St. Irenaeus*, who also accuses the *Jews* with having chang'd that Passage of *Isaiah*, *a Virgin shall bring forth a Son*, *Lib. 3. cap. 24.* But he, as well as *St. Justin*, speaks only of the Versions, and not of the Text. *There is not then, says he, any Truth in the Version of those who have dar'd to translate it, A young Woman shall conceive and bring forth a Son; as Theodotion of Ephesus and Aquila of Pontus have done, being both Jewish Proselytes, whom the Ebionites followed.* He opposes to this Translation that of the LXX, which the *Jews* made a long time before our Saviour's coming. And he adds by way of Conjecture, That had they foreseen that there should be Christians one Day, and that they would make use of those Testimonies, they would have made no scruple to burn the Scriptures, in which 'twas foretold, That all Nations should partake of Life, and that those who boasted themselves to be descended from the Family of *Jacob*, and the People of *Israel* should be depriv'd of the Inheritance of God's Favour. It is not of Matter of Fact that *St. Irenaeus* speaks in those last Words; for certainly the *Jews* had not burnt the Holy Scriptures; it was only an Aggravation to express their Hatred of Christians. So that there's nothing of the falsification of the *Hebrew* Text to be concluded from thence: Nay, he does not so much as accuse the Modern *Jews* of it, but only of having unfaithfully translated that Passage of *Isaiah*, *A Virgin shall conceive and bring forth a Son*, by interpreting the Word *Halmah* a Woman, instead of a Virgin.

It is with less Reason still, that they alledge what *Tertullian* says in his Book of the *Habits of Women*. 'That we have Ground to think the *Jews* have rejected the Book of *Enoch*, as they have done almost all the rest wherein Jesus Christ is mentioned; and that

' we are not to wonder if those who were to reject him when he spoke himself, would not receive some Writings which spoke of him. For in this Place he does not treat of the altering or falsifying the Text of the Sacred Books which are the Canon of the *Jews*, but only of some Books that they had thrown out of the Canon, as the Book of *Enoch*, which some Christians did also reject, because it was not admitted into the Jewish Archives. *Tertullian* confutes this Argument, because Christians are not to reject what is favourable for them, and that all Scripture that is proper for Edification is inspired by God. This no ways relates to the Question in hand, but only to the Canonicalness of the Book of *Enoch*.

*Origen* seems to accuse the *Jews* more formally of having falsified the Text: For explaining a Passage in his 12th Homily on that Prophet, he makes this Remark; 'That because it is hard to find any one that will accuse himself, and confess his Fault, the *Jews*, who have falsified some Copies, have for this Reason chang'd something in this Place, by putting those Words, *their Sins*, instead of those [*the sin of Juda*.] Yet we read still in the Text, as in the Days of St. *Ferom* and *Origen*, *Hattab Jebuda*, the Sin of *Juda*; and not *Hattabam*, their Sins: So that this pretended Falsification could not be made but in a small Number of Copies. Thus *Origen* speaks only of some. The *Jews* (says he) *who had falsified some Copies*. He seems moreover to speak only of some Greek Copies, and is so far from accusing the Hebrew Text of Falseness in this place, that it's the *Septuagint* he speaks of: For after having explained the last Verses of the 16th Chapter of *Jeremy*, he says, They are followed by this Prophecy. *The Sin of Judah is wrote with a Graver of Iron on a Diamond, and engraven on their Heart*. [In the English Translation, 'tis the beginning of the 17th of *Jeremy*, and runs thus. *The Sin of Judah is written with a Pen of Iron, and with the Point of a Diamond, and it is graven upon the Table of their Heart*.] 'But he observes, That he does not find this Prophecy in the *Septuagint*, (as indeed it is not to be found there at this Day) but only in other Versions agreeable to the Hebrew Text; and that it's probable, that as Men are unwilling to own themselves to be wicked, the *Jews* have falsified some Copies, and read *their Sin*, instead of *the Sin of Judah*. He likewise accuses the LXX of having cut off all that Prophecy of the Text of *Jeremiah*, lest that Testimony should have for ever continued against them. It is true, that the same Author in his Epistle to *Africanus*, concerning the History of *Susannah*, maintains that the *Jews* have cut off that History from the Hebrew Text: And to render this Opinion the more probable, he brings some Examples out of the Old and New Testament, where he pretends the *Jews* have made some Alteration. But for the better understanding *Origen's* Sense in this Work, we must remember that the Point betwixt him and *Africanus*, was about the Truth of the History, and whether it might be read: *Africanus* treated it as fabulous, because 'tis not in the Hebrew. *Origen* does not say precisely, that the *Jews* had cut it off from the Book of *Daniel*, but only that they had it formerly: Whence it will not necessarily follow, that it was part of the Book of *Daniel*, or of the Jewish Canon. But it might be as the Histories of *Judith* and *Tobit*, in the Number of the Books that were out of the Canon, tho' wrote in Hebrew or Chaldee. And 'tis this only which *Origen* seems to have maintain'd, since he did not defend the Canonicalness of it, as we have observ'd, but the Truth of it. And in other places he speaks of it doubtfully (a).

St. *Chrysostom* is no more favourable than other Fathers, to the Pretensions of those who maintain that the *Jews* have corrupted the Hebrew Text. Two Passages of this Father are quoted on this Subject. The first is in his 5th Homily on *Matthew*, where he does not compare the Version of the LXX with the Hebrew Text, but only with other Versions made by the *Jews* since the Birth of our Saviour. *Siquidem alii, &c. Forasmuch as other Jews have translated it since the coming of our Lord, who deservedly lie under suspicion, because they have wickedly and craftily corrupted many things, and industriously concealed the Mysteries foretold by the Prophets: But the LXX who were called altogether to interpret the same, above 100 Years before the coming of our Lord, are vindicated from all such Suspicion*. The other Passage is taken out of the Ninth

(a) He speaks of it doubtfully.] In the end of his Commentary on *Daniel*, speaking of the Allusion of the Names of the Greek Trees *olive* and *olive*, to two Verbs he adds, That if we don't find in the Hebrew the Words to which this Allusion answers, we must say that it is only in the Greek. *Quod si non fuerit inventum, &c.* Which if it be not found, we must of necessity acquiesce in their Opinion who will have it to be only a Derivative of the Greek Language, which has

a Greek and no Hebrew Etymology. And a little lower, having made other Objections against the History of *Susannah*, he adds, *That he will easily solve what he has said; That this History is not to be found in the Book of Daniel amongst the Hebrews: But if any can prove it to be part of the Canon, then we must see what we ought to answer to such an one*. St. *Ferom* in his Preface to *Daniel* says, *Origen* is one of those who believe that the History of *Susannah* is not in Hebrew.



*Homily* of the same Commentary; where, willing to give a Reason why those Words, *He shall be called a Nazarene*, cited by St. *Matthew*, as the Saying of a Prophet, are not now to be found in the Prophets, he says, We are not to wonder at it, because the *Jews*, who were negligent and impious, have suffer'd to be lost by neglect, or burnt, or tore divers of the Works of the Prophets. Had he believ'd that the *Jews* had falsified the *Hebrew* Text of the Prophets which we have now, he would sooner have had recourse to this Falsification, than to lost Books. In a word, he does not in this place accuse the *Jews* of having falsified the Sacred Books that we have now, but that they lost and suppressed those that we have not.

Some other Authors are also cited, as *Julian* of *Toledo*, and *Eutymius* on St. *Matthew*. But the first speaks only of the different Chronology of the Text, and of the Version of the LXX. It's true indeed, that he pleads for the Truth of the latter, and in that prefers their Version to the Text: But he does not accuse the *Jews* of having corrupted their Text by Malice. And in regard of the latter, he speaks only of the Explications which the *Jews* gave to the Prophecy of *Micah*, in maintaining that it ought to be understood of *Zerobabel*. This also the *Jews* deprave (says he, in his Commentary on the 1st of St. *Matthew*) saying, That the Prophet spake of *Zerobabel*: To whom we answer on the contrary, That *Zerobabel* was not born in *Bethlehem*, but in *Babylon*.

Tho' St. *Jerom* hath declar'd himself in divers Places for the Authenticness of the *Hebrew* Text, yet some Passages of his are alledg'd, in which he seems not only to acknowledge, that there are some Faults in the *Hebrew* Text, but also to accuse the *Jews* of having falsified them. Amongst others, they quote a Passage in the 3d Chapter of his Commentary on the *Galatians*; where explaining those Words quoted by St. *Paul*, and taken from the 27th of *Deuteronomy*, *Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law*. He says, 'Tis in vain that the *Jews* have cut off from this Text the Particle *Col*, which answers to *All*. In vain, says he, did the *Jews* take it away, lest they should seem to be under the Curse. He makes the same Remark upon the words in that same Chapter, *Cursed is every one that hangereth on a Tree*: Upon which he says, It may be the ancient *Hebrew* Text had it, *Cursed of God*, as 'tis expressed by the *Septuagint*. They quote another Passage of the same Father, from his Commentary on the 5th of *Micah*, where speaking of *Bethlehem Ephraïm*, he says the LXX make mention of this City, and of ten more in the 15th of *Joshua*; upon which he observes, that this might have been raz'd out of the ancient Copies by the Malice of the *Jews*. They add, That St. *Jerom* himself, relates in divers Places the different Versions of the *Hebrew* Text, and likewise that of the *Septuagint*, which he applauds and approves. To this 'tis answer'd, That St. *Jerom* never advanc'd when speaking his own Sentiment, that the *Jews* had maliciously corrupted the *Hebrew* Text; nor does he assure us that it was corrupted, but only relates simply according to his Custom, the different Opinions or Conjectures of Interpreters. When he says in the first Passage, That the *Jews* cut off the Particle *Col* in vain, he only speaks it as the Opinion of those who pretended the *Jews* had cut it off, which he acknowledges to be very uncertain. 'It is not certain, says he, whether the *Septuagint* have added here 'those words every Man, and in every thing; or, if they were in the ancient *Hebrew*, 'and the *Jews* raz'd them out.. The reason why he believ'd they might have been in the *Hebrew*, is because there's no likelihood that the Apostle would have quoted those Words so, if they had not been in the *Hebrew* Copies; and, in effect, the Particle *Col* is found in the *Samaritan* Text. It's this that made him say, That it was in vain for the *Jews* to have cut them off, since the Copies written in more ancient Characters testify that they were there. It is a meer Conjecture, founded on the Conformity of the *Samaritan* Text with the *Septuagint*. In the 2d Passage he brings the different Versions of this Sentence, *Cursed is every one who is hanged on a Tree*, and the different Senses that may be given to the *Hebrew* Text. He examines afterward why the Apostle hath cut off from the *Septuagint* those Words, *of God*, which are also in the *Hebrew* Text, and hath added these words, *all, and on a Tree*, which are not found in the *Hebrew* Text, but are in the *Septuagint*. 'For, says he, if he had followed the LXX, he ought to 'add the Name of *God*; and if he made use of the *Hebrew* Text, as being an *Hebrew*, he ought not to have added these words, *all, and on a Tree*, which are not in the *Hebrew*. St. *Jerom* resolves this Difficulty by an Alternative, saying, That either 'the *Hebrew* Copies had it otherwise than at present, or that the Apostle follow'd the 'Sense without keeping to the Words: Or, what he believes to be more probable, That 'after our Saviour's Passion the Name of *GOD* was added by one or other to the *Hebrew* Copy and to ours, to reproach us, because we believe in *Jesus Christ*, who is made

‘made a Curse for us. This Father speaks yet with more uncertainty in the third Page; for there he declares, That he cannot tell whether the Word *Bethlehem Ephrata* hath been struck out of the *Hebrew* Text or added to the Version of the LXX. Whether it was raz’d out of the ancient Books by the Malice of the Jews, lest Christ should seem to be descended of the Tribe of Judah, or added by the LXX, we have no certainty. St. Jerom in these Places speaks doubtfully, in order to Accommodate himself to the Sentiments of divers Authors, as he owns he has frequently done in his Commentaries. It is according to this Method that he frequently quotes the different Interpretations of the *Hebrew* Text, and the different Versions, and that he commends the LXX. But when he gives his own Thoughts of this Question, he declares himself with Origen for the *Hebrew* Text, and positively denies that it was falsified by the *Jews* Dilemma. ‘If any one, says he (in the 3d Book of his Commentary on the 6th of *Isaiah*) pretends that the *Hebrew* Copies were corrupted by the *Jews*, let him hear what Origen says in the 8th Volume of his Explications upon *Isaiah*, and answer that Question, Why our Lord and his Apostles, who reprov’d the Doctors of the Law and the Pharisees for their other Crimes, did not tell them of this, which, if true, would have been the greatest? If it be said, That the *Hebrew* Copies were corrupted since the coming of our Lord; I cannot but smile, that they would have me to believe, that Jesus Christ, his Evangelists and Apostles, have quoted those Passages in the same manner, as the *Jews* should falsify them afterwards. We cannot doubt then but St. Jerom was persuaded that the *Hebrew* Copies were not maliciously corrupted by the *Jews*: For, had he been of that Opinion, why should he have undertaken a new Version from the *Hebrew* Text? Upon what Ground should he have preferr’d that to the Version of the LXX? And with what Confidence could he have given it the Name of the *Hebrew* Verity throughout?

St. Augustin well perceiv’d, That it was neither Prudent, Reasonable, nor Advantageous to the Church, to maintain that the *Jews* had corrupted the Sacred Books. God forbid, says he (in his 15th Book of the *City of God*, chap. 13.) that any prudent Man should imagine that the *Jews*, how malicious soever they be, could falsify so many Copies, that were dispersed in so many Places. And therefore in his *Treatise of Christian Doctrine*, he advises People to have recourse to the Originals; and when he prefers the Version of the LXX to all the rest, he always puts in a Salvo for the Honour of the *Hebrew* Text, as in his 18th Book *de Civitate Dei*, Cap. 43. Inſomuch that when there’s any difference betwixt the Text and the Version, he says, *We must rather believe the Original than the Versions.* Ibid. Lib. 15. Cap. 13.

Having answered the Authorities that were produced to shew, That the *Jews* had maliciously and out of hatred to the *Christians*, corrupted the *Hebrew* Text, and shew’d that none of the Ancients do positively charge them with that Crime, and that the most Learned of them do vindicate them from it. We shall now bring our Reasons to prove, That there’s no likelihood of their having done it, or that they could do it. Those that appear to us to be the most convincing are as follow.

In the first Place, ’tis certain, that the *Jews* have always had a particular Respect for the Sacred Books contained in their Canon, that they were perswaded it was Criminal to add to them, or diminish from them, and preserved them carefully. Then what likelihood is there, that they would designedly corrupt them? Is it not much more reasonable to believe, that they preserved them in their Purity? Philo, quoted by Eusebius, l. 8. *Præp. Evang.* assures us, That they preserv’d the Books of *Moses*, without having changed so much as one Word of them. Josephus testifies, That the *Jews* have to great a Respect for the Sacred Books, that for a long Succession of Ages, none amongst them durst add any thing to them, or diminish any thing from them. ’Tis on this Account that St. Justin brings in Trypho the Jew, saying (according to the Maxims of those of his Sect) That they were so far from Corrupting the Sacred Scriptures, that all of them believe ’twould have been a more enormous Crime, than to Worship the Golden Calf, consecrate their Children to Idols, make them to pass thro’ the Fire, to sacrifice them, or to kill the Prophets. The *Jews* have always preserv’d, and do still preserve this Respect for the Books of the Bible; they transcribed them with all the Precautions imaginable, to make their Copies true; they read them with Exactness in their Synagogues: Then is it credible, that after this they would go about to corrupt them deliberately?

In the second Place, if the *Jews* had corrupted the Holy Scripture, out of hatred to the *Christians*, on purpose to deprive them of those Weapons, which they made use of to fight themselves, they would certainly have falsified the Passages, which contain the most clear Predictions of Jesus Christ, and those that the *Christians* opposed to them;



but those Passages have continued in their Purity, and are sometimes more express in the *Hebrew Text*, than in the *Vulgar Translation*. There's an infinite Number of clear Prophecies concerning Jesus Christ, which the Christians alledge every day against the Jews, in which it's agreed the Jews have made no Alteration. There's only a very small Number alledg'd, where its pretended that the Version of the *LXX* renders the Sense of the Prophecy concerning Jesus Christ more clear (which we shall examine particularly afterwards) there are on the other hand, Places where the *Hebrew Text* agrees better to Jesus Christ than the Version of the *Septuagint*, as we shall make it appear. What then, can we conclude from all this, that the Jews, out of hatred to the Christians, have falsified the *Hebrew Text*? Not at all: For had they done it from that Motive, they would have corrupted all the Passages or at least the Chief Ones, and since we cannot conclude, that the *Septuagint* had any design to weaken the Proofs of the *Messiah*, because in some Places they have translated the Text in such a manner as diminishes the force of the Prophecy; neither can we lawfully conclude, that the Jews have falsified the *Hebrew Text*, and changed the Prophecies, which relate to Jesus Christ, because in some Places the *Hebrew Text*, does not seem to be so express as the Versions. It may be that the Text hath been corrupted in those Places accidentally, by the fault of the Copiers. It may be also that the Interpreters have not kept to the Letter of the Text. Perhaps there may be some fault in the Version. We shall enter upon the Particulars afterwards.

In the third Place, if we should allow, that the Jews would have falsified the Copies of the Sacred Books, it was morally impossible, that they could do it; for how should they conspire together to carry on that Design? How could they when scattered throughout the Earth, agree in all Places upon the same Falsification? Is it possible; that all of them should have consented to that Crime, and that none of them, should oppose it? How could they falsifie all the Copies, without leaving so much as one in its Original Integrity? Admitting they could have accomplished their Design in respect of the Copies, which were in their Possession, how could they have falsified those that were in the Hands of Christians? All those Suppositions are alike Unwarrantable.

In the fourth Place, it seems to have been the Concern of the Divine Providence, not to suffer that the Copies of the Sacred Books should be corrupted by the Jews in those Prophecies, which related to Jesus Christ. For one of the strongest Proofs of the Truth and Antiquity of those Prophecies is, That they were preserved and respected by an Ancient People who hate and are no ways in Agreement with us: They give Testimony to the Antiquity and Truth of the Books, which confound themselves, and demonstrate the Truth of our Religion; which makes *St. Augustin* say, 'That the Jews are the Preservers of our Archives and Books: On *Pf. 40 & 56*. They carry our Books, they are made our Book-Keepers, but reap no Advantage from them, all the Benefit belongs to us. When the *Pagans* will not believe that the Predictions concerning Jesus Christ, which we relate, are true; and maintain, that we have forged them, we have nothing else to do but to refer them to the Jews, who are the Enemies of our Faith, and preserve the Books wherein those Prophecies are found. 'Tis an effect of the Divine Providence in respect of us (saith *St. Austin* in his *Exhortation to the Gentiles*) that the Jews preserve our Books in their Synagogues, and by consequence our Religion; for to prevent all occasion of Slander, by making use of the Copies kept in our Church, we love rather to make use of those of the Jewish Synagogues, the Reading of which demonstrates, that what those Holy Men have wrote is our Doctrine.

In the fifth Place, we make use of *St. Jerom's Dilemma*, by adding thereunto a third Article, relating to the time that past from *St. Jerom* to our own Days (for there are Authors who pretend that the *Hebrew Text* was not corrupted till after that time) and argue thus, If the *Hebrew Text* was corrupted by the Malice of the Jews, it was either before Jesus Christ, or betwixt our Saviour's Preaching and *St. Jerom's* time, or from *St. Jerom* to our time. Now all those Suppositions are alike unwarrantable, and by consequence easily overthrown: For in the first Place, had the *Hebrew Text* been corrupted by the Malice of the Jews before Jesus Christ, our Lord and his Apostles would never have failed to reprove them for that Crime; but they are so far from doing so, that they suppose the Jews had the True Scripture amongst them. Search the Scriptures, (saith our Saviour, *John 5. 39.*) for in them ye think ye have eternal Life; and they are they which testify of me. The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses's Chair, says he, *Matth. 23. 2, 3.* All therefore whatsoever they bid you, observe and do. Would ever our Saviour have spoke thus of the Corrupters and Falsifiers of the Sacred Scripture? The Apostle *St. Paul* Writing to the *Corinthians*, does not upbraid the Jews, that they had

had not the Books of the Old Testament in their Purity and Integrity, but that they did not understand them. *For until this day remaineth the same Vail untaken away in the Reading of the Old Testament, which Vail is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read the Vail is upon their Heart,* 2 Cor. 3. 14, 15. The Books that the Jews read were the True Sacred Scripture: It was the Law of *Moses* which they read every Sabbath-day in their Synagogues (as *St. James* says, *Alls 15. v. 21.*) It was not a falsified Law or Scripture. They read it as they received it from their Fathers, but did not understand it. It ought to pass then for certain, That the *Hebrew* Text was not corrupted by the Malice of the Jews in the time of our Saviour and his Apostles. Let's see if it can be said, that they falsified the same betwixt the time of the Apostles, and that of *St. Jerom*.

There are many Arguments to prove, that this could not be. The Jews that were converted to Christianity, did without doubt keep Copies of the Sacred Books. The *Nazarenes*, who were a Sect of Christians very much addicted to the Ancient Law, did without all Question also keep Copies of them. The Jews were not Masters of those Copies to corrupt them: Tho' after the taking of *Jerusalem* there were but few Christians who preserved the *Hebrew* Tongue. It cannot be said however, that they did not keep the *Hebrew* Copies, and that no Christian learned that Tongue. *Hegeſippus*, who lived a little after the Apostles, and of a Jew became Christian, did certainly understand *Hebrew*, as *Eusebius* observes. He had without doubt the *Hebrew* Copies of the Old Testament. Many other Christians of *Paleſtin* originally Jews, understood and read the Bible in *Hebrew*. It is impossible then, that the Jews could have falsified their Copies, and that no Body should have perceived it. From the 12th Year of the Emperor *Adrian*, the *Hebrew* Text was conformable to that which we have, as appears by *Aquila's* Version. That Falsification then must have been made betwixt the taking of *Jerusalem*, and the beginning of the second Age, that is to say in about 30 or 40 Years. Is it any way likely, that in that time, when there were still divers converted Jews in *Paleſtin*, none of them should have preserved the Copies they had uncorrupted? Shall we believe that the Jews could in so little time suppress all the Copies of the *Hebrew* Text, and substitute Counterfeit Ones in their Place. The *Hebrew* Text which *Origen* inserted some time after in his *Hexapla* was agreeable to that which we have. In fine, in *St. Jerom's* time, the Jews and Christians had the same *Hebrew* Text, that we have at present; and *St. Jerom's* Version is a certain Evidence, that no considerable Change has been made in it since that time, and by consequence that the Jews have not corrupted it: And besides that the Extraordinary and Scrupulous Diligence of the *Massorites* must needs have contributed mightily towards the Preservation of the Text in its Purity. *St. Jerom* brings another Reason to demonstrate, that the *Hebrew* Text hath not been corrupted since Christ's time, to wit, that Jesus Christ and his Apostles have quoted the Scripture according to the *Hebrew* Text, and not according to the Version of the LXX. It is plain, that this Observation, if true, does invincibly demonstrate, That the Places in which the *Hebrew* differs from the LXX, have not been falsified by the Jews, since the time of Jesus Christ and his Apostles. But this Observation of *St. Jerom's* is not to be understood in the full extent of the Words. For it must be own'd, that the Evangelists and Apostles Writing in *Greek*, do usually quote the Passages of the Old Testament, according to the Version which was Common and Authoriz'd among the Jews (b), without examining whether it was entirely conformable to the *Hebrew* Text. But as to the Gospel according to *St. Matthew*, which was wrote in *Hebrew*, tho' we have not the Original of it, it's easie to know by the Version it self, that this Evangelist had quoted the Scripture according to the *Hebrew*, in Places where it differs from the Septuagint (c). There are also Passages in *St. John's* Gospel and in *St. Paul's* Epistles, wherein the Version of the LXX is not exactly followed; and that alone is sufficient to prove, That neither the Evangelists nor Apostles believed the *Hebrew* Text to be corrupted. The

(b) According to the Version which was common among the Jews.] *St. Luke* always quotes the Old Testament according to the Version of the Septuagint, even in those Places where it differs from the *Hebrew* Text; as in a Passage of *Amos*, which he brings in *St. James* quoting, *Alls 15. 17.* and in his own Gospel, Chap. 4. he relates a Passage which our Saviour had read in the Synagogue of *Nazareth*, according to the Version of the LXX. It is not that Jesus Christ had read it in that manner in the Syna-

gogue, but that *St. Luke* repeated it out of his own Head according to the LXX. By the same Means there are even Passages in the Gospel according to *St. Matthew*, and in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which were formerly wrote in *Hebrew*, that the *Greek* Interpreter hath related according to the Version of the Septuagint.

(c) In Places where it differs from the Septuagint.] In the second of *St. Matthew* this Prophetic of *Micah*, concerning the City of *Bethlehem*; *Thou art*



The Difficulty also which they have to assign the time wherein 'tis pretended the Jews falsified the *Hebrew* Text, does further prove the falshood of this System: Some pretend that this Falsification was not made till after St. *Jerom's* time. This is the Opinion of *Melchior Cano*, *Serarius* and some others; but the Version which St. *Jerom* hath made of the *Hebrew* Text, being, as we have observed, agreeable almost in every thing to the *Hebrew* Text that we now have, as well as the Versions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, they are so many Monuments against this pretended Falsification; and we desie those who maintain that Opinion to produce Passages of any Consequence, wherein St. *Jerom's* Version, differs from the *Hebrew* Text we now have, which is the least they ought to do, if they would give any Appearance of Truth to the Opinion which they maintain. Therefore 'tis that most of those who have advanced, that the *Hebrew* Text was corrupted by the Malice of the Jews, have thought themselves obliged to say, that the Corruption was of an older Date, and without giving themselves the Trouble to mark the Time precisely when 'twas done, have only said in general, That the *Hebrew* Text was corrupted by the Jews, betwixt the time of our Saviour, and that of St. *Jerom*. But when they are pressed, they are obliged to restrain this *Epocha*; for its hard to believe, that this Falsification was made in a time when there were so many Jewish Converts in *Palestin*, who understood the *Hebrew*, and read the Bible in that Language, that is to say, until the taking of *Jerusalem*. Moreover, the Fathers whom they alledge to prove, that the Jews have falsified the *Hebrew* Text, having liv'd 50 Years or thereabout, after the taking of *Jerusalem*, if their Passages prove any thing, we must suppose that the *Hebrew* Text was corrupted during the 50 Years from the taking of *Jerusalem* under *Vespasian*, till the time of *Adrian*. It is also in that time precisely, which the last Author, who hath wrote to maintain that the *Hebrew* Text was corrupted, places this Falsification, and not only sets down the exact time, but also the Author, alledging, That 'twas Rabbi *Akiba*, the Disciple of *Gamaliel* II. who began to flourish at *Tiberias* about the Year 95 of Jesus Christ, and died in 135. He says, that this Rabbi having great Credit, amongst those of his Nation, as well as Fame and Parts, undertook this Falsification, that his Disciple *Aquila* follow'd his *Greek* Version: And that since that time *Origen* and St. *Jerom*, knowing no other *Hebrew* Text, but that of the Jews of *Tiberias*, corrupted by *Akiba*, there remained no other neither amongst the Christians nor the Jews. This is the Ingenious System of that Author, which might have been probable, if his Learning and Acute Wit could have passed for solid Reasons. But though some Colour may be given to slight Conjectures by curious Remarks and an Ingenious Application of them, there's no great difficulty to discover the Weakness of them, when once we come to examine them. Thus it hath happened to this Author, who hath discovered his Learning by his particular Enquires, and his Wit by the fine and agreeable Turns, which he hath given to his Conjectures, but hath not thereby convinced any one of the Truth of his System in this Point; for certainly when we come to examine it narrowly, we find that it is only established on false or uncertain Suppositions, for he supposes.

1. That the Christians had no *Hebrew* Text, and had almost no Knowledge of it, from the time of the Apostles to the taking of *Jerusalem*. That could not be, since there were among the Christians a great number of converted Jews, whose Natural

not the least amongst the Principal Towns of Judah. [In the English Translation it is, *Thou art not the least among the Princes of Judah*.] It is not quoted according to the Septuagint, who translated it, *Amongst the thousands of Judah*; but he hath followed the Sense, that might be given to the *Hebrew* Word, which being differently Pointed signifies *Thousand* and *Princes*. *ib. v. 15*. he quotes this Prophecie of *Hosea*, *Out of Egypt have I called my Son*, according to the *Hebrew* Text, and not according to the *Septuagint*, who render it, *Out of Egypt I have called those Children*. In that same Chapter St. *Matthew* quotes this Prophecie, *He shall be called a Nazaren*. This is no where found in the LXX; but if we suppose that he made use of the *Hebrew* Copy, we may say with St. *Jerom*, that he meant it of those Words, *Isa. 11. 1*. *A Branch [Netzer] shall grow out of his Roots*. In the fourth Chapter, he relates a Prophecie taken from the 9th of *Isaiah*, so as it agrees better to the *Hebrew* Text, than to the Version of the LXX. In the 8th Chapter he quotes this Prophecie of *Isaiah*, Ch. 53. 4.

*Surely he hath born our Griefs, and carried our Sorrows*, in the same Terms, as in the *Hebrew* Text, whereas the LXX have rendred it, *He bears our sins and suffers for us*; Ch. 12. 18. There's a Prophecie taken out of *Isa. 42. 1*. according to the Sense of the *Hebrew* Text, *Cap. 21. 9*. there's another taken from the Prophet *Zechariah*, more agreeable to the *Hebrew* Text than to the LXX. There's another of the same Prophet, concerning the *Thirty Pieces of Silver*, quoted as in the *Hebrew* Text, which in this Place differs very much from the Version of the LXX. There are also Prophecies in St. *John's* Gospel, quoted according to the *Hebrew* Text, as *Cap. 19*. those Words of *Zech. 12*. *They shall look upon him whom they have pierced*; which are translated different from the LXX. St. *Paul* hath also sometimes followed the *Hebrew* Text, as in *Rom. 9*. where he reports the VVords of *Moses* to *Pharaoh*, as they are in the *Hebrew*, *It is for this Cause, that I have raised thee up*: Whereas the LXX renders it, *It is for this Cause, that I have preferred thee until now*.

Tongue was the *Chaldee* or the *Syriack*, which is called *Hebrew* in the Gospel ; and that the Natural Jews perfectly understood the Ancient *Hebrew*, and read the Scripture in that Tongue.

2. He supposes that after the taking of *Jerusalem*, the *Hebrew* Text remained only in the Hands of the Jews. This is what History teaches us to be false, since we know that many Christian Jews that left *Jerusalem* before it was taken, settled themselves at *Pella*, where they formed the Sect of the *Nazarens*, who kept the Copies of the *Hebrew* Text.

3. He must suppose in his System, that there were no other Copies of the *Hebrew* Text in the World, than those of *Tiberias*, that is to say, there were no Jews elsewhere, or if they were, that they had no *Hebrew* Copies of the Law, but that they only made use of the Version of the LXX. But 'tis certain, there were Jews dispersed through all the World, and 'tis no less certain, that the Jews had Copies of the Law. How is it possible, That Rabbi *Akiba* should have had Credit enough to get all the Copies suppress'd or corrupted ; so as in 30 or 40 Years after, there should be none left ?

4. All that this Author alleges concerning Rabbi *Akiba*, upon the Credit of the Jews, has nothing of Certainty in it. It's true, St. *Jerom* assures us, that *Akiba* was Disciple to *Samai* and *Hillel*, and that the Jews believed him to be *Aquila's* Master ; but this is all we know of it, and that too very Uncertain.

5. This Author, to prove that *Akiba* hath falsified the *Hebrew* Text, relates the Explications of Scripture, ascribed to Rabbi *Akiba*, in the Book, Entitled, *Pirke Eliezer* : Or, *Eliezer's Capitula*, which he pretends to be conformable to the *Hebrew* Text at present, and different from the Version of the LXX. Whence he concludes, that 'tis he who is the Author of that Difference, and that he hath inserted it in the *Hebrew* Text. But to me nothing seems weaker than that way of Arguing ; for, 1. Who can assure us, that the Discourse which Rabbi *Eliezer* ascribes to *Akiba*, is really his ? 2. Is that a Proof that Rabbi *Akiba* hath falsified the *Hebrew* Text, because he hath quoted it as we have it now ? 3. Amongst the Passages cited by the Author of this Objection, there are some of them in the LXX, as well as in the *Hebrew*, in the same manner as Rabbi *Akiba* has related them, and in the rest, the difference arises only from the Pronunciation (*d*), so that we cannot conclude from thence, that Rabbi *Akiba* hath falsified the Scripture in those Places. On the contrary, since it is agreeable to the Version of the LXX, there must of necessity, according to the Principles of our Adversary, have been no Falsification in those Places.

6. When they say, that *Aquila*, the Disciple of *Akiba*, is accused to be the first among the *Greeks*, who corrupted the Sacred Text, it's to be supposed he did not make this Falsification but in following the corrupted Text ; whereas the Falsifications whereof he is accused relate to his Translation. He is not charg'd with having translated from a corrupt *Hebrew* Copy, but to have translated the *Hebrew* forcibly.

In short, when 'tis alledged, that *Akiba* is the Author of the Corruption of the *Hebrew* Text, concerning the Chronology of the Patriarchs, they supposed it as a certain thing, First, That the *Hebrew* Text is corrupted in that Place, which is the thing in Question. They suppose, in the second Place, That it is *Akiba* who corrupted it out of Malice and Hatred to the Christians, which is not at all proved. 'Tis true, they add, That the Book *Seder Olam*, or the *Great Chronology*, was made according to *Akiba's* Sentiments, as the Jews alledge ; but all this is very uncertain, and the Author of the Book *Seder Olam*, is much later than *Akiba* ; And further, if what the Jews tell us of

(d) The Difference arises only from the Pronunciation. The first Passage is *Genesis* 28. 11. where there's almost no difference betwixt the Vulgar Translation and the *Hebrew* Text. The *Hebrew* imports that *Jacob* pass'd the Night in a place, because the Sun was set ; the LXX have the same Expression. The second is from 1 *Chron.* 17. 21. The *Hebrew* Text imports, That the People of *Israel* were the only People upon the Earth. [The English has it, What one Nation in the Earth.] The LXX renders it, There never was any People hitherto upon the Earth like unto that of *Israel* : Wherefore they are rather of the Mind, that this is a Corruption in the *Hebrew* Text, than any Liberty that the Translator hath taken to himself in his Version. The third Passage is from *Genesis* 26. 18, 19. It is in the LXX as in the *Hebrew*, in the

same Manner as quoted by Rabbi *Akiba* ; so that we cannot say it was read otherwise before his time. The fourth Passage taken from *Numbers* 33. 4. is also in the LXX, as quoted by *Akiba*. The difference found in the fifth Passage, taken from *Psalms* 67. 28. betwixt the LXX and the Versions made on the *Hebrew* Text, does not come from any Corruption of the Text, but from this, that the *Hebrew* Word *Rodhem*, may signify in a transport of Mind, or their Master. That which follows in the same *Psalms*, comes from the different Pronunciation of the *Hebrew* Word, which may signify a Prince and a Stone. *Akiba* took it in the latter Sense, in which perhaps he is mistaken ; but he hath not for that falsified the Text.



*Akiba* be true, That he sided with *Barcochebas*, who revolted in the 132th Year of Christ, and would have himself thought to be the Messias, he would not have been at the trouble of abridging the Chronology, with a Design to shew that there were 2000 Years still to come before the Messias was to be expected. They will say, That the same *Akiba*, who abridg'd the Chronology out of hatred to the Christians, was afterwards engaged by a Spirit of Faction in the Party of *Barcochebas*: But what likelihood is there, that a Man who had just alledg'd to the Christians that the Messias would not come till 2000 Years, should in so little a time after have the Impudence to produce a Messias himself, and persecute them in order to oblige them to acknowledge him? All this shews how little Credit we are to give to the Histories of the *Jews*. And how little Solidity there is in the Conjectures of the Author of the Book, called, *The Antiquity of the Times defended*, to prove that the *Hebrew Text* was falsified—out of hatred to the Christians by this Rabbi *Akiba*.

After having shew'd that they not only come short of proving by Authority, that the *Jews* have corrupted the *Hebrew Text*, out of malice and hatred to the Christians, but also that it is not likely, nay, even that it's morally impossible they should have done it, we must return to the particular Places, which it's pretended they have corrupted out of hatred to the Christians, to weaken the Sense of the Prophecies that agree to Jesus Christ. But as we shall examine afterwards all the principal Passages, in which the *Hebrew Text* differs from the LXX, or the Vulgar Translation, of which these are a part, that we may not repeat the same thing again and again, we will satisfy our selves to observe here, 1. That there's no Proof that any of those Passages have been falsified by the *Jews*, out of hatred to the Christians: And supposing that there are some Passages corrupted, the Corruption may have proceeded from other Causes, as the negligence of the Copiers, the change of Letters that resemble one another, the different Reading or Punctuation, without any Necessity of accusing the *Jews* of falsification, and unfair dealing. Nay we shall make it evident in the sequel, when we speak of those Passages in particular, That the Difference there is betwixt the *Hebrew Text* and LXX is visibly founded upon some of those Causes we have just now alledg'd. For certainly, if that Difference came from the Malice of the *Jews*, it would only be found in those Places which relate to Jesus Christ, since they had no Reason or Interest to falsify any other; and they would not have fail'd to have falsified all, or at least the chief and most express Texts. Now it is certain that the *Hebrew* and the Version of the LXX differ in abundance of other Places. It is also certain that the principal Prophecies concerning Jesus Christ, are as express, and sometimes more express in the *Hebrew Text* than in the LXX. It is then to no purpose for them to alledge some Prophecies concerning our Saviour, in which there's some Difference to be found betwixt the *Hebrew Text* and the LXX, to prove that the *Jews* have falsified the *Hebrew Text*. 2. That it is not true that the *Hebrew Text* is corrupted in all those Places where it differs from the Version of the LXX. We shall moreover shew, that there are several in which it is the Version that is defective or corrupted. 3. That most of those Differences are not considerable, and don't destroy the Prophecy: That many times that which is in the Version, is only a more ample Explication of what is in the Text. Those general Reflexions are sufficient to answer the Passages of the *Hebrew Text* which are alledg'd to be falsified by the *Jews*, until such time as we come to the Passages themselves.

#### S E C T. V.

*That there are Corruptions in the Hebrew Text; how they came, and of what Nature they are: That they don't hinder the Hebrew Texts being Authentic; and that it ought ordinarily to be prefer'd to the Versions. General Rules to know when we are to follow the Hebrew Text, and when to follow the Versions.*

**W**E must never affirm any thing, but what we have solid Proofs for. Since we have none that the *Hebrew Text* hath been maliciously falsified by the *Jews*, it is nothing less than great rashness to ascertain it: And for that same Reason also we must beware of falling into the opposite Extreme, by maintaining that the *Hebrew Text* is in its Original Purity, and that it is not corrupted in any Place. This is to suppose,

pose, that the *Jews*, who copied it, were never mistaken, that they never put one Letter for another, that they always pointed the Text right, that there was no difference in their Copiers, that they have preserv'd the Text without the least Fault since *Moses's* time, or from *Esdra's* till now; that is to say, that they are infallible in their Reviews, Punctuation and Copying of the Sacred Books, and that they were subject neither to Negligence, nor Surprise; which can be ascrib'd to nothing but a peculiar Assistance from God, and to a sort of continual Inspiration. All those Suppositions being groundless, it's meer Superstition to assert as some Authors do, That the *Hebrew* Text, which we have at present, is not corrupted in any Place, and that there's no Fault, nor any thing left out, and that we must indispensibly follow it at all times. This is not only to speak without all Evidence, and contrary to all Probability, but we have very good Proof to the contrary. For, in the first place, there have been Differences betwixt the oldest of the *Hebrew* Copies, which the *Massorites* have observ'd by that which they call'd *Keri* and *Ketib*, and putting one of the Readings in the Text, and the other in the Margin, we have the different Readings of the *Jews* of the East and the *Jews* of the West, of *Ben-Asher* and *Ben-Naphtali*; and the Manuscript Copies of the Bible are not always alike. In the 2d Place, it is certain, That there are Passages where the Sense of the Versions is more natural, and agrees better to the Subject than that of the Text; and that the Difference which is found in those Places betwixt the Text and the Version comes only from the changing of one Letter into another that resembles it, as *Resch* into *Daleth*, *Beth* into *Caph*, *Mem* into *Samech*, of *Beth* into *Phe*, or *Mem*, of the *Final Caph* into *Vau*, or the like: So that it visibly appears that the Translator hath read the Text otherwise, and that the Sense is abundantly better. Who can doubt that there was not a very great likelihood then, that the *Hebrew* Text was corrupted in that respect, and that in succession of time one Letter might have been put for another? Thirdly, It is certain, as we have asserted, that the Vowel Points are a new Invention. Oft-times the Difference which is betwixt the Text and the Version, comes only from the Punctuation and the Sense of the Version is much better than that of the pointed Text. Who can doubt then, these Circumstances being considered, but that the Punctuation is faulty? Fourthly, Those Fathers that were most wedded to the *Hebrew* Text, as *Origen* and *St. Jerom* confess that there are Faults in the Text, that we are not always oblig'd to follow it, that there's a Difference betwixt the *Hebrew* Copies, and that they have given a different Sense to one and the same Word, because of the different Pronunciation. Then since we cannot say, that the *Massorites* and the Authors of the present Punctuation were infallible, we cannot be absolutely assured that the Reading, which is in our Text, is the truest, but must judge of it by the Sense, and by what comes before and follows after.

But, tho' we cannot say that the *Hebrew* Text is without any Fault, we must nevertheless acknowledge, that there's no considerable Fault in it, neither as to Doctrine or Manners. That most of the Differences betwixt the Original and the Versions, consist only in different Expressions, which are more or less clear, and which agree better or worse with what goes before and comes after, which make the Sense more or less perfect: That there's none where the Sense of the *Hebrew* Text contains a dangerous Falseness or manifest Error: And therefore those sorts of Faults diminish nothing from the Authority of the *Hebrew* Text, and don't hinder but it may pass for Authentic, and as the Rule of our Faith and Manners. Those different Readings and small Faults which are generally met with in all Books, Sacred and Prophane, both in the Text and in the Versions, don't prevent our certainly having the Authentic Works of the Authors, nor hinder our knowing their true Sentiments. To conclude then, because the Original Texts of the *Old* and *New Testament* have been subject to the common Law of all other Books, and that small Faults have slipp'd into them by the inadvertency or neglect of the Copiers, to conclude from thence, I say, that we have not now any more the Word of God, or the Holy Scripture, divinely inspired, would be as great a Folly as his who should maintain that we have not now the Works of *Plato*, *Demosthenes*, *Cicero*, *Titus Livius*, &c. because there are Faults and Defects in all those Works. To lay this down as a Principle, is to overturn the Foundation of all our Historical Knowledge, and to introduce an unwarrantable Scepticism. It is then without Reason, that because of those small Faults which happen in the *Hebrew* Text, we should doubt of its Truth, or of its being Authentick.

2. That in those Places where it differs from the Version of the *Septuagint*, there's abundance more where the Fault is rather in the Version than in the Text, and where the difference proceeds rather from the Negligence or the Liberty of the Translator than from the Text.

3. That



3. That we must have recourse to the *Hebrew Text*, as to the Fountain, and follow it rather than the Versions, except we have particular Reasons to vary from it and to follow the Version. This is the Sentiment of *St. Augustin* and *St. Jerom*; which is agreeable to good Sense, Reason and ordinary Custom. When we would know an Authors Sense, we have always recourse to the Original, let our Version be never so good or so ancient. It's true, there may be Faults in the Original, but there's more reason to suppose that they may be in the Version; for besides the Change that may happen by the Fault of the Copiers, which is common to the Original and to the Version, the Version is still for the most part more subject to Faults by the Ignorance and Negligence of the Translator, because of the difficulty there is to render the Sense of the Text well into another Language, by the Liberty which Translators allow themselves, to change, add, explain, or determine; and for many other Reasons. All those things ought still to have more place in regard of the *Hebrew Text*, than in regard of any other Original, both because of the particular Care which the *Jews* took to preserve it in its Purity, and because of the Difficulty to translate it, and of the Liberty which the *LXX* have visibly allow'd themselves in translating it, and of the Changes which have happened to that Version. I deny not, however, that there are Occasions, wherein for very good Reasons we are not to forsake the *Hebrew Text* (as at present) to follow the Version of the *LXX*, and that we must not do it in some Passages; but that is very seldom, as we shall make it appear in the sequel, by a particular Examination of those Passages. In the mean time, I shall give some general Rules which may help us to discern when we are to follow the *Hebrew Text*, and when we are to vary from it.

In the first place, in the Passages where the Difference betwixt the Text and the Versions comes from this, that the Interpreters have read the *Hebrew Text* in a different manner, we must examine if this different Reading comes from the difference of the Consonants of the *Hebrew Word*, or only from the Punctuation. As we have clearly prov'd, that the Punctuation was not form'd by the Sacred Pen-men, and that it is a new Invention, we need not be so scrupulous to vary from the Sense that the *Massorites* have fix'd on it by their Punctuation; if that which the same Word differently pointed may have, and which the *LXX* have followed, be the most natural, and most agreeable to that which goes before and follows after; for then it is not suppos'd, that the Sacred Text is corrupted or chang'd, but only that it is ill pointed. It is true, that we are not to despise or wholly to neglect the Authority of the *Massorites*, who have follow'd the Custom that is most receiv'd among the *Jews*; but since we cannot say, that they have been Infallible in the Determination which they have made of putting one Sense rather than another upon Words, when the Sense contrary to that which they have embrac'd appears plainly to be best, we are to follow it without any scruple: But if the two Senses be alike good and warrantable, we have the Liberty to follow which of the two we please, but are not to reject the contrary.

If the difference of the Sense come from this, That in changing a Consonant or one of the ancient Vowels in a Word, it hath the Sense which the ancient *Greek Interpreters* hath followed, we must be the more cautious in varying from the *Hebrew Text*; for tho' it be not impossible that there are Letters chang'd in the Text, and that the resemblance there is betwixt divers *Hebrew Letters*, makes that change very easie, it is a great piece of Rashness to assert it, without having a very plain Proof of it: And nothing is more Ridiculous, than to forge other whole Words, as some People do, by adding, changing, or transposing Letters. The difference of the ancient Version alone is not a sufficient ground for making this Change, because the Interpreter may have been mistaken, either in the Reading or in the Version of the Text; and we ought always rather to presume that the Truth is on the side of the Original, than on that of the Version, unless we can plainly discover that there's a Fault in the Text. So that when the Text makes good Sense without any alteration, I should always prefer it to the Version, and never stray from it, unless it be demonstrated by other Passages of Scripture, or by what goes before and follows after, that we must rather follow the Sense of the Version than of the Text: And in this Case I should not satisfy my self with a single Conjecture, slight Appearance, or faint Likelihood, but would look for solid Reasons, capable to work on a reasonable Mind, and which according to the Rules of Prudence and Criticism we should think are of weight.

The difference betwixt the Version and the Text comes sometime from this, That the ancient *Hebrew Copies* did not agree, but one had it one way, and another another way. Those Differences are known to us by the *Keri* and *Ketib* of the *Hebrews*, which are

are only different Readings, whereof one was in the Text and the other in the Margin, and by the different Readings of *Ben-Asher* and *Ben-Naphtali*, the Eastern and Western *Jetos*, which were also observed by other Rabbies. Those different Readings cannot both of them be true, one of 'em must of necessity be false. To determine us which of them to follow, we must chuse that which is most Authoriz'd, whether it be by the Rabbies, or by its Conformity to the ancient Versions, which agrees best to other Passages, and which renders the Sense most Natural and Perfect.

We must use the same Precaution, when the Sense of the *Hebrew* Term is uncertain, or when the same Word may have two Significations. The first happens particularly in those Words which we meet with but once in the *Old Testament*; or, which it may be is repeated only in two or three Places. For, as we are not certain of the signification of the Words of a dead Language, but because that same Word join'd in different Places with different Words, does always make up good Sense in one signification, which all the other significations given to it cannot do; because 'tis morally impossible, that a Sense which is not the natural Sense of a Word according to its Institution, can agree in divers Places, the different Conjunction of the same Word with divers others, doth certainly discover its proper signification. But since it is not impossible, that two different significations may both of 'em make good Sense in one and the same place, or even in two or three, we have not the same certainty of the signification of a Word, when it is not found but once in a Book which comprehends all the Words of a Language, such as is the *Old Testament* in respect of the *Hebrew*, or when it is not repeated there above once or twice. Nevertheless, Interpreters for the most part agree well enough upon the signification of Terms, either by Tradition, or by Analogy with words of other Oriental Languages. But when they don't agree upon them, and that they are found differently translated in different Versions, we are at liberty to chuse that signification we judge most likely: As also, when the same Word is capable of two significations, and that Interpreters have explain'd it differently, we must prefer that which makes the most perfect and natural Sense.

The Differences that are found betwixt the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan* Text of the *Pentateuch*, ought to be considered as different Readings of the same Text; for the *Samaritan Pentateuch* is like an ancient Copy of the same Book; and the differences betwixt this Copy and that used by the *Hebrews* were observ'd in *St. Jerom's* time. We shall afterwards speak more at large of the Authority of this *Hebrew Samaritan* Copy. Upon this foot we may follow the reading of the *Samaritan* Text, if it be found more likely to be true than the common *Hebrew* Text.

We are not to pass the same Judgment on the Differences that are found in the *Chaldee* Paraphrases or Oriental Versions and *Talmud*. Those Authors having taken the Liberty to stray from the true Sense of the Text, so that we cannot make use of 'em but when there are differences in the Text it self, or that there is ground otherwise to be persuaded that the Text is corrupted.

The *Greek* Versions of *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, whereof we have only some Fragments remaining, being more conformable to the *Hebrew* Text than the rest, don't abound with so many Differences, but they may serve to discover the different meanings of an *Hebrew* Word, or the different Readings of one and the same Passage, upon which are founded most of the Differences that are betwixt the Versions.

But we must confess, That many times the Difference which is found betwixt the Version and the Original, and betwixt the Versions themselves, comes from this, that the Interpreters have not tied themselves to keep close to the literal and strict meaning of the Words, but have taken the Liberty to put that Sense upon them which they thought the truest. Every Version is a sort of Paraphrase and Commentary, and it's almost impossible but the Translator, let him be never so faithful, will sometimes take the Liberty to vary from the Letter of the Original: As for Example, if one Word or Phrase may have two Senses in the Original Tongue, which cannot both be expressed by the Terms of the Version, he is obliged to determine himself to one of the two Senses. If the Original have a particular Turn, peculiar to it self, and which would be no way graceful, or perhaps not Sense in the Version, the Translator must make use of a different Expression, but such as hath the same Energy and Sense in the Language into which he translates as the Original Words have. This is more peculiar to the *Hebrew* than to any other Language, because it is full of particular Turns and Expressions, which cannot be imitated by other Languages. When there's any thing obscure and intricate in the Original, it's the Translator's part to illustrate, enlarge and explain it, if any thing be omitted, to supply it; or if there be any thing superfluous, to retrench it. In fine,



there are a great many Occasions wherein Translators are obliged to vary from the Letter of the Text. From hence comes an infinite number of Variations or seeming Differences betwixt the Text and the Version; but then we cannot charge the Text with Corruption, or pretend to correct it by the Version. We must on the contrary examine, whether the Translator hath taken the Sense of the Original aright: If he has hit it exactly, there's no true and real Difference, and there's no Contradiction to be salv'd: If he has not hit it well, and that his Version does not render the Text faithfully, we must abandon it and follow the Text.

The Difference happens sometime from this, That they distinguish the Verses or Phrases differently; which amongst us is call'd, *Difference of Punctuation*. Since the distinction of Verses is Arbitrary and the Punctuation New, we must keep by those that render the Sense most perfect.

Sometimes the *Hebrews* put one *Tense* for another, they make use of the *Prater* for the *Present*, and of the *Future* the like. We must in that Case follow those which agree best to the thing spoken of; and we must follow the same Method when there's any change of Person and Number. The Translators have frequently taken to themselves the Liberty of changing *Times* and *Persons*; but very ordinarily they mistake: And we must take good heed to see whether that Change be necessary, in order to follow it.

In short, we must confess, that there are many differences betwixt the *Hebrew* Text and the Version of the *Septuagint*, which arise from the Corruption and Confusion that is in the *Greek* Version we now have. It is certain that it hath been revis'd divers times, and that several Authors have taken the Liberty to add thereunto, to retrench and correct divers things, that in the first Centuries there were different Editions, and that Corrections have been inserted from the Versions of *Theodotion* and others; which made *St. Jerom* say, with Reason, That in his time the Version of the *Septuagint* was no where to be found in its Purity. This being considered, we shall have no reason to wonder that this Version is different in many Places from the *Hebrew* Text, and that one and the same *Hebrew* Word is there interpreted in different Senses. This could come from nothing but the confounding of two different Versions; or from this, that the various Readings in the Margin or in the Text, betwixt two Crotchets, continued with that which was there before. On those Occasions we must not follow the Faults of the *Greek* Version, but keep to the *Hebrew* Text: And if we would dive further into the Matters, and discover more certainly whence the Fault of the Version comes, it is good to compare it with the Quotations of the ancient *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, with the other *Greek* and *Oriental* Versions, and to examine the different Copies and the different Editions of the Versions of the *LXX*, which will furnish us still with abundance of Differences that could come from nothing else but the Negligence of the Copiers.

Amongst the *Latin* Versions there are only two whereof any use can be made in the present Question. The first is the ancient Vulgar *Latin*, translated from the *Greek* *LXX*, and made use of by the *Latin* Fathers. The 2d is that of *St. Jerom*, from the *Hebrew*. The ancient *Italian* Version may serve to discover some Faults in the Version of the *LXX*, when it varies from the *Greek* Text we have now, in order to keep close to the *Hebrew*: But when it is found to differ from the *Greek* Text or the *Hebrew* Text, or when it is further from the *Hebrew* than the *Greek* Text, it's plain that in this Case the Error is in the *Latin* Version, either by the Fault of the Translator or by the Fault of him who hath cited or copied that Passage. *St. Jerom*'s Version being made from the *Hebrew* Text of his time, serves to evince that the *Hebrew* Text hath not been corrupted since; for the Differences that are found betwixt his Version and our Versions made from the *Hebrew* Text, don't come from any change in the Text it self, but from the different signification given to the same *Hebrew* Word, or from the different manner of reading it, because of the difference in the Punctuation. Our Vulgar Translation is not, to say the Truth, the pure Version of *St. Jerom*, because some changes have slipp'd into it, and that there are still some Books of the ancient Version remaining; but it differs very little in most of the Books of the *Old Testament*. There are some Places where it does not render the *Hebrew* Text with the same Fidelity as *St. Jerom* does; and in those Places we may easily perceive it is the *Hebrew* Text, and the Version of *St. Jerom*, that must be preferr'd to the Vulgar.

These are the Rules to direct us when we are to follow the *Hebrew* Text or the Versions. We shall afterwards make Application of them to the Principal Passages of the Scripture, in which the *Hebrew* Text differs from the Versions. It's enough here to have

have shewed, that the *Hebrew* Text hath not been corrupted by the Malice of the *Jews*, that it is not corrupted in things Essential, and that if there be any Faults, they are but slight Ones, which happened by the Negligence of the Copiers. In a Word, that the Text of the Books of the Old Testament, is as correct as any other Book we have, which is Reason sufficient to give it the Title of *Authentick*; and to assure us, That 'tis the True Word of God. We may also say, that in general it ought to be prefer'd to all the Versions, according to the Sentiment of *St. Jerom*, and *St. Augustin*, whose Words are as follows: The former Writing to *Sunnia* and *Fretela* says, *That as we ought always to have recourse to the Fountain of the Greek Text, in respect of the New Testament, when there's any difference in the Latin Versions or Variation in the Copies, we ought in the same manner, with Respect to the Old Testament, to have recourse to the Hebrew Copy, when there are any Differences betwixt the Greek and Latin Versions, because we must always have recourse to the Fountain, without satisfying our selves with the Streams.* Therefore he made a Rule of it in the Epistle to *Lucinus*, which *Gratian* hath inserted in his *Canon Law*, Distinct. 9. Ch. *ut Veterum*, &c. which imports that we must judge of the Fidelity of the Books of the Old Testament, by the *Hebrew* Copies, and those of the New Testament by the *Greek* Copies. *St. Augustin* says the same in his 15th Book, *De Civitate Dei*, Chap. 13. *Cum diversum aliquod: i. e.* When we find any difference betwixt the Copies, and that both of them cannot be True, as to Matter of Fact, we must rather give Credit to the Original than to the Translation.

# SECT. VI.

## Of the Massora, the Keri and Ketib, and the Cabala.

THE Word *Massora* in *Hebrew* signifies *Tradition*, which may be understood in general of all Doctrines or Practices that are transmitted from hand to hand, and from Father to Son: But the Name of *Massora* is particularly given to the Criticks on the *Hebrew* Text, which the *Jews* pretend they have received from their Ancestors by Tradition. *Buxtorf* hath defined it to be a Critical Doctrine upon the *Hebrew* Text, invented by the Ancient Doctors of the *Jews*, by means of which they numbred the Verses, Words and Letters of the Text; and they observed all the Diversities of them, to the end they might preserve the true Reading from all manner of Change. Therefore the Rabbies call'd it *Pirke Avoth*, the Hedge or the Inclosure of the Law. The *Arabs* have taken the same Precaution as to the *Alcoran*, and perhaps in Imitation of the *Jews*.

The Authors of the *Massora* are call'd *Massorites*, or Doctors of the Law, some carry the Origin of the *Massora* as high as *Moses*; Others fix their Commencement in the time of *Esdra*s; *Elias Levita* the Jew, ascribes it to the *Jews* of *Tiberias*, as he does also the Invention of the Points. As to the latter, we have proved, That 'tis later than the *Talmud*; but as to the *Massora* it began some time before the *Talmud*, was compleated, though it was not perfected and collected into a Body till a long time after. The way how this might be done is thus: The Rabbies made divers Critical Remarks upon the *Hebrew* Text of the Bible (a) at different times. Those that followed them took care to collect the Ancient Remarks, and to add to them; and in this manner the Body of the *Massora* was formed, as we have it at present, and which was Printed by *Bombergue* in his Great *Hebrew* Bible at *Venice* in 1528. and 1618. and in the Bible of *Basle*, published by *Buxtorf* in 1618.

(a) The Rabbies made divers Critical Remarks, &c. At first they wrote those Remarks in single Sheets; and *Elias* the Levite, says, There was a very great number of them, and that they did very much surpass the Text of the Bible. The modern Authors have collected what the Ancients had said, and added to it; some of the Copiers did, for conveniency, put them in the Margin of the Bible. There are of them to be found in divers Manuscript *Hebrew* Copies of the Bible, but they are writ there very confusedly, and in extraordinary small Characters; and besides there is only one part of them. The first who made a compleat Body of them, was a Rabbi of *Tunis*, called *Jacob Ben Chaiim*, who from a great number of Jewish Memoirs, chose them that he judged best to make up the Body of the *Massora*, which he compos'd, digested and caus'd to be Printed in such manner as we see.

The



The Matter of the *Massora* consists in Critical Remarks upon the Verses, Words, Letters and Vowel Points of the *Hebrew* Text. The *Massorites* were the first who distinguished the Books and Sections of Books into Verses, and mark'd the number of the Verses, and of the Words, and Letters in each Verse; the Verses where they thought there was something forgot, the Words which they believed to be changed, the Letters which they thought Superfluous, the Repetitions of the same Verses, the different Readings, the Words which are redundant or defective, the number of times that the same Word is found in the beginning, middle or end of a Verse, the different Significations of the same Word, the Agreement or Conjunction of one Word with another, the Number of Words that are Pointed above, which Letters are pronounced and which are not, it was they who distinguished the great Letters from the small ones, those that are turn'd upside down, and such as hang perpendicular, and took the number of each. It was they, in fine, who invented the Vowel Points, the Accents, and made divers Critical Remarks upon the Punctuation, and abundance of other trifling things.

The *Massora* is wrote in *Chaldee*, and ordinarily divided into Great and Small. The Great is partly on the Top and Bottom of the Margins of the Text, and sometimes in the Margin, underneath the Commentaries, and in part at the end of every Bible, which occasions the division of this Grand *Massora*, into the *Massora* of the Text, and the final *Massora*. The little *Massora* is wrote upon the inner Margin, or sometimes the outer Margin of the Bible, it is an Abridgment of the great *Massora*, wrote in small Characters, with abundance of Contractions, Symbolical Words and Citations of Scripture, by one only Term of the Text.

It cannot be denied, but the Labour of the *Massorites* was extraordinary Great, the question is, Whether it was as Useful as Great, and if it affords a Profit answerable to their Pains. The Author of the Book *Cozri* and the Rabbi *Aben-Ezra* seem to make no Account of it, and speak of it as an unprofitable Work. The latter compares it to the Labour of a Person that spends his time in turning over the Leaves of a Book of Physick, and numbers the Pages, without making use of any of the Medicines prescrib'd by the said Book. Father *Morin* and *Capel* seem perfectly to despise the *Massora*. On the contrary, most other Interpreters Roman Catholick and Protestant, believe it to be of very great Use. To keep a just Medium betwixt those two opposite Sentiments, we must distinguish betwixt the Parts of the *Massora*, and accordingly make a different Judgment of them. There are some of them altogether Useless, some of them Superstitious, and some of them may be of use to preserve the Text in its Purity. The uselesse are that scrupulous Affectation of observing how many times the same Letter or Word is found in the Bible, of the same Nature must we reckon the Observations they have made upon the Redundant and Defective Words, and abundance of other Trifles. The Distinction of Verses may be of use if well done; but many times the *Massorites* have not made that Distinction as the Sense required they should. As to the numbering of the Letters and Words, it seems to be Superfluous enough, both because it is a very hard Matter to be certain of it, and that in Writing or Counting, there is no Letter forgot, and that the Letters may be changed without changing the Number, and likewise because by this Means we cannot be assured of the Correction of the *Hebrew* Text, but by counting afresh all the Words and Letters, which cannot be done without abundance of Time and Labour. But besides, those useful things, there's a great deal of Superstition in the *Massora*, as the Distinction and Enumeration of Great and Small Letters, the Mystery of those that are suspended, turn'd upside down or final Characters, the Words pointed above, those that are to be writ, and not read, and abundance of other Observations, which give occasion to the Rabbies to forge Mysteries in things which happened accidentally, and where there is no Mystery to be found. All that is any way useful in the *Massora* is the fixing of the Punctuation, and Reading, the different Readings and some Critical Observations upon the Correction of the Text.

But of all the Parts of the *Massora* there's none more Useful than the *Keri* and *Ketib*. The *Keri* signifies that we must read so, and the *Ketib*, that it is so wrote in the Text. Therefore when we see the Word *Keri* in the Margin design'd by the Letter *Koph*, it signifies that we are to read it as in the Margin, and not as it is in the Text. Ordinarily they take the Points of the Text to read the Words in the Margin, and the Rabbies have thereupon made themselves particular Rules. The Variation observed in the Margin relates to nothing but the Consonants or Entire Words, but besides the Variation that may come from the Uncorrectness of the Text, there are other Places of the *Keri*, which are founded upon another Cause, for in some Passages the Rabbies have on purpose

pose left a blank Place in the Text, for some Words which they have put in the Margin, with this Note, *Kerive Lo Cetib*, that is to say, that they ought to be read, tho' they be not wrote, and there are other Passages, where they put on the Margin, *Cetibue Lo Keri*: That is to say, that they Write, but don't Read the Word in Question, to which they put no Points, but this last comes only from the Superstition of some Jews, who believed that they were not to pronounce certain Words that seemed not to be very handsome.

Authors are no less divided about the Invention of the *Keri* and *Ketib*, than about the other Parts of the *Massora*. Some carry them as high as *Moses*, and the first Authors of the Sacred Books which is absurd; others ascribe the Invention to *Esdra*, who in his Review of the Canonical Books, did according to them, observe the Differences he found betwixt the Copies he had, by putting one reading in the Margin, and the other in the Text. But if that were so, why should we find the same Differences observ'd in the Books of *Esdra* and *Nehemiah*, and in those of *Zechariah* and *Malachi*, could they have been any ways in doubt of the true Reading of their own Writings. Moreover had *Esdra* been the Author of the Marginal Notes of *Keri* and *Ketib*, the Jews would have preserv'd them with Uniformity. But it is certain, that there's a Difference in this Matter, betwixt the Jews of the East and those of the West; and that they are mix'd with diverse Observations of the new *Massorites*. Further, if those Marginal Notes had been in the Copies made use of by the LXX, the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts, or by *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion*, when they made their Versions, they would have read and translated according to *Keri*, whereas sometimes they follow the *Keri* and sometimes the *Ketib*; which shews that the Reading was not then fixed by any Marginal Note, which was looked upon to be of Authority. In fine, they never spoke of the *Keri* and *Ketib* in the *Misna* or *Gemara*, there they only observe, that there are in the Sacred Books 8 Words that are read and not Writ, and 5 which are Writ and not Read; but there's no foot-step of the other Differences which compose the *Keri* and *Ketib*. The *Massorites* have also changed in the *Keri* and *Ketib*, the number of the Words which are Read and not Writ, or which are Writ and not Read; for they have added two to the Eight, and six to the Five last. *Josephus*, *Philo*, *Origen* and *St. Jerom* make no mention of those Marginal Notes, they are later than those Authors, and are the Work of the Jews, who in Reading and Comparing their Copies, have set down those Differences in the Margin, partly upon the Authority of the Copies, and partly by their own Conjectures.

As to the Nature of those Differences. we must observe in the First Place, That they are of small Consequence, and that most times it is of no Importance, which of 'em be followed. Secondly, Tho' the Jews observe, that we must prefer one of the Readings, yet it is not always the Best, nor that which the Interpreters have followed, therefore we are not always obliged to follow *Keri*; on the contrary, it's proper to follow the *Ketib*, when it's more Authoriz'd by the Ancient Versions, and makes better Sense. Thirdly, All the Manuscript Copies and Editions of the Bible don't agree in all the Remarks of the *Keri* and *Ketib*, for some have more than others. Fourthly, There are Places where the *Keri*, that is to say, the Reading which is in the Text, is manifestly Vitiated. Fifthly, The greatest part of the Remarks of the *Keri*, are useless and frivolous, and relate only to the Orthography, Grammar, or other small Matters that signify nothing to the Sense. Sixthly, There are Readings of the *Keri*, which are plainly faulty. In fine, The *Massorites* have not observ'd in the *Keri* all the different Readings or Faults of the Text; for it must be confess'd, that many of them have escap'd their Diligence: Besides the Differences of the *Keri* and *Ketib*, which are the most Ancient, there are others betwixt the Eastern Jews, that is to say those of *Babylon*, and the Western Jews, that is to say those of *Palestine*, who have wrote differently in their Copies, and those may perhaps be more Ancient than the *Keri* and *Ketib*. There are others that have been observ'd by *Ben Ascher*, a Rabbi of *Tiberias*, and *Ben Naphtali* of *Babylon*, who liv'd in the beginning of the 11th Age. The Western Jews did ordinarily follow the Reading of *Ben Ascher*, and the Eastern Jews that of *Ben Naphtali*, but the Difference betwixt them is almost nothing but about the Punctuation and Accents, and are many times of no Consequence.

We must also reckon among the different Readings the *Tikkun Sopherim*, or the Corrections of the Scribes, which is found in 18 Places, and the *Fur sopherim*, or Retrenchments of the Scribes, which consists in five Words, from which they pretend we must cut of the *Vau* as useless. We must join likewise thereunto, the Marginal Notes *Sebirin*, that is to say, the Conjectures of the *Massorites*, that we must read in



such a Manner. The Difference betwixt those last Notes and the *Keri* is, that in the *Keri* they affirm positively, we must read so, whereas in the *Sebir* the Reading is held doubtful, and advanced only by way of Conjecture. But both one and 'tother are merely founded on the Judgment and Pleasure of the Rabbies, who thought good to determine and conjecture so and so.

In fine, Notwithstanding the Care and Precautions of the *Massorites* and *Jews*, who have Wrote or Printed the *Hebrew* Bibles, there's still a great many Differences between the Manuscript and Printed Bibles, as *Buxtorf* hath observed in his *Rabinnical Library*, and *Cappelle* after him. There are Differences in the Punctuation, about the Consonants, and whole Words and Verses: Which shews, That let them be never so diligent, it is impossible but some Faults will slip in, either in the Copying or Printing of a Work. God would not preserve the Holy Scripture from that Fate, which is common to all Books. He could not have done it but by a continual Miracle, which was no way necessary for the Preservation of Religion: For, as we have already said, and which cannot be repeated too often, all those Variations or Faults don't touch Religion in the least, they do no prejudice to the Authority of the Holy Scripture, they don't hinder but that we find the Truth of Religion in it, or that we ought to look upon it's Authority as Divine.

The *Cabala* which we join to the *Massora*, hath in its Etimology a Signification opposite to that of the *Massora*; for the one signifies *Tradition* and the other *Reception*. But Custom hath determined the Word *Cabala* to signify a Tradition of hidden and mysterious Things. The Jews have a mighty Esteem for this Science, and think they make great Discoveries by Means of it. The *Cabala* is ordinarily distinguished into three sorts. The first which is supposed to have been in use before our Saviour's Time, is a Mystical, Allegorical or Anagogical Explication of Passages of Scripture that are not Written, but which the Doctors of the Law pretend to have preserv'd by Tradition, fancying that *Moses* learned this Mysterious Sense from God himself, that he communicated them to 70 Ancient Men; and that they were preserved by Tradition till the time of *Ezdras*, from whom the other Jews learned them. 'Tis of this *Cabala* that we must understand the Author of the Book of *Ezdras*, Chap. 14. 46 & 47. when he speaks of certain things, he had wrote which God commanded him to preserve, and not to communicate but to the wisest of the People, who had the Spring of Understanding the Fountains of Wisdom, and the Stream of Knowledge. 'Tis certain, that the Jews in our Saviour's time were accustomed to give a Mystical Sense to Passages of Scripture: But we don't find that they supported that Sense by so Ancient a Tradition. Many times their Allegories or Morals were only a flourish of Wit and an Effort of their own Invention as may be seen in *Philo*. 'Tis true, there were Passages that they unanimously understood of the *Messiah*, according to Ancient Tradition, but those Passages excepted, it will be difficult to prove, That the Mystical Sense which those first Jews gave to some Passages of Scripture, had any Foundation in Ancient Tradition; so that it is without Reason to suppose an Ancient Cabalistical Art amongst the Jews.

The second sort of *Cabala* is not an innocent Art, but a sort of Magick or Necromancy, in which the Impious or Superstitious Jews employed the Words and Letters of the Scripture, which they distorted and ranked differently for their Use, to make Angels Familiar with them, to work Miracles, cure Diseases, chase away Devils and to work abundance of other Sorceries of the Magical Art; for that end they made use even of the Holy Name of G O D. This Art is so far from being any way useful, that it can be looked upon to be nothing else but a damnable Impiety, or Criminal Superstition.

The third sort of *Cabala* among the Jews, and which they properly call'd *Cabala*, is an Art by which they found their Mysterious Expositions upon Allusions, Transpositions, Changes, Conjunctions, Abbreviations, Figure or Arithmetical Value of the Letters. This Art is very obscure in it self, and the Jews who think themselves Masters of it, render it still more obscure, by their Way of Expressing it, and their Care of keeping it concealed. The Principal Methods they make use of for discovering those pretended Mysteries are. First to take the Letters of a Word, and to substitute in their room as many Words which begin with each of those Letters. Thus it is they pretend to discover the Curse which *Shimei* pronounced against *David*, where 'tis said in the Text, 1 *Kings* 2. 8. *That he cursed him with a grievous Curse*; in *Hebr. Nimretseb*, by separating the Letters of this Word, and forming of them as many Words which begin with each of those Letters, viz. *Noeph*, which signifies *Adulterer*, *Moab* Moabite, *Rosseach* a Murderer *Tsaruch* Leprous, *Tobeba* Abomination; they conjecture, That *Shimei* cast all those Re-

proaches

proaches upon *David*, that he upbraided him with his Adultery with *Bathsheba*, with his Descent from *Ruth* a Moabitefs, and with the Murder of *Uriah*, by which he deserved to have been treated as a Leprous and Abominable Man. This is witty but not solid. This Example is found in the *Hebrew* Traditions upon the first Book of the *Kings*, ascrib'd to *St. Jerom*, which are the Work of a Jew of the 9th Age, as *Raban* hath observed. The Cabalists furnish us with many others. It is by the same Method that they find in *Bereſith* the first Word of *Genesis*, this Sentence, *In the beginning God ſaw that the Israelites would accept the Law*; by suppoſing Words that begin by the Letter of the Word *Bereſith*. They make uſe alſo of the final Letters; and according to this Rule, they explain this Sentence, *The beginning of your Words is the Truth*; becauſe they find the Word *Truth*, in the three Words which follow *Bereſith*, by taking the three final Letters of them. 'Tis by this Artifice that ſome Greek Fathers have found in the Word *Adam* the four Parts of the World; becauſe their Greek Names begun by the four Letters of that Word *Ανατολη*, the *East*, *Δυσις*, the *West*, *Ακτος*, the *North*, *Μεσσηγια*, the *South*. To this Art we muſt alſo refer, the Dexterity of forming a whole Sentence out of a ſingle Word, and divers Sentences which begin with the Words of one and the ſame Phraſe.

The ſecond Method made uſe of by the Cabalists is to join the Letters otherwiſe, or to tranſpoſe or unite them differently one with another. Thus it is they find abundance of Myſteries in this Word *Bereſith*; for dividing it into *Bara*, *Sith*, it ſignifies, *He hath created the Foundation*; reading it *Bar Aſchit*, it ſignifies, *I will put the Son*. They find abundance of other things in it, by tranſpoſing and joining the Letters in different Manners. This Answers to our Anagrams. They take alſo the Liberty to change Letters, by taking the laſt of the Alphabet for the firſt; as they allege that *Jeremy*, Chap. 25. v. 25. hath put *Sefac* inſtead of *Babel*, by putting inſtead of the two *Beths* of *Babel*, which is the ſecond Letter of the Alphabet; the *Sin* which is the laſt but one, and in place of *Caph*, which is the 11th Letter deſcending, the *Lamed* which is the 11th Letter aſcending. *St. Jerom* took this Obſervation from the Jews, and inſerted it in his Commentary on this Place.

The third Method, and the moſt Myſterious, is that they call *Gematric*; which conſiſts in explaining a Term by the Arithmetical Value of the Letters. Amongſt the *Hebrews* all the Letters ſerve to ſignifie Numbers; they count the Number which the Letters of the Word produce, and afterwards ſubſtitute another Word, whoſe Letters make the ſame Number. For Example, on thoſe Words of *Zach.* 3. 8. *I will make my Servant to come*, [in the Engliſh Tranſlation, *I will bring forth my Servant the Branch*,] where the *Hebrew* Word is *Tſemach*; Rabbi *Kimbi* obſerves, that we muſt underſtand the *Mefſias* by this Word, and to prove it, ſays, That the *Mefſia* is called *Menahem*, which ſignifies *Comforter*; and that the *Hebrew* Letters whereof the Word *Menahem* is compoſed, make the ſame Number in the Total, which the Letters do that compoſe *Tſemach*. By the ſame Method he finds in the beginning of *Genesis* *Bereſith Bara*; *In the beginning he created*; this other Sentence, *He formed in the Law*; becauſe the *Hebrew* Words of the one and the other Sentence form the Number of 913. They pretend alſo by this Method, to divine when a thing will happen, by counting the Number which the Letters of a Name makes up. The Author of the *Revelation*, Chap. 13. made uſe of the like Method by concealing the Name of the *Beaſt* or of *Antichriſt*, under the Number whereof the Letters were to form his Name. In like manner the Cabalists do alſo draw Myſteries from the Numbers they meet with in the Text, and form Names of them.

The fourth Method made uſe of by the Cabalists, is carefully to obſerve the Figure of the Letter, and therein to find ſome Myſtery. They draw Myſteries alſo from this, That Letters were Writ and not Read, or Read and not Writ; that they are Great or Little, Suspended or turn'd upſide down, Full or Defective, Pointed above or Accented in an Irregular Manner. In a Word, There's not the leaſt Trifle but the Cabalists found their Dotages upon it, which have no other Foundation or Rule, but their Fancy and diſorderly Imaginations.



## C H A P. V.

*Of the Samaritan Pentateuch:*

## S E C T. I.

*The History of the Samaritans.*

**B**Efore we speak of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, we must to make a true Judgment of it, draw up a Scheme of the History of the *Samaritans*, we must know their Origin and Religion, know the Subject of their Schism, and of the hatred which the *Jews* bore them. The Holy Scripture tells us, That under *Rehoboam the Son of Solomon*, the ten Tribes separated themselves from the Tribes of *Judah* and *Benjamin*, and chose *Jeroboam* for their King. From that time the *Israelites* were divided into two Kingdoms; that of *Judah*, whereof *Jerusalem* was the Capital; and that of *Israel*, or the Ten Tribes, whereof *Samaria*, built by King *Omri*, one of *Jeroboam's* Successors, was afterwards the Metropolis. This Division of the *Israelites* into two Kingdoms, occasion'd also a sort of Schism in their Religion; for *Jeroboam* foreseeing, that if his Subjects were obliged to go to *Jerusalem* to worship God, and offer Sacrifice in the Temple according to the Law, they might return to the Obedience of their lawful Sovereign, he caus'd two Golden Calves to be made, and altars to be erected at *Dan* and *Bethel*, and chose Priests of the basest of the People to offer Sacrifices there. There were also in this Kingdom Temples consecrated to the Idol *Baal*, who had his Priests, his Prophets and Worshippers. But the greatest part of the *Israelites* did not bow the Knee to *Baal*, but preserv'd their Religion, thinking they might honour the true God upon the Altars built by *Jeroboam*, and by observing the Feasts, Ceremonies, and other things prescrib'd in the Law of *Moses*. Some of them also preserving the Respect they had for the Temple, came to *Jerusalem* at the great Festivals to worship God, and to offer Sacrifice to him, which it was not allow'd them to do elsewhere. There were always in the Kingdom of *Israel*, *Levites* and Prophets, who taught the People the lawful worship of the true God, and instructed them in the Law. Thus the Jewish Religion was preserv'd in the Kingdom of *Israel* so long as it subsisted; but at last, in the Reign of *Hoshea*, the last King of *Israel*, *Salmanassar* King of *Assyria* having taken *Samaria* after a Siege of three Years, carried *Hoshea* and his Subjects Captive into remote Countries, and sent in their place Colonies from *Babylon*, *Chutha*, *Ava*, *Hamath* and *Sepharvaim*, who inhabited *Samaria* and the other Cities of the Kingdom of *Israel*. There remain'd nevertheless, always among the *Jews*, *Israelites* of those ten Tribes; *Salmanassar* either having not carried them all away, or that they sav'd themselves by retiring into the Kingdom of *Judah*: But those were mix'd with the *Jews*, and had no more Commerce with the new Inhabitants of their ancient Country.

Those Foreigners who came to inhabit the Land of *Samaria* were called *Chutheans*, because the greatest part of them came from a City or Country called *Chutha*, from the Name of a River in *Persia*, if we may believe *Josephus*; or, as others Conjecture, from *Susa*, the Capital City of *Susiana*: But as those People were Idolaters and worshipp'd false Gods, the true God, who would be honoured in that Country, sent Lions among them which devoured them; or, according to *Josephus*, a Pestilence which cut them off. They suppos'd that this Mischief befel them because they did not worship the God of the Country, and gave notice of it to *Salmanassar*, who suffer'd them to take one of the Priests whom he had carried away from *Samaria*, that he might dwell among 'em, and teach them how they must worship the God of the Land. This Priest taught them the Religion of his Ancestors, the Precepts and Ceremonies of the Law, and made them worship the true God. But they had besides that, their particular Gods, whom they worshipp'd in the high Places, where they had their Temples and Priests. The common Name of those People was *Samaritans*, which was the only Name left them at last, having lost by degrees the ancient Names they had in *Persia*.

They dwelt in Peace under the Kings of *Assyria*, without having much Commerce with the *Jews*; but so, however, that there was no Enmity nor Discord betwixt them, until the return of the *Jews* from the Babylonish Captivity, that they oppos'd the Re-establishment

establishment of the City and Temple of *Jerusalem*, and wrote about it to King *Artaxerxes*, from whom they obtain'd an Order to hinder it. This was the Origin of that mutual Aversion which the *Jews* and *Samaritans* had for one another ever after, which was so great that they would have no Commerce together, nor so much as speak to one another, as appears by the Discourse of the Woman of *Samaria* to our Lord, *John 4.* *How is it that thou being a Jew, askest drink of me, who am a Woman of Samaria? For the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans.* Therefore it is that the Author of *Ecclesiasticus*, when describing the Distance that the *Jews* ought to keep from the *Samaritans*, says, *Chap. 50. 27, 28.* That there are two People whom the Lord hates; and a third, which are no People: The two first are the Inhabitants of *Seir*; that is to say, the *Idumeans* and the *Philistines*: And the third is, that foolish People who inhabit *Sichem*; that is to say, *Samaria*, for that was its ancient Name. In the *English Translation* it is, [ *They that sit upon the Mountains of Samaria, and they that dwell among the Philistines, and that foolish People that dwell in Sichem.* ]

This Enmity was yet more augmented when *Manasses*, Brother to the High Priest *Jaddus*, being depriv'd of the Priesthood because he would not put away the Daughter of *Sanballat*, Governor of *Samaria*, retir'd to that City, and built, by the permission of *Darius* and *Alexander*, a Temple upon Mount *Gerizim*, in which he offered solemn Sacrifices, as they did in the Temple of *Jerusalem*: It was then, when Altar was set up against Altar, that the *Samaritan Religion* was fully form'd. Many *Jews* having follow'd the Example of *Manasses*, retir'd to *Samaria*, that they might live there with more Liberty; so that the *Samaritans* became a People compos'd of the Descendants of those Nations that came from the *East*, and of abundance of real *Jews*. But as to the Matters of Religion, they forsook their Idolatry and applied themselves only to the worship of the true God, to whom they offered Sacrifices in the Temple of *Gerizim*, according to the Law of *Moses*.

After that time the *Samaritans* did always look upon the Temple of *Gerizim* as the Seat of their Religion, and forgetting that they deriv'd their Origin from the *Cuthians*, they pretended to be true *Israelites*, who had preserv'd the Observation of the Law in its Purity, and had High-Priests descending in a direct Line from *Phinehas*, the Son of *Eleazar*, the Son of *Aaron*. *Ptolomee* the Son of *Lagus*, having subdued *Judea* and *Samaria*, transported abundance of *Jews* and *Samaritans* into *Egypt*, and some of them retir'd willingly thither. They persevered in the same hatred there which they had in *Palestine*, and had frequent Controversies about their Temple. But at last *John Hircanus*, the Son of *Simon* the High-Priest of the *Jews*, having taken *Samaria*, destroy'd that City and raz'd the Temple of *Gerizim* 200 Years after it was built. *Herod* the Great caus'd a Temple to be re-built at *Samaria*; but the *Samaritans* would not make use of it, and continued to offer their Sacrifices upon the Altar which they had on Mount *Gerizim*. It is in this Place still, where the High-Priest of the *Samaritans* resides, and is the Chief of that Sect, at present reduc'd to a small Number of Persons, who dwell at *Samaria*, ( which is now called *Naplousa* ) and in some other Cities of *Palestine* and *Egypt*. They believe that it is on Mount *Gerizim* where God ought to be worshipp'd, as the *Samaritan Woman* said to our Saviour. They receive only the Law of *Moses*, or the *Pentateuch*, they celebrate their Passover on Mount *Gerizim*, they religiously observe Circumcision, the Sabbath, and the Festivals prescrib'd by the Law; they are also more exact and superstitious in the observance of the Law than the *Jews* themselves, they hate Idolatry as much as the *Jews*, and expect the Messiah as they do.

## SECT. II.

### *Of whom the Samaritans receiv'd their Pentateuch.*

**V**WE have already handled the Question which concerns the *Samaritan Characters*, and prov'd that they are the ancient *Hebrew Characters* which they have preserv'd; whereas *Esdra*s made use of the *Chaldee Characters*. The Modern *Samaritans* are so much persuad'd of it, that in the Letter they wrote to *Scaliger* they say, That tho' their Synagogue, Laws, and Customs be like those of the *Jews*, yet the Scripture of the *Jews* is the Writing of *Esdra*s, who is accurs'd for ever. But we must examine here, 1. From whom the *Samaritans* receiv'd their *Pentateuch*. 2. If that which we now have be the same which they had formerly, and was extant in

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## A Compleat History of the Canon, &c. Book I.

St. *Jerom's* time. 3. What the Authority and Use of it is, wherein it differs from the common *Hebrew* Text, and if it ought to be prefer'd to it, or compar'd with it.

There are three different Opinions as to the 1st Question. The 1st is, That the *Samaritans* receiv'd their *Pentateuch* from the Israelitish Priest sent by *Salmanassar* to instruct them, and that they have always preserv'd it amongst them since with great Care. The 2d is, That the *Samaritans* receiv'd this Book from the *Jews* after the time of *Esdra's*, and that they copied it into their own Characters from a Copy wrote in *Chaldee* Characters. The 3d is, That this *Pentateuch* was formed by *Dositheus*, whom *Epiphanius* makes Head of a *Samaritan* Sect, and that he compos'd it from the *Hebrew* Text of the *Jews* of *Palestine*, and *Babylon*, and the Version of the *LXX*. We must examine which of those Three is the most probable Opinion, and shall begin with the last.

*Origen* in his first Book against *Celsus*, and in his 27th Treatise on St. *Matthew* says, That *Dositheus* the *Samaritan* undertook, some time after our Saviour's death, to persuade the *Samaritans* that he was the Christ foretold by *Moses*. A long while after *Origen*, about the end of the 6th Century, *Eulogius* Patriarch of *Alexandria* reports, that the *Samaritans* were at Difference amongst themselves, how they should understand, Deut. 18. 15. The Lord will raise up unto you a Prophet from the midst of you, like unto me. That some of them understood it of *Joshua*, and others of *Dositheus*, who arrogated the Divinity to himself, and corrupted the *Pentateuch* of *Moses* by abundance of supposititious things, and form'd divers other Writings stuffed with Fooleries and things contrary to the Divine Laws. This is the Ground why some have imagin'd that *Dositheus* was the Author of the *Samaritan Pentateuch*; but this is only a frivolous Conjecture; for, in the first place, all the *Samaritans* were not Disciples to *Dositheus*, and it appears by the Testimony of *Eulogius's* History, that the *Samaritans* of *Alexandria* would not admit of the Application of those Words in *Deuteronomy* to *Dositheus*, as the rest did; that they refer'd it even to his own Council, where he declar'd solemnly, that it ought to be understood of the *Messias*. Secondly, *Dositheus* had corrupted the *Pentateuch*, to apply to himself the Prophecies which relate to the *Messiah*. But the *Samaritan Pentateuch* hath nothing chang'd in those Prophecies which relate to the *Messiah*. *Dositheus*, according to *Eulogius*, had spoke ill of the Prophets, and particularly of the Patriarch *Judab*. There's nothing like that in the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. It is not that then which *Dositheus* corrupted, if we may believe *Eulogius* concerning it, as quoted by *Photius*. Thirdly, If the *Samaritan Pentateuch* had been that which was corrupted by *Dositheus*, what likelihood is there that the *Jews* and *Christians* would not have upbraided them with this Corruption? And why would St. *Jerom* and other Fathers of the Church have made use of it as an Authentic Copy?

Perhaps it will be said, That without supposing the *Samaritan Pentateuch* to have been compos'd by *Dositheus*, we may conceive it to have been compos'd by some Modern *Samaritan* from the different Copies of the *Jews* of *Babylon* and the West, and the Version of the *LXX*, because it agrees sometimes with the *Hebrew* Copies of *Palestine*, sometimes with those of *Babylon*, and sometimes with the *LXX*: Whence it may be conjectur'd, that he who compos'd it made use of those different Copies of the *Hebrew* Text, and of the Version of the *LXX*. But we may say on the contrary, That this happens because the *Hebrew* Copy we now have was alter'd afterwards; and if we would not wholly charge all those Differences upon the Change that hath happened in the *Hebrew* Text, it may be, that in process of time there happened some change in the *Samaritan* Text, without any necessity of supposing that the *Samaritans* had not the *Pentateuch* till in the latter Times. The contrary being certain by the Testimony of *Eusebius*, St. *Jerom*, and other Ancients, who have spoke of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* (which in the sequel we shall prove to differ nothing from ours) before the Difference betwixt the Copies of the *Jews* of the East and West were observed; and by Consequence, the last of the three Opinions which we have related cannot be maintain'd.

Let us come to the 2d. They suppose that the *Cutbeans* or ancient *Samaritans* had no Copies of the Law, and that it was not till after they had forsaken their ancient Idolatry, and built a Temple on Mount *Gerizim*, that they copied out the *Pentateuch* into *Samaritan* Characters, from the Copies of the *Jews*. This is the Opinion of *M. Simon*, which he endeavours to prove by the Conformity there is betwixt the *Samaritan Pentateuch* and that of the *Jews*. He might have added a more probable Conjecture, advanced by an English Author, viz. That there are Differences betwixt the *Samaritan Pentateuch* and the *Hebrew* Text, which arise only from their having mistaken one Letter of the *Hebrew* Alphabet for another: Whence it may be conjectured, that this happened only from the Inadvertency of the Translator, who copying the *Pentateuch* into

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*Samaritan* Characters from the *Hebrew* Copy, took one Letter of the same Figure for another. But neither of these Reasons are convincing; for, as to the 1st, we are not to wonder that the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan Pentateuchs* agree, since they are one and the same Text; and, if their Conformity were as great as is supposed, it would prove the faithfulness of both Texts. But there's difference enough to shew that the *Samaritan Pentateuch* was not copied Word for Word from the *Hebrew* Text we now have, and that it is an Original. As to the 2d Conjecture, there are few or no Places where the Difference betwixt the *Samaritan Pentateuch* and the *Hebrew* Text can be ascrib'd to the change of the Letters of the *Hebrew* Text; and it might have happened that in those Places the Difference came from the Writers of the *Hebrew* Copies, rather than from those of the *Samaritans*: So that there's nothing to prove that the *Samaritan* Copy is later than that of *Esdra*s; nay, there are very plausible Reasons to shew the contrary. For, in the first place, what likelihood is there that the Priest who instructed the *Cuthians* in the Jewish Law, had not a Copy of the Law, and that the *Samaritans* had made profession of the Law of *Moses* so long without having the *Pentateuch*? 2dly, If they had receiv'd the Jewish *Pentateuch* when *Manasses* fled to them, why would they have chang'd the *Hebrew* Characters of the *Pentateuch* into the *Samaritan* Characters? Nay, why should the *Cuthians* have taken the *Canaanitish* Characters, if they had not had the Law written in those Characters? They came from *Persia* and *Assyria*, where they rather made use of the *Chaldee* Characters. The Characters of the *Israelites* were unknown to them; they would have made use of their ancient Characters, if the necessity they were under of following *Moses's* Law, had not oblig'd them to make use of the *Israelitish* Character. From whom could they learn it, if not from the *Israelitish* Priest who instructed them in the Religion? And how could they have made use of it in ordinary Cases, had they not taken it from the Law. They spoke *Chaldee*; the *Chaldee* Characters had been more familiar to them; if they had written the Law from Copies in *Chaldee* Characters, they would have taken the same Characters: They did not do it, they wrote in Characters that were naturally unknown to them; they must then have copied 'em from a Copy written in those Characters. 3dly, Had they receiv'd the Sacred Books after the time of *Esdra*s, in the time of *Manasses*, they would not only have had the *Pentateuch*, but also all the rest compriz'd in the Canon of the Sacred Books written by *Esdra*s. But the ancient *Samaritans* neither had, nor acknowledg'd any other to be Sacred but the *Pentateuch*. They had it then before *Esdra*s made up his Canon, and also before the Division of the Kingdoms of *Judah* and *Israel*, since from that time the *Jews* had not only the Law but the *Hagiographa* and *Prophets*. In fine, it is impossible that any of the *Israelites*, of whom some were remaining in their ancient Country, and mix'd with the *Samaritans*, should not have preserv'd the *Pentateuch*, and communicated it to the *Samaritans*, who had a mind to learn and follow that Law. It must then remain as a certainty, according to the Rules of good Criticism, that the *Samaritans* receiv'd their *Pentateuch* from the *Israelites*, and not from the ancient or modern *Jews*.

## S E C T. III.

*Whether the Samaritan Pentateuch that we have, be the same with that which the Samaritans had formerly, and was extant in St. Jerom's time.*

THE *Samaritan Pentateuch*, though but lately published, is not a Work unknown to Antiquity: *Eusebius*, *Africanus*, *Origen*, *St. Jerom*, *Diodore of Tarsis*, *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, and *Procopius of Gaza*, have quoted it; and it is by the Passages which they have reported of it, that we may judge, Whether the Copy that we have of the *Pentateuch* be that which the *Samaritans* formerly had. Father *Morinus* hath prov'd it so clearly, that *Simon de Muis*, who wrote against him concerning the Authority of the *Pentateuch*, is agreed with him as to the Point of its Antiquity.

Here follow the Principal Passages of the Ancients, which prove the Conformity of the *Samaritan Pentateuch* with ours.

First, *Eusebius* of *Cesarea* confesses after *Africanus*, That the Chronology of the *Samaritans* from the Deluge to *Abraham*, is agreeable to that of the *LXX*, as to the Time when the Patriarchs begot their Children, and the duration of their Lives. Now this Conformity is found in our Copy, according to which there was from the Deluge



## A Compleat History of the Canon, &c. Book I.

to the Birth of *Abraham* 942 Years, which makes the same Number with the Septuagint, by cutting off *Cainan*, who is not in the Samaritan Pentateuch. On the contrary, he observes, That the Samaritans agree with the *Hebrew* Text, and differ from the LXX, till the time of the Deluge, which is true at least as to *Jared*.

Secondly, *St. Jerom* in his Questions on *Genesis*, and *St. Cyril of Alexandria* after him, observes, That the Words of *Abel* to his Brother *Cain*, *Gen. 4. 8. Let us go Abroad*; or, *Let us go into the Fields*, which are not found in the *Hebrew* Text, were in the Samaritan Copy, and continue there to this Day.

Thirdly, The same Author observes, in his *Commentary on the Galatians*, That the Jews had cut off those Words every, and in all, from *Deut. 27. 26. Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things which are Written in the Book of the Law to do them*. We find those Words in our Samaritan Copy, as they were in that of *St. Jerom*, tho' they be not found in the *Hebrew* Text.

Fourthly, *Diodore of Tarsis* observes that in *Numb. 7. 24. the Samaritans* read *Gog* and *Agag*, which is still found Written the same way in the Samaritan Pentateuch.

Fifthly, *Procopius of Gaza* hath recollected some Passages that are in *Deuteronomy*, as being repeated, which are not in the Books of *Exodus*, *Leviticus* and *Numbers*, according to the *Hebrew* Text, and which are found in the Books according to the Samaritan Copy. The same Passages are in our Copy; as for Example, these Words of *Deut. 1. 6. The Lord our God spake unto us in Horeb, saying, &c.* are found *Numb. 10. v. 10.* in the Samaritan Pentateuch. The ninth Verse and those that follow in the same Chapter of *Deuteronomy* to the nineteenth Verse, are still in the 18th Chapter of *Exodus* of our Samaritan Pentateuch.

Sixthly, The *Greek Scholiast* upon the Version of the LXX quotes abundance of Differences of the Samaritan Pentateuch which are found in ours, as that of *Exod. 32. 18. I hear the Voice of Sinners*; whereas it is in the *Hebrew*, of *Singers*. And upon *Numb. 32. 33.* he observes, that the Samaritan Text in that Place makes mention of the half Tribe of *Manasses*, which is still in our Copies. We might observe in above 30 other Places, the agreement of our Samaritan Pentateuch with that of the Scholiast. It is true, there are some wherein he seems to vary from it, but it is because in those Places the Samaritan Word may have two significations; or, because he does not tie himself to the Words, but to the Sense; or, because he rather followed the Samaritan Version than the Text; or, in fine, because perhaps the Text it self hath been chang'd in some Places by the default of the Copiers: But that hinders not its being true, what we say, That we have the Samaritan Text the Ancients had, tho' Time may have occasion'd some change in it.

### S E C T. IV.

*Concerning the Authority of the Samaritan Pentateuch, wherein it differs from the common Hebrew Text: And if it ought to be preserv'd to it, or compar'd with it.*

**T**O judge of the Authority of the Text of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and of the Comparison which is to be made thereof with the *Hebrew* Text, we must first examine its principal Differences from the *Hebrew* Text: They consist either in Changes which make a quite different Sense, or in Additions which clear up and explain the Sense, or in Transpositions and Repetitions, or in the change of Letters.

There are few Places where the *Hebrew* Samaritan Text differs considerably from the *Hebrew* Text as to the Sense. The difference of the Chronology concerning the Patriarchs from the Deluge till *Abraham*, and the Patriarchs before the Deluge from *Jared* to *Noah*, is one of the chief, and upon which it is most difficult to make any Judgment: This cannot arise any otherwise than from the difference of the Copies of the Book of *Genesis*, which must be very ancient; Since the Samaritan Pentateuch, the LXX and the *Hebrew* Text differ on that Subject. There's another Difference in *Deuteronomy 27. 4.* betwixt the Samaritan and *Hebrew* Pentateuchs, where the *Samaritans* have substituted the Name of the Mountain *Gerizim* instead of that of *Ebal*: It is a manifest Corruption, which they have made to favour their Pretensions concerning the Temple that they had built upon Mount *Gerizim*, and the Worship which they perform'd there to God.

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The third Difference to be observ'd in the Sense, is concerning the Age of *Terah*. The Samaritan Text, *Gen.* 11. 32. imports, that he liv'd 145 Years; whereas the Hebrew Text, the Version of the LXX, and all others, say 205 Years. We must confess, that the reading of the Hebrew Samaritan Text, solves a great Difficulty concerning *Abraham's* Age; for it is said that he was but 75 Years of Age when he went into the Land of *Haran*, after the death of his Father. But if *Terah* died at the Age of 205, and *Abraham* was born in the 70th Year of *Terah's* Age, as the Hebrew and Vulgar Translation have it, *Abraham* must of necessity have been 135 Years old when his Father died. How can that be reconciled with what is said in the same Text, that he was only 75 Years old when he went into the Land of *Haran*, his Father being then dead? This occasions a great Difficulty in the Chronology, and to solve it we must be oblig'd to say, that *Abraham* was not the eldest of *Terah's* Sons; which is contrary to the Text: Whereas by following the Samaritan Text, there remains no difficulty, because *Terah* having liv'd only 145 Years, and *Abraham* being born in the 70th Year of his Age, he was precisely 75 Years old when *Terah* died. But it might so happen, that this Change was not made in the Samaritan Text, any otherwise than by Conjecture, and to solve this Chronological Difficulty in *Abraham's* Life; which is so much the more likely, that the Version of the LXX and all the rest have it 205 Years.

The 4th considerable Difference betwixt the Hebrew Text and that of the Samaritan Pentateuch, is in *Exod.* 12. 40. where it's in the Hebrew Text, The time of the sojourning of the Children of *Israel*, in the Land of *Egypt*, was 430 Years: Whereas the Samaritan Text hath it, The time of the abode of the Children of *Israel* and their Fathers, in the Land of *Canaan* and *Egypt*, was 430 Years. The LXX did not add *their Fathers*, but does as well as the Samaritan Text import, both in the Land of *Egypt* and in the Land of *Canaan*. And some Greek Copies also had it, *they and their Fathers*. It is very probable that we must thus understand the Hebrew Text, and therefore this Passage may pass rather for an Explanation than for a Difference. And it may be also, that the Hebrew Text is corrupted in this Place, and that those Words in the Land of *Canaan*, which are found in the *Septuagint*, are forgot. There's such another Addition in *Genesis* 4. 8. For in the Hebrew, after those Words, *Cain said to his Brother Abel*, there's a blank in the Hebrew Text, which is supplied in the *Septuagint* in the Samaritan Copy, and in the Vulgar Translation, by these words, *Let us go out*, or *let us go into the Field*; after which they read, *and when they were in the Field*, &c. It may be easily perceived, that those words, *let us go abroad*, or *let us go into the Field*, are necessary, and that they must have been omitted in the Hebrew Copies; and therefore the *Massorites* leave a space here, as supposing there are some Words omitted.

In *Gen.* 2. 2. there's a seeming Contradiction betwixt the Hebrew and Samaritan Texts; for in the Hebrew it is said, That God finish'd the Work of the Creation on the seventh Day, and that he rested on that Day. Whereas in the Samaritan Text and in the *Septuagint*, it is, that he finish'd this Work on the sixth Day, and rested on the seventh. This makes no difference in the Sense, the Hebrew Text being to be understood no otherwise, and can signify nothing else, but that God finish'd the Work of the Creation at the end of the sixth Day; and by consequence, that his Work was complete and perfected on the seventh, on which he rested. The Sense of the Samaritan Text and of the LXX is more clear and distinct; but it is hard to determine whether it be he who copied the Samaritan Text, or the Author of the Version of the LXX, who explain'd this Place of the Hebrew Text, or whether it be the Hebrew Text into which this Fault slipp'd.

In *Gen.* 7. 2. it's said, according to the Vulgar Translation, That the unclean Creatures which were in the Ark, were by two and two, as the clean were by seven and seven; that is to say, there were two Couples of the one, as there were seven Couples of the other. The Samaritan Text expresses those two Pairs, *two, two*, as well as the *Septuagint*; whereas the Hebrew Text at present has it only *two*: But *St. Jerom* hath translated it *two and two*, from the Hebrew Text of his time: So that it's more like to be a Fault that hath slipp'd into the Hebrew Text.

There are Additions in the Samaritan Pentateuch of things that are not found in the Hebrew Text. We have already observ'd, that in *Numbers* 10. 10. and in *Exodus* 18. after the 24th Verse, the Samaritan Pentateuch had the Words which are in the beginning of *Deuteronomy*, ver. 6, and 9, to the 19th. Some conclude from thence, that they are cut off from the Hebrew Text; but there's more likelihood, that some Copier of the Samaritan Pentateuch having observ'd that those Words were related in *Deuteronomy*,



## A Compleat History of the Canon, &c. Book I.

as having been wrote in the foregoing Books; and not finding them there in the same Terms, inserted them in those Places which he thought more convenient and suitable, and so much the more, because those Additions are not found in the LXX. There are yet two more, one in *Levit. 17. 4.* as to which the LXX agree with the *Hebrew Text*. But this Addition in the first Passage, is only a Repetition of the same thing; for whereas the *Hebrew Text* joins in one the Prohibition to slay a Sacrifice without the Camp or in the Camp, without offering it at the Entry of the Tabernacle; the *Samaritan Text* and the LXX, separate those two Members, and repeat the same Prohibition twice. 1. VVith respect to those who slew a Sacrifice in the Camp. 2. With respect to those who slew one without the Camp. It is a Superfluous Repetition, and changes nothing of the Sense. There's only one particular Determination of the *Samaritan Text* and the Septuagint, which is not in the *Hebrew*, viz. That it is not to be understood any otherwise than of those who should slay Oxen or Lambs, *To make a Burnt-Offering or a Peace-Offering unto the Lord*. This is a very true Explication, and is understood in the Words, which might have been added by him who copied the *Samaritan Text*. In the second Passage, where mention is made of the Decampment of the Children of *Israel*, and of the way how all the Vessels of the Tabernacle were to be covered and secured. The Vessel of Brass is left out of the *Hebrew Text*; whereas in the *Samaritan Pentateuch* and the Version of the LXX, they spoke in these Terms; *They shall take a Purple Vail, with which they shall cover the Vessel of Brass and its Basis and put it in a Case of Skins of the Colour of Jacinth, and set it on a Lever*. 'Tis probable that this hath been left out of the *Hebrew Text*.

The Words concerning *Jacob's* Unwillingness to suffer *Benjamin* to go, are related in two Places in the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, Chap. 42. 16. When *Joseph* demanded of his Brethren, that they should bring him, and Chap. 44. 21. When he caused *Benjamin* to be stop'd; whereas they are only in this latter Place in the *Hebrew Text*, and in the LXX. But because 'tis supposed here, That *Joseph's* Brethren had already told it to *Jacob*, he who corrected the *Samaritan Text*, thought it ought to be plac'd in the first Discourse of *Joseph's* Brethren about *Benjamin*.

There are many other Differences betwixt the *Samaritan* and *Hebrew Text*, but of less Consequence, and don't change the Sense. Therefore it is that whether they be considered as Additions made to the *Samaritan Text*, or as Omissions out of the *Hebrew Text*, it nothing diminishes the Authority of either; of which take the following Instances, *Gen. 2. 24.* The *Hebrew Text* imports only, *That the Husband and the Wife shall become one Flesh*: The *Samaritan Pentateuch* and the Version of the LXX adds the Word *Two*, *That they shall make two of one Flesh*; or, *Of two they shall only make one Flesh*; which is the same, but only a little more express. It is the same in *Genesis 26. 18.* The *Hebrew Text* imports, *That Isaac made the Wells which had been made in the time of his Father Abraham, to be dug afresh*: The *Samaritan Pentateuch* and the Version of the LXX have it, *That the Servants of his Father Abraham had dug them*; which is the same sense, tho' the latter seems to be the plainest. In Chap. 17. v. 17. of the same Book, there's omitted in the *Hebrew Text* the Epithet *full* in this Phrase; *The smell of my Son is like that of a Full Field, which the Lord hath blessed*.

I pass over in silence some omissions of Pronouns, of the Word *All*, and some others that are necessarily understood, which Change nothing of the Sense, and which might have been equally added in the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, or omitted in the *Hebrew*: Neither do I speak any thing of the Differences which come from Repetitions of the same Words, from Letters changed or omitted, and such other small things which are nothing to our purpose. VVe may observe one in *Numb. 16. 15.* which happens by the Change of a *Resch* into a *Daleth*. In the *Hebrew Text* *Moses* says, *That he hath not received or taken an As from them*, whereas in the *Samaritan Text* and the Version of the LXX, it is read, *That he hath not taken away their Desire*; that is to say, That he had taken nothing from the People of what they had desir'd to keep; and that he had taken nothing from them *per force*. This seems to be the better Sense, tho' the other may be also maintained; and perhaps *Moses* by this would say, That he had not taken the least thing from them. Be that how it will, the same *Hebrew* VVord by changing only the last Letter, signifies an *As* and *Desire*; for an *As* in *Hebrew* is *Chamer*, and *Desire* *Camud*; which end with the same Consonants, but that the latter hath a *Resh* in the first and a *Daleth* in the second: Therefore it may be that the Fault is in the *Hebrew Text*.

It is easily deducible from what we have hitherto observed, That though the *Hebrew Samaritan* Text be not wholly conformable to the *Hebrew* common Text, and different only in Characters, as St. *Jerom* seems to have thought; there is not however any difference so considerable as to make it to be accounted another Text. All that can be said of it, is that they are two Copies of the same *Hebrew* Text, two Copies of the same Original Text, betwixt which some Difference hath happened either by the direct Intention of the Copiers, who designed to make some Additions or Changes, or by their Negligence, which hinders not but both may be the true Original Text. 'Tis not absolutely necessary, That we should always follow the *Samaritan* Pentateuch; nor are we always obliged to follow the *Hebrew* Text. We must judge of it according to the Rules, which we have prescribed and applied to the Principal Differences of those two Texts. This is the Medium we must take betwixt the opposite Sentiments concerning the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, which some extol too high and others despise too much.

## S E C T. V.

*Of the Samaritan Tongue, and of the Versions of the Samaritan Pentateuch, into that Language and into Greek and Arabick.*

THE *Samaritans* being originally a People of *Assyria*, they spoke Naturally the *Assyrian* or *Chaldean* Tongue, when they were transported into *Samaria*. The necessity they were under to learn the Law Written in *Hebrew*, and the mixture of *Jews* amongst them, made them insensibly to mix *Hebrew* Words amongst the *Chaldee*; so that almost all the Words of the *Samaritan* Tongue, are derived from the *Hebrew* and the *Chaldee*, of which it was only a Dialect. It hath however its peculiar Words, and sometimes makes use of *Arabick* Words. It comes nearer to the *Hebrew* than to the *Chaldee*, both as to the Words, Phrases and Syntax, which was occasioned by the Mixture of the *Jews* with the Ancient *Samaritans*.

The same Reason that obliged the *Jews* to make *Chaldee* Paraphrases of the *Hebrew* Text; that is to say, because the *Hebrew* ceased to be their Vulgar Language, and commonly understood among them, they were obliged to explain it to the People in the Language that they spoke, that same Reason, I say, did also oblige the *Samaritans* to translate the *Hebrew* Pentateuch into *Samaritan*. We have one of them in the Polyglotts of *Paris* and *England*; whereof we neither know the Author nor the exact time, but it is certainly Ancient and Faithful; there are nevertheless abundance of Places, where it differs from the Text it self.

'Tis probable that there was formerly a *Greek* Version of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, since St. *Cyril* of *Alexandria*, some other *Greek* Fathers, and an Ancient *Greek* Scholiast, knew and quoted the Differences of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, which 'tis likely they did not take from the Original, but rather from a *Greek* Version. In the mean while, tho' it be probable, that there was formerly a *Greek* Version of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, it's certain that it was not made in the Time of *Alexander* the Great, as Father *Morin* alledges.

There are also Manuscripts of a Version of the *Samaritan* Pentateuch into *Arabick*, Written in *Samaritan* Characters, composed certainly since the 900 Year of Christ, but those sort of Versions are of little Use or Authority.



C H A P. VI.

*Of the Greek Versions of the Old Testament, and chiefly  
that of the LXX.*

S E C T. I.

*If there was a Greek Version more Ancient than that of the LXX.*

THE Ancient and Modern Authors are divided about this Question; that is to say, Whether there be a *Greek Version* of the Old Testament, more Ancient than that which is supposed to have been made by 72 Jews in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. *St. Clement of Alexandria*, in his first Book of the *Stromata*, *Eusebius* in his Ninth Book of *Gospel Preparation*, Cap. 3. and some other Ancients, have affirm'd, That there was a *Greek Version* of the Law more Ancient than that of the LXX. Diverse Modern Authors, and amongst others *Bellarmino*, *Serarius* and *Galesinius* are of that Opinion, which is founded, 1. On the Testimony of *Aristobulus* related by *Eusebius*, Lib. 9. *Preparat. Evang.* Cap. 6. & Lib. 13. Cap. 11. which imports, That before *Alexander* conquered the Persians, some Authors had translated that which concerned the departure of the Jews out of Egypt, the most considerable of what had befallen them, the taking of their Country and the Explication of their Law. Words which seem to imply, that the Pentateuch had been translated into *Greek* before the LXX. 2. Upon this that some Heathen Philosophers, more Ancient than the LXX, seem to have taken diverse things out of the Books of *Moses*, amongst others *Plato*, whom some call the *Athenian Moses*, and who, according to *Josephus*, took part of his Laws from those of *Moses*. The *Pythagorean Hermippus*, and *St. Justin Martyr*, say the same thing of *Pythagoras*; and *Clearchus* the Peripatetick says the like of *Aristotle*. *St. Augustin*, on the contrary, *Philo* and *St. Epiphanius* seem to be persuaded that the LXX were the first that translated the Sacred Books into *Greek*. This is the Opinion of *Baronius*, *John Despierres*, *Lewis Capelle*, and some others. They rely chiefly upon the Testimony of *Aristeus*, who supposes that there was no *Greek Version* of the Law before that of the LXX; for had there been any, it's impossible but it must have been known to the Jews of Egypt, and to King *Ptolomy's* Library-Keeper, who sought for *Greek Books* every where; and if they had known there were any such, it had been to no purpose for them to have given themselves so much Trouble to make a new one. 2. The Historian *Josephus*, Lib. 12. Cap. 2. and in his Books against *Appion*, says, That until that time none of the Historians nor Poets, durst touch upon the Sacred Books; and that *Theopompus* and *Theodectus*, who would have taken something out of those Books to mix with their Works, were punished by God. 3. *Philo* in his Second Book of the *Life of Moses*, says, That the Law of the Jews was wrote in *Chaldee*; and that it continued unknown to those that did not understand that Tongue, until such time as 'twas translated by the command of *Ptolomy*. The Jews before the Reign of *Alexander* had no Commerce with the *Greeks*, nor do we see what reason the Jews or *Greeks* could have to make this Version. The Testimony of *Aristobulus* which is opposed to this, is of little Consequence, because the Work whence this Passage is taken, is a Counterfeit by some Hellenist Jew, moreover, that this Author does not say, That those Sacred Books were translated into *Greek*, but only that some Authors had wrote in *Greek* things that concern the History and Laws of the Jews.

That which is said further of the Knowledge which some Pagan Philosophers had, of Things contained in the Books of *Moses* is very uncertain; and though we should allow it to be true, it will not thence follow, that there was a *Greek Version* of the Pentateuch, they might have had that Knowledge from the *Egyptians*, or even from some Jews they conferr'd with, as *Clearchus* says, that a Jew interpreted the Holy Scripture to *Aristotle*. *Origen* in his 6th Book against *Celsus*, says, That *Plato* had either learned divers things from the Jews; or had himself read divers things in the Books of the Prophets. It is then possible, according to *Origen*, that *Plato* had written divers things agreeable to the History and Laws of *Moses*; and that he had drawn things

things out of that Fountain, without having read the Sacred Books, and only by Conference with *Jews*.

The famous Author of the Evangelical Demonstration endeavours to reconcile the two opposite Sentiments, by saying, That there were only some Fragments of *Moses's* Books translated into *Greek* before the Version of the LXX, which was the first complete and entire Translation of 'em. He maintains this Opinion, by the Testimonies of *Aristobulus*, *Demetrius Phalereus*, and *Aristeus*, whom I look upon to be three supposititious Authors, and who don't say positively that some part of the Law was translated, but suppose that the *Greeks* might have Monuments wherein the History and Law of the *Jews* was mention'd, tho' there was not as yet any literal Tradition, neither of the whole Law nor of any of its Parts. It is certain that divers *Egyptian* Historians, *Chaldeans*, *Phenicians* and *Greeks*, spoke of *Moses* and the *Jews*, of their Religion and Laws: It is from thence that the *Greek* Philosophers might have drawn some Knowledge of their Doctrine and Laws, to make use of it in their Writings, without any necessity of supposing that they had the Text of *Moses* it self: Nay, further, all that they say *Plato* and the other Philosophers have taken from the Doctrine and Laws of *Moses*, might have been known to them, either by the sole Light of Reason; or, if they please, by the Tradition they had receiv'd from the *Egyptians*, without any necessity of supposing that they receiv'd it immediately from the *Jews*: And by Consequence, that which they advance upon this Foundation of a *Greek* Version of the *Pentateuch*, more ancient than that of the LXX, is altogether uncertain; nor have we any Proof, Footstep, or remainder of that ancient Version.

## S E C T. II.

*The Relation of the Manner, how they pretend the Version of the LXX was made according to Aristeus and other Historians.*

THE famous History of the Version of the LXX, was written by *Aristeus*, supposed to have been one of the Officers of *Ptolomee Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, who order'd this Version to be made. We have the Work of this pretended *Aristeus*, from whom *Josephus* and *Eusebius* have taken what they say of this Matter. Some have doubted whether the Work that at present carries the Name of *Aristeus*, be that which was in the Hands of *Josephus* and *Eusebius*: But to be satisfied in that Point, we need only compare the Narrative of *Josephus* with that of our *Aristeus*, whereof *Josephus* makes an Abridgement, and we shall find it to be the very same with that which we now have under his Name. It is true that *Aristeus* was not generally followed by all the Christian Authors who have spoke of this History, and that they have added Circumstances thereunto, which they have certainly found in some other Author of the same Nature with *Aristeus*, but who related the thing in a different manner. We shall begin with a faithful Relation of the History, as 'tis related in *Aristeus's* Book, and observe afterwards, what others have added or alter'd in his Narrative.

The Work of *Aristeus* is wrote in form of a Letter directed to his Brother *Philocrates*. He relates therein that *Demetrius Phalereus*, Library-Keeper to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, having undertaken to get all the Books of the World into that Princes Library, shew'd him that the Law of the *Jews* deserv'd to be of the Number; and that *Ptolomy* having answer'd him, That it was his Fault if it were not put there; *Demetrius* replied, That it must be translated first, because they were wrote in a Language and Characters unknown to the *Egyptians*. Upon which the King resolv'd to write to the High-Priest of the *Jews*, That *Aristeus*, the Author of that History, made use of this occasion to obtain the Liberty of the *Jews* who were Captives in *Egypt*, and had been brought thither by *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, Father to *Philadelphus*. That thereupon he represented to the King, That he could not send Ambassadors to the *Jews*, to demand their Laws of them, whilst he kept so many *Jews* Captives in his Kingdom; that he ought so much the rather to set them at Liberty, because it was the God of their Law who made his Reign happy, because they worshipp'd the God who knew all things and created all things: That the King having ask'd of him, how many of those Captives there might be in his Kingdom; one of his Guards, called *Andrew*, answer'd him, That there were 100000. And that another, called *Sosibius*, having join'd his Request with that of *Aristeus*, they obtain'd this Favour from the King, who added of his own accord, that 20



Drachma's should be paid out of his Treasury for every Jewish Captive, and that they should be immediately set at Liberty: And thereupon he issued an Edict, which *Aristeus* relates in this Place, by which he ordered that all his Subjects who had any Jewish Slaves, should be oblig'd to set them at Liberty, and that he would order them 20 Drachma's for each. That when this was put in execution, *Demetrius* presented a Memorial to the King, in which he informs him, That it was convenient to write to the High-Priest of the *Jews* at *Jerusalem*, to send him six Men out of every Tribe, noted for their Virtue, Learning and Age, to make an exact Version of the Books of the *Jews*, which should be put into the Royal Library. *Aristeus* gives us here a Copy of the King's Letter to the High-Priest *Eleazar*, which was carried to him by *Andrew* and *Aristeus*, *Eleazar's* Answer, and the Names of the 72 Persons who were sent to translate the Law. He afterwards gives an ample Account of the magnificent Presents which the King sent to the High-Priest *Eleazar*; and gives a very particular Account of the City of *Jerusalem*, the Temple and its Parts. He speaks of the Plenty of the Country, of the Knowledge of the 72 Interpreters, and of their Grief at parting with *Eleazar*: He reports a long Discourse of *Eleazar's* upon the Jewish Law; and, after this long Digression, returns again to his History, and tells us in what manner the 72 Envoys were receiv'd by King *Ptolomy*, how they presented and unfolded before him the Books of the Law which that Prince ador'd. After this he comes with a longer Digression, wherein he gives us an Account of the Questions which *Ptolomy* ask'd the 72 Interpreters for three Days together, and of the Answers given to him by each. At last *Aristeus* comes to the Matter of the Translation, and says only, That *Demetrius* carried those 72 Persons into an Island, alongst a Peer of seven Furlongs, and put them into an House upon the Bank of the Sea, where they translated the Law: So that after they had conferr'd together, and were agreed on the Interpretation, *Demetrius* wrote it down: That they did so for 72 Days together, and on the last of them compleated the Version. That afterwards *Demetrius* caus'd it to be read in the presence of an Assembly of *Jews*, who approv'd it, and declar'd that it was Exact and Faithful: That he read it also to the King, who was much surpriz'd that none of the Historians or Poets had made mention of it: To which *Demetrius* answered, That this Law being Holy and Divine, they dar'd not to mix it with Prophane things, and that the Historian *Theopompus*, and the Poet *Theodelles*, having offer'd to put something of it into their Works, were punish'd for it, the one by the loss of his Senses, and the other by the loss of his Sight. And that in fine, *Ptolomy* sent back his 72 Interpreters loaden with Honour and Presents; thus doth *Aristeus* give us the History of this Version.

The 2d Author that speaks of the Version of the LXX is *Aristobulus* the *Jew*, a Peripatetic Philosopher, in his Commentaries upon the Books of *Moses*, dedicated to King *Ptolomy*, quoted by *Eusebius* and by St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*; in which that Author, having a mind to prove that *Pythagoras*, *Plato*, and the other *Greek* Philosophers knew the Law of *Moses*, says, That one Part of that Law had been done into *Greek* in the time of *Alexander*, but that the whole was translated by the Care of *Demetrius Phalereus* in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, one of the Ancestors of him to whom he dedicated his Work. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* and *Eusebius* say, That *Ptolomy* to whom this *Aristobulus* dedicated his Book, is *Ptolomy Philometor*, who was the 4th King of *Egypt* after *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and began to Reign 66 Years after his death. There's a probability that 'tis only by Conjecture, that those Authors place this *Aristobulus* in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philometor*; for in other places they say, he flourish'd in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and make him Contemporary to *Eleazar* (a), a notable Bishop of *Alexandria*, who liv'd in the beginning of the third Age, reckon him to be one of the

(a) And make him Contemporary to *Eleazar*. ] St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Stromat. Lib. 1. Pag. 342.* quotes the Passage of *Aristobulus* thus; *Aristobulus* in his first Book dedicated to *Philometor*, says Word by Word. And in his 5th Book, *Pag. 595.* he says, *Aristobulus*, who liv'd in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. *Eusebius* divers times quotes the Work of *Aristobulus* in his Books of *Evangelical Preparations*, *Lib. 7. Cap. 13. Lib. 8. Cap. 8, & 9. Lib. 13. Cap. 12.* only under the Name of a Commentary dedicated to *Ptolomy*, without saying which. But in one of his Quotations, *Lib. 8. Cap. 8.* he makes him Contemporary with *Eleazar*. I will content my self, says he, to relate the Explications of *Eleazar* and *Aristobulus*,

who are both of an ancient *Hebrew* Lineage, and flourish'd in the time of *Ptolomee*. Nevertheless, the same *Eusebius* in his Chronicle says, *Aristobulus* dedicated his Commentary to *Ptolomy Philometor*, which was follow'd by *Ado*, *Bede* and *Marianus Scotus* in their Chronicles, and by the Author of the Chronicle of *Alexandria*. *Anatole* of *Alexandria*, in the Paschal Canon related by *Eusebius*, *Lib. 7. Hist. Eccles. Cap. 32.* in quoting *Aristobulus* says, he was one of the 70 who translated the Sacred Books into *Greek* for *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and the King his Father, and that he dedicated his Commentary on the Law of *Moses* to those Princes.

LXX, and pretends he not only dedicated his Work to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, but also to *Ptolomy the Son of Lagus*, Father to that Prince.

It is, nevertheless, more likely that *Aristobulus* is not so ancient as those Authors make him; for there's great probability that he is the same who is mentioned in the beginning of the 2d Book of the *Maccabees*, where 'tis said, That he was Preceptor to King *Ptolomy*. *St. Clement of Alexandria* and *Eusebius* agree that he is the same: And in one of the Fragments quoted by *Eusebius*, Lib. 8. *Prepar. Evangel. Cap. 10.* it appears that the Author had liv'd familiarly with the Prince to whom he wrote, and that he had often spoke with him concerning Knowledge. But *Aristobulus*, mentioned in the Letter at the beginning of the 2d Book of the *Maccabees*, could not have been Preceptor but to the Son of *Philometor*; for this Letter was written 20 Years after the death of that Prince; and, by Consequence, *Aristobulus* could not have writ till 120 Years, or thereabouts, after the death of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. We will examine afterwards, if the Work quoted under his Name be truly his.

The third Author, who speaks of the Version of the LXX, is *Philo the Jew*, who in the 2d Book of the Life of *Moses* says, That the 72 *Jews*, being sent to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, retir'd into the Isle of *Pharos*, near unto *Alexandria*, as a Place where they might work in quiet without being diverted by any Body. That in this Retirement, being full of the Spirit of God, they prophesied all the same thing *Verbatim*, without one expressing it one way, and another another, as if it had been dictated to each of them invivibly: That tho' Languages, and especially the *Greek Tongue*, is capable of expressing the same thing in different manners and by divers Terms, this did not happen in the Translation of those Laws; that the Terms of the *Chaldee Tongue* were translated into the most proper Terms of the *Greek Tongue*, which answer to them exactly: And that as *Geometry* and *Logick* don't admit of this variety of Discourse, but always make use of the same Terms, those Interpreters have likewise found the most convenient Terms for explaining the Sense the most clearly: That Experience hath made known this Uniformity. And whether a *Grecian* learn the *Chaldee Tongue*, or a *Chaldean* the *Greek Tongue*, they admire the Conformity of the Version with the Original, and revere this Agreement of Things and Words, not looking upon them as meer Translators, but as Prophets, on whom God bestow'd the Favour to inspire them with the true Spirit and Thoughts of *Moses*. He adds, That every Year they make a Festival in the Island of *Pharos*, in Remembrance of this Event.

The fourth Author, that hath writ the History of the LXX, is *Josephus*, who, *Cap. 2. Lib. 12. Antiquit.* relates it upon the Authority of *Aristeus*. He took all he said of it from that Author, and hath only abridg'd it, without adding any thing thereunto. *Eusebius* hath also satisfied himself merely with what they have said of it, without speaking of any other Circumstance.

The first Christian Author, who spoke of the Version of the LXX, is *St. Justin*: He says but very little of it in his Apology to the Emperor *Antonin*, where he fell into a very gross Error, when he said, That it was to King *Herod* that *Ptolomy* address'd himself for a Version of the Prophetical Books. It is certain that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* liv'd a long time before King *Herod*, and therefore either *St. Justin* must be guilty of a very considerable Mistake in Chronology in this Matter, or there is some Fault in the Text, which is not credible, because *Herod's* Name is twice repeated there. Be that how it will, *St. Justin* in this Place observes two Embassies from *Ptolomy* to *Herod*: The first, to desire the Sacred Books which were sent him by *Herod*, written in *Hebrew*. And a second, by which he desir'd, that because the Tongue in which those Books were written was unknown to the *Egyptians*, he would send him Persons to translate them. *Aristeus* speaks nothing of those two Embassies, but supposes that *Ptolomy* demanded at once, that not only a Copy of the Law should be sent him, but also 72 Persons to translate it, and that the Copy was brought by those who translated it. But this is not the only thing wherein *St. Justin* differs from *Aristeus*, as to the Version of the LXX, for in his Exhortation to the *Gentiles*, wherein he describes at large, after what manner this Version was made, he adds divers Circumstances unknown to *Aristeus* and *Josephus*. He relates the Matter thus. 'If any one say, that the Books of *Moses* and the other Prophets are written in *Greek*, he may learn from Foreign Histories, that *Ptolomy King of Egypt* having a mind to erect a real Library at *Alexandria*, and causing Books to be brought hither from all Parts to fill it, being inform'd that the *Hebrews* kept with great Care ancient Histories written in *Hebrew*, and being willing to know what those Writings contain'd, sent to *Jerusalem* for 70 very Learned Men, who understood the *Hebrew* and the *Greek*, and ordered them to translate those Books; and to the end they might



## A Compleat History of the Canon, &c. Book I.

might be more at quiet and free from Noise, he would not have them to stay in the City to make the said Translation, but caused to be built for them, in the Island of *Pharos*, 7 Furlongs from *Alexandria*, as many little Houses as there were Interpreters, that each might Labour apart on that Version: And he enjoynd those who serv'd them, to do them all sorts of good Offices, but to prevent their conferring together, that he might know by the Conformity of their Versions whether their Translation was exact. And finding afterwards that those 70 Persons did not only agree in the Sense but in the Terms, that there was not one Word in one of their Versions that was not in another, and that they all wrote Word by Word the same Expressions, being surpriz'd with Admiration, and not doubting but that Version was made by the Spirit of God, he heaped Honours upon the Interpreters, whom he look'd upon as Men dear to God, and sent them home loaden with Presents to their own Country. That as to the Books, he justly look'd upon them as Divine, and put them into his Library. St. *Justin* adds to confirm this Story, 'Don't think, O *Greeks*, that what we say is a forg'd Story: We our selves, when at *Alexandria*, saw the Ruines of those little Houses in *Pharos*, where they were still remaining; and we learn'd from the Inhabitants of the Place, who had it by Tradition from their Fathers. You may also be assur'd of it by the Writings of divers Wise and Illustrious Authors, who have related this History, as *Philo*, *Josephus*, and divers others. St. *Justin* did not invent what he speaks of those little Houses or Cells, in which he says the LXX were shut up to make their Version; nor of the Miracle of the intire Conformity of all their Versions, tho' made apart from one another. Nevertheless, neither *Philo*, *Josephus*, or *Aristeus*, have made any mention of it, but report, quite contrary, That the Version was made after quite another manner, in the Conferences which the LXX had together, being assembled in the same Hall. He says, however, That he not only learn'd what he wrote from the Inhabitants of *Pharos*, who shew'd him the Remains of those Cells, and had the Story by Tradition, but that the same thing may be found by reading Foreign Histories. This can be of no other but the History of *Aristeus*, who boasts that he extracted his Narrative from the Journals of the Kings of *Egypt*, that St. *Justin* speaks of in this place: Yet this that he quotes is neither in *Aristeus*, *Josephus*, nor *Philo*; therefore we have Reason to believe, that he knew nothing of what he said concerning it, but what he heard from some *Jews* of *Alexandria*, who had the History by Tradition.

Almost all the Fathers, who have writ since St. *Justin's* time, except *Eusebius* and St. *Jerom*, have followed his Narrative, and made mention of the wonderful Conformity of the Versions of the 72 Interpreters, that were shut up in their different Cells (b). But St. *Epiphanius* enlarges most upon this Story, and reports it quite differently from others in his Book of Measures and Weights. He says, 'That those 72 Interpreters were shut up two by two, with two Servants and Clerks, in 36 little Houses or Cells, which had none but Sky-Lights, built in the Island of *Pharos*, opposite to *Alexandria*, that they work'd there from Morning till Night; that in the Evening they were brought in 36 Sloops to the Palace of King *Ptolomy*, where they supp'd, and were afterwards shut up in 36 different Chambers: That each of them had a Book of the Sacred Scripture to Translate; and that thus they translated 22 Canonical and 22 Apocryphal Books: That when they had finish'd all, the King made them come before his Throne with 36 Readers, who had each a Copy of the *Greek* Version, whilst another held the *Hebrew* Copy, and that they found all the Copies of the Version to agree exactly; that in those Places where any thing was added, it was found in all the Copies: and when there was any thing cut off or left out, it was in none of their Copies. He afterwards relates the whole History of the 72 Interpreters that were choien out of the 12 Tribes, six out of each, and quotes *Aristeus* upon this Head. 'He

(b) The wonderful Conformity of the Versions of the 72 Interpreters that were shut up in their different Cells. ] St. *Ireneus*, Lib. 3. contr. Hæres. Cap. 25. St. *Clem. Alexand. Strom. Lib. 1. p. 341, 342.* St. *Cyril of Jerusalem. Cateches. 4. St. Hilar. on Ps. 2. St. August. Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei, cap. 43. Lib. 2. de Doctr. Chr. Cap. 15. where he speaks nevertheless of this Miracle, as of a thing uncertain, by making use of those Words, Traditur, ut fertur, multique non indigni fide prædicant. It's said, it's reported, many credible Versions affirm it. *Philastre Hæres. 137. Theodoret Præfat. in Psalm. Justinian Autent. Cap. 46. Collat. 10, &c. Tertullian* speaks of the Version of the LXX in his*

*Apologetic. cap. 18.* where he observes that the Philosopher *Menedemus*, in his Defence of Providence, admir'd the Uniformity of Opinion amongst the LXX. Which may be understood of the Conformity of their Sentiments, in the Conferences which they had together, according to the History of *Aristeus*, which *Tertullian* quotes in this place. The *Jews* have also approv'd the History of the 72 Cells, as may be found in the two *Talmuds*, *Tract. Megill.* and is reported by *Bengorion*, and divers other *Jews*. Amongst the modern Interpreters, *Serarius*, *Bonfrerius*, and *Galesinius*, have follow'd the Current of the Ancients.

says, That *Ptolomy Philadelphus* designing to make a Library at *Alexandria*, and having chosen *Demetrius Phalereus* to take Care of it, he wrote to all the Kings and Princes of the World for Copies of their Books : And having thus collected a vast Number, he ask'd *Demetrius*, one Day, how many there were in his Library ? To which he replied, That there were already Fifty four Thousand and Eight Hundred, or thereabouts ; but that he was inform'd there was still a greater Number, amongst the *Ethiopians, Indians, Persians, Elamites, Babylonians, Assyrians, Chaldeans, Romans, Phenicians, Syrians, Grecians*, and particularly at *Jerusalem* in *Judea*, where there were the Divine Books of the Prophets, which treated of the Divinity, of the Creation of the World, and divers other things useful for the common Good : So that if his Majesty thought fit to have them, he must write to the Doctors of *Jerusalem*, that they might send them to put in his Library. He afterwards gives an Account of a Letter from King *Ptolomy* to the *Jews* of *Jerusalem*, wholly different from that in *Aristeus* ; by which he demands that they would send him the Books of the Prophets, and prays them to remember, that he had set at Liberty and courteously treated many of the *Jews*, who were taken and carried Captive into *Egypt*. He adds, That he sent them a Table of Gold, enrich'd with Jewels, that had been taken out of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, with other Presents, which he desires they would put into the Temple. *St. Epiphanius* says, after this, That the *Jews* immediately sent that Prince the 22 Canonical and the 72 Apocriphal Books, wrote in *Hebrew* and in Letters of Gold ; which *Ptolomy* being neither able to read or understand, he was oblig'd to write to them a second time, and to demand Interpreters to translate them. Then he gives us an Account of this Prince's 2d Letter to the *Jews*, which is also different from that of *Aristeus*. It begins with this Sentence of Ecclesiasticus ; *What Profit can be made of an hidden Treasure, or of a Fountain stopp'd up ?* He applies it to the Books they had sent him, which he could not read, and prays them earnestly, to send him Persons Learned in the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages to interpret them. It was after the receipt of this 2d Letter, that the *Jews* chose 72 Interpreters, 6 out of each Tribe, whom they sent to *Ptolomy*, and who compos'd the Version in such manner as he relates.

*St. Epiphanius* agrees with *St. Justin*, concerning *Ptolomy's* two Embassies, and differs in that from *Aristeus*. He agrees also with *St. Justin*, as to the Cells built in the Island of *Pharos*, but he differs as to the Number of Cells and Copies ; for *St. Justin* says, That each Interpreter had his own Cell, and made his particular Version : Whereas *St. Epiphanius* says, That there were two of 'em in a Cell, and that there were only 36 Copies of their Version. *St. Justin* supposes they did not come out of their Cells till they had compleated the Version. *St. Epiphanius*, on the contrary, supposes, that they came every Day to the Palace, and after Supper were shut up there by two and two into 36 different Chambers. *St. Epiphanius* quotes *Aristeus* for Evidence ; but, if he had that Story from *Aristeus*, he must have had a Copy of *Aristeus* much different from that which we have, and which *Josephus* and *Eusebius* had, since his Narrative does not agree with that of our *Aristeus*, or of *Josephus* and *Eusebius* ; and that the Letters of *Ptolomy*, which he reports are altogether different from that which is in those two Authors.

### SECT. III.

*Reflections upon the History of the Version of the LXX. That Aristeus is a Jew : That his Narrative is a Romance ; and that he is not a Contemporary Author. His Mistakes in Chronology. His Fable of the Cells refuted : Of the way how the Version of the LXX was made, and why it was so called.*

**A**FTER having given an Historical Relation of what the ancient *Jews* and *Christians* have wrote, as to the Manner how the Version of the LXX was composd, we must examine the Authority of the Witnesses, and the Truth of the Circumstances of that History. Let us begin with the Book of *Aristeus*.

We have already said, That we doubted not but this Book was that which was in the Hands of *Josephus* and *Eusebius* : The Proof is easie : *Josephus* follows, and only abridges the Narrative of *Aristeus* : He relates all the same Circumstances that are in our History of *Aristeus*, in the same Order, and many times in the same Terms. He

Y y

puts



puts the same Discourses into the Mouths of *Demetrius*, *Aristeus*, *Andrew* and others. He relates the Edict of King *Ptolomy*, for setting the *Jews* at Liberty, in the same Terms; and the like, the Memorial of *Demetrius* to that Prince, the King's Letter to the High-Priest *Eleazar*, and his Answer: He says, he passes over in silence the Names of the LXX which are found in our *Aristeus*: He gives the same Description of the Presents which the King sent to *Jerusalem*: He gives us the same Circumstances of the arrival and reception of the LXX: He refers to *Aristeus's* Book, for the Questions the King ask'd the LXX, and their Answers; which makes up a principal part of the Book of *Aristeus* that we have. In fine, he says nothing precisely as to the way how that Version was compos'd, but what is in our Copy of *Aristeus*. It is then without Ground, that *Lewis Vivés*, *Leo de Castro*, *Alphonfus Salmero*, and some other Authors, have thought that the Book of *Aristeus*, which *Josephus* made use of, differ'd from that which we have now. They seem to have been of that mind, only because they would defend the History of the Cells, which our *Aristeus* contradicts: And 'tis justy to be accounted one of the Arguments to prove, that it is the same Book which *Josephus* and *Eusebius* had, since those two Authors don't speak of it neither, and that *St. Jerom* says expressly, that the Cells are not in *Aristeus*. We cannot then doubt of the Antiquity of *Aristeus's* Book: Let's see what Judgment we are to make of it, of the Author, and of the Truth of the History which it contains.

To speak my Mind of it freely; I believe, in the first place, That it is the Work of an *Hellenist Jew* of *Alexandria*, and not of *Aristeus* the *Pagan*, King *Ptolomy's* Officer: The Proof of this is clear. This Author speaks always as a *Jew*; nay, that which is more, makes all the rest speak in the same manner, and relates abundance of things which no Man but he that is instructed in the Jewish Religion could write and explain. In the first place, He speaks throughout of the Law of *Moses*, as a Divine Book, he says it himself, he makes *Demetrius* say it, he supposes *Ptolomy* to have been so far convinc'd of it, that he ador'd the Copy of it when sent him. 2. When he relates the Discourse which he had with the King to obtain Liberty for the *Jews*, he says, The *Jews* worshipp'd the God who knew all things, and created all things; whom other Men, and we especially worship also, tho' we call him by another Name, viz. *Jupiter*. He remonstrates to that Prince, That it was God who gave the Law to the *Jews*, and that it was he who govern'd his own Person and Kingdom. It's easie to perceive, that this is a *Jew* in disguise, but so as he may easily be known. 3. He makes *Demetrius* say, in the Memorial he presents to the King, That the Laws of the *Jews* were Wiser and Holier than any other, because Divine; and therefore the Writers, Poets and Historians made no mention of those Books. Who else but a *Jew* could speak so of those Laws? 4. In his Memorial *Demetrius* shews the King, that he must desire of the High Priest of the *Jews*, to send him 6 Men out of each Tribe. Who had inform'd him, that there were still 12 Tribes among the *Jews*? Why does he demand the Number of 6 from each Tribe? This could be for no other reason, but that the Number of the Interpreters should be 72, equal to that of the Jewish *Sanhedrim*: He must needs have been a *Jew*, that knew this Mystery. 5. *Ptolomy* in his Letter acknowledges the God of the *Jews* to be the Great God, who preserv'd his Kingdom in Peace and Glory. 6. The Description of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, its Parts, and of the Offices of the Priests and *Levites*, and particularly the Vestments of the High-Priest, is the Work of a *Jew*: And tho' the Author feigns himself to have been instructed in those things by *Eleazar*, it appears nevertheless that he knew them of himself. 7. It is hard to believe that any other but a *Jew* could represent *Eleazar* discoursing so subtilly upon the Mystical Explications of the Precepts of the Law, as he does in this Book. There needs no more but to read them, to be convinc'd that this is the Work of a *Jew*; and that a Man who was not perfectly instructed in the Religion and Theology of the *Jews*, could neither represent *Eleazar* discoursing thus, nor retain and put 'em in Writing, tho' he had heard them spoken. 8. The Answer of *Demetrius* to the King's Question, Why the Historians and Poets had not spoke of the Books of the Laws of the *Jews*, is altogether Jewish. It is (says he to him) because this Law is Holy and comes from God, and that some having attempted to make use of it in that manner, were diverted by a Divine Chastisement: For, I have heard, that *Theopompus* having a mind to insert in his History something that had already been translated from the Law, lost his Senses for above 30 Days, and having pray'd to God, in one of his Lucid Intervals, to declare to him why that Mischief had befallen him; it was signified to him in a Dream, That it was because he would have made Divine Things publick and common. That he had also been inform'd, That the Poet *Theodectes*, having a mind to take something out of that

that Book, to make use of in a Piece that he design'd for the Stage, lost his Sight, and did not receive it till after he had acknowledg'd his Fault, and begg'd Pardon of God for his Presumption. This Discourse could never come from any other but a Jew; and those pretended Miracles are very like the Genius and Invention of the *Hellenist Jews*. In short, *Aristeus's* whole Book smells strong of the Jewish Temper; and whoever reads it, without prepossession, will easily be persuaded that it is the Work of a Jew.

The 2d Reflection that may be made on the Book of *Aristeus* is, That 'tis not a plain and natural History, but a feign'd Narrative and sort of Romance; all that we have in it is aggravated and affected. The Pieces related therein, that is to say, the King's Edict and Letter, the Memorial of *Demetrius*, and *Eleazar's* Letter, are wrote in the same Style, and by Consequence, the Composition and Forgery of the Author. The Description of *Ptolomy's* Presents is wrote in a Romantick Style, the 72 Questions and Answers are manifestly the Author's Invention; what is said therein of the Laws being written in Golden Letters, can be nothing else but a Fiction. In fine, every thing in this Narrative is wonderful and extraordinary, 100000 Jews set at Liberty at the King's Charge, 72 Persons demanded and sent, six out of each Tribe, a Triangular Golden Table with Magnificent Vestments, and Vessels of Gold and Silver of a surprizing bigness. The Copy of the Law written in Letters of Gold, the carrying of the Interpreters into an Island 7 Furlongs from *Alexandria*, and the Version completed in 72 Days, are all of them incredible and affected, and smell more of Fiction than History.

The third Remark that may be made upon this History of *Aristeus* is, That it's no easie matter to find an Agreement betwixt this Narrative and the History of the Time, and that there are Mistakes of Chronology in it very difficult to be explain'd. *Aristeus* and all the Authors who have spoke of the Version of the LXX, suppose it to be *Demetrius Phalereus*, who was Governor of *Athens*, that took Care to send for the Jews to translate the Bible; and that it was he, if we may believe *Aristeus*, who wrote the Version by their Direction. But it is maintain'd, that *Demetrius Phalereus* could not be in Esteem in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, nor in being, when they suppose this Version to have been made. For *Hermippus*, a Cotemporary Historian, whose Testimony is related by *Diogenes Laertius* in the Life of *Demetrius*, says, 'That after the death of *Cassander*, *Demetrius* who was afraid of *Antigonus* (he means *Cassander's* Son) retir'd to *Ptolomy Soter*, and staid a long time with him; that among other things he advis'd him to leave the Kingdom to *Eurydice's* Children; but that that Prince, not following his Advice, order'd the Crown to be given to *Berenice's* Son; who, after his Father's death, caus'd *Demetrius* to be imprison'd, until such time as he should consider what to do with him: That *Demetrius* led a melancholy Life in Prison, and was accidentally bit by an Asp whilst asleep, as 'tis suppos'd, which occasion'd his death; and he was interr'd in the Government of *Buziris* near *Diospolis*. This Testimony proves two Things, which destroy the History of *Aristeus*: The 1st, That *Demetrius* was in no Esteem with *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, nor enjoy'd any Liberty during his Reign; and, by Consequence, that he was not his Library-Keeper, nor order'd by him to bring Jews to translate the Bible. The 2d is, That the Version of the LXX not being made till some Years after the Commencement of the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, as appears by the Circumstances of *Aristeus's* History, *Demetrius* could take no Care of it, since he died in the beginning of his Reign.

They Answer usually, That *Ptolomy Philadelphus* having reigned some time with his Father, as is observ'd in *Eusebius's* Chronicle, it was in that time that *Demetrius* had the Charge of the Library of *Alexandria*, and caus'd the Version of the Bible to be made. It is on this account that both the *Voets*, Father *Petau* and *Riccioli* place the Epocha of the Composition of this Version towards the end of the Reign of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagus*, under whom *St. Ireneus* and *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* say they did it: And as at that time *Ptolomy Philadelphus* reigned with his Father, we may also say, with other Authors, That it was done in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and by his Order. But this Epocha cannot be maintain'd, if the Authority of *Aristeus's* Book be admitted, which contains abundance of Circumstances, by which we may see, that he supposes the Version of the LXX was not compos'd till divers Years after the Reign of *Philadelphus*: For, in the first place, he speaks only of one King, who is *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, in whole Name all the Orders were issued. It's to him alone that *Demetrius* addresses himself, to have Letters to the Jews: It's he alone who writes to them: It is he only who receives the LXX, speaks to them and sends them back. If his Father had been still on the Throne, is it possible that he should have had no Hand in any of those things?

Secondly,



## A Compleat History of the Canon, &c. Book I.

Secondly, The Letter from Eleazar is directed to Ptolomy alone, and he salutes him in these Terms, *If you, the Queen Arsinoe your Sister, and your Children be in Health, we rejoyce at it*: Words whence divers Inferences may be drawn, to shew, That according to *Aristeus*, the Version of the LXX could not have been made, during the time that *Philadelphus* reigned with his Father; for when he was associated to the Crown, he was very young, and had not yet a Wife or Children: He did not marry his Sister *Arsinoe* till after the Death of *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, King of Macedonia (a), to whom he had married her after the Death of *Lyfimachus* King of Thracia, Brother to *Ceraunus*: But *Ptolomy Ceraunus* did not die till the 6th Year of the Reign of *Philadelphus*; and by consequence the Letter of *Eleazar* could not be writ according to *Aristeus* till after the Death of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos*, since *Philadelphus* reigned only one or two Years with his Father. 3. *Ptolomy* speaking in his Letter of the Jews that had been carried captive in the time of his Father, says, He does not believe that to have been done by his Order: If he had been still alive would not he have expressed himself otherwise? Fourthly, There are diverse Places in which *Aristeus* supposes, that *Philadelphus* was powerful, renowned, of great Experience in Government, and had reigned a long time. For Example he brings in the 60th and the ninth of those Interpreters speaking to the Prince thus, *Tom Sir, who are exercised in all sorts of Vertues, and all the part of a Philosopher by the good Sense that you have received from God*. And the 60th and eighth having answered to the Question of that Prince, that King's ought to apply themselves particularly to the Reading of the Memorials of Ambassadors, he adds, *That it is by this means that you have acquired Immortal Glory*, The 60th and the 4th, and the 60th and the 12th say also, 'That he had purchased immortal Glory by his wife Government. *Sofibius*, that he may perswade him to set the Jews at Liberty, remonstrates to him, That he was raised to a degree of Glory and Honour which surpassed his Ancestors. In short, There's great probability that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* did not apply himself to make a Library till towards the latter end of his Days (b), when his Health would not allow him to employ himself otherwise. *Galenus* informs us (c), That *Ptolomy Evergetes*, Son to *Philadelphus* compleated what his Father had begun. And *Vitruvius* assures us (d), That *Philadelphus* undertook his Library, in Imitation of the Kings of *Pergamus*, now the first King of *Pergamus*, who erected a Library, was according to *Strabo* and *Pliny*, *Eumenes II.* who did not begin to Reign till 24 Years after the Death of *Lagos*, and survived *Philadelphus*: Therefore *Eusebius* in the first part of his Greek Chronicle, and *George Syncellus*, and before them *Africanus* (e) place the erecting of the Alexandrian Library in the 132d Olympiad, which is the 30th Year of King *Ptolomy's* Reign, if we compute from the Death of his Father, and made the famous Gramarian *Aristophanes* his Library-Keeper. *Suidas* gives this Charge to *Zenodotus* Master to *Aristophanes*; and indeed *Aristophanes* continued alive 50 Years after the Death of *Philadelphus*; and before him *Eratostrhenes* and *Apollonius* of *Rhodes* had that Charge, after *Zenodotus*, who was possess'd of it in the Reign of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos*, and enjoy'd it till the end of the Reign of *Ptolomy*

(a) He did not Marry his Sister, &c.] *Athenens* relating after *Callixenes* the Pomp that was made at the Coronation of *Philadelphus* during his Father's Life, says, That *Philadelphus* was crown'd with 20 Crowns, his Father with the like number, and his Mother *Berenice* with 23. He speaks nothing of his Wife and Children, so that he had not any at that time. *Philadelphus's* first Wife was Daughter to *Lyfimachus* of Thracia and Macedonia. He afterwards married his Sister *Arsinoe*, according to the Testimony of *Pausanias*, *Stephanus* of *Bizantium*, *Pliny*, *Plutarch* and *Athenens*. *Justin* and *Pausanias* say, That she was married formerly to *Lyfimachus* and afterwards to *Ceraunus* who died not till the end of the 124 Olympiad, and consequently six Years after the commencement of *Philadelphus's* Reign. In the Title of *Eleazar's* Letter related by *Eusebius*, there's no mention made that *Arsinoe* was the King's Sister; but in the Body of the Letter, *Eleazar* writes, That he had offered Sacrifices for the King, for his Sister and for his Children.

(b) There's great probability that *Ptolomy, Philadelphus, &c.*] *Strabo* says, *Ptolomy* did not undertake these great Works, till, because of the Weakness of his Body, he sought for Subjects of Diversion and

Employment. *Ælian. Hist. l. 4. c. 15.* says, That *Ptolomy* became Learned when he began to grow unhealthy.

(c) *Galenus* informs us.] It is in his second Commentary on the third Book of *Hippocrates* of common Diseases; where he says, That he found in the Library of *Ptolomy Evergetes* a Book, marked by *Pamphilus* the Physician; and he adds, That *Ptolomy Evergetes* sought at *Athens* for the Books of *Sophocles*, *Euripides* and *Eschilus* to put them in his Library.

(d) *Vitruvius* assures us.] The Passage in the Preface to his 7th Book of Architecture is thus, When the Kings of *Pergamus* being much taken with the sweetness of Philology, erected at *Pergamus* an excellent Library for common Use; at the same time *Ptolomy* being enflam'd with a mighty Zeal for Study and Learning, endeavour'd to erect another at *Alexandria*, with no less Industry.

(e) *Eusebius* in the first part of his Greek Chronicle, &c.] says thus, *Ptolomy Philadelphus* erected a Library in *Alexandria*. In the 132 Olympiad *George Syncellus* adds, Towards the close of which he died. *Josephus* seems to be of the same Opinion, for he says, That *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, having reigned 40 Years, ordred the Law to be translated.

*Philadelphus*

*Philadelphus*. This Employment suits Gramarians and Philologists, much better than *Demetrius Phalereus*, who was a Man of Quality and employed in State Affairs. What we have just now observ'd, That *Zenodotus* was Library-Keeper to *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos*, is not contrary to what we said, that *Ptolomy Philadelphus* did not apply himself to erect the Library of *Alexandria*, till towards the end of his Life; for there was in the time of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos* a Royal Library at *Alexandria*, and it was not *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, who founded it first, but he applied himself towards the end of his Days to embellish and enrich it by seeking for Books every where, to render it Famous and Compleat.

There's also another Chronological Mistake in the History of *Aristeus*, which makes it evident, That the Author did not live in that time. He says, The Philosopher *Menedemus* was at *Alexandria* when the LXX made their Translation. This *Menedemus* liv'd, as *Diogenes Laertius* has it from *Heraclides*, 84 Years: He had been Scholar to *Plato*, who died in the first Year of the 108 Olympiad. Let's suppose, That *Menedemus* was 24 or 25 Yearsold when *Plato* died, which is the least we can suppose. He died the first Year of the 123 Olympiad, two Years before *Ptolomy Philadelphus* was join'd with his Father in the Government. We must however confess, That there are Proofs that *Menedemus* liv'd long; for Authors, related by *Diogenes Laertius*, say, That after *Antigonus* had defeated the *Gauls*, who under the Conduct of *Brennus*, made an Irruption into *Greece*; *Menedemus* being suspected of a design to have betrayed *Athens* to *Antigonus*, retir'd to that Prince's Court, and died a few Days after. The defeat of the *Gauls* by *Antigonus* happened in the second Year of the 125th Olympiad, which is the 6th after the Death of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos*: But supposing we grant this Matter of Fact to be certain, it is nothing less contrary to the History of *Aristeus*, since we must say, according to him, that the LXX did not make their Version till the end of the Reign of *Philadelphus*, and that *Menedemus* died in the ninth Year of that Prince. Besides we read it in *Laertius*, That *Menedemus* was sent on an Embassie to *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos*, afterwards to *Lyfimachus*; and, in fine, to *Demetrius*: But we don't read that ever he was Ambassador to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*.

Here is yet another more considerable Circumstance, by which it appears, That *Aristeus* hath confounded things. He brings in *Philadelphus*, saying, That the Day on which the LXX arriv'd was a Solemn Day, because that very Day he obtain'd a Naval Victory against *Antigonus*. This Battle must be that spoken of by *Diodorus Siculus* in the 20th Book of his History, which happened in the third Year of the 118th Olympiad, under *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos*. But *Ptolomy Philadelphus* speaks here of a Battle, which he himself had gain'd divers Years before. We don't read, That *Philadelphus* gain'd any against *Antigonus*; but, on the contrary, having sent Assistance by Sea to the *Athenians* against *Antigonus Gonatas*, it was of no use to them, nor did they gain any Advantage upon him. *Aristeus* then cannot speak of any other but the Battle won by *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos* against *Antigonus* the Great, or of the famous Battle which *Ptolomy Ceraunus*, King of *Macedonia*, the eldest Son of *Ptolomy* the Son of *Lagos*, won against *Antigonus Gonatas*. Now neither the one nor the other could be ascribed to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and by consequence *Aristeus* is mistaken as to Matter of Fact, which an Author that liv'd in the time could scarcely be guilty of.

We might perhaps find some other Circumstances in the Narrative of *Aristeus*, that don't agree with the History of the time, but those that we have brought already are sufficient to shew, that the Author of this History did not write things whereof he was an Eye-witness, but that he invented and accommodated them as well as he could, to the History of the time in which he fixed that Event. It would be difficult exactly to mark out the time in which this Counterfeit *Aristeus* compos'd his History, but it must be within the space of 200 Years that followed the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; for *Alexander Polyhistor*, quoted by *Eusebius*, lib. 9. *Evang. prepar. c. 25*. who wrote 100 Years or thereabouts after the reign of *Philadelphus*, mentions a History of the Jews, compos'd by *Aristeus*. But the Author of the Relation concerning the LXX, assures us, That he had compos'd a Work on this Subject: It is then the same; so that this is the Author who is quoted by *Alexander Polyhistor*, and who by consequence wrote before him. This is what we are to think of the History of *Aristeus*, upon whose Authority all those have built, who have since made mention of the Version of the LXX.



It is from him apparently that *Aristobulus* took what he said of the Greek Version of the Law done in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, tho' that Author say nothing in particular of the way how it was done, but only that it was translated by the Care of *Demetrius Phalereus*. We have already shew'd that *Demetrius* could not take the Care of the Version of the Law upon him in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, because he was a Prisoner and in disgrace. So that the only Circumstance taken notice of by *Aristobulus*, could not be true, and he must have taken it from *Aristeus*. Moreover, it is not certain that this Writing of *Aristobulus* is by him who is mention'd in the Letter from the Jews of *Jerusalem* to those of *Alexandria*; there is more likelihood that it is from some Hellenist Jew more late than he, who had writ those Commentaries on the Law of *Moses*, and put them in *Aristobulus's* Name. Be that how it will, and granting that that Author be unexceptionable, all that can be prov'd by his Authority, is only that a part of the Law was translated into Greek in the time of *Alexander the Great*, and that it was afterwards wholly translated in the Reign of *Ptolomy the Son of Lagos*, or of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. The first is controverted, and no Body denies the second; the only Doubt is concerning the way of its Composition, and the Circumstances related by the counterfeit *Aristeus*.

*Philo* the Jew follows *Aristeus* as to what concerns the Greek Version by the 70 Interpreters under the Reign of *Philadelphus*. He adds only, That the LXX by a sort of Inspiration and Prophetic Spirit translated all after one and the same manner, as if some invisible Agent had dictated to them the same thing. *Aristeus* says more plainly, That they conferr'd together upon every Passage they translated, and that when they were agreed on it, their Version was writ down.

*Josephus* did nothing else but Copy the Relation of *Aristeus*, and does not seem to have had any other Memorials or Vouchers for this Story; so that his Testimony ought not to be accounted any thing in this matter, being founded upon no other Authority but that of *Aristeus*.

St. *Justin* hath not taken his History of the Version of the LXX from our Copy of *Aristeus*, since he not only relates things which are not to be found in *Aristeus*, but also such things as are contrary to his Narrative, and to the Narrative of all others who had wrote any thing of it before him; for *Aristeus*, *Josephus* and *Philo* have not spoke one Word of the 72 Cells, in which they pretend the 72 Interpreters were shut up, that each of them might make their Version apart; nor of the Agreement of all those Versions to the very least Word; which they would not have omitted, had the thing been true, or invented in their time. But it is not only from their Silence that a Negative Argument of the greatest force may be drawn against St. *Justin's* Narrative of the 72 Cells, and the miraculous Agreement of their Versions, but likewise from their positive Evidence, since they declare that the 72 Interpreters wrote together in one and the same House and Hall, and that they conferr'd together about the Composition. Nay, further, *Aristeus* observes that they only brought one Copy of the Law writ in Characters of Gold; if they had been separated, each of 'em must have had one. In short, this is such an extravagant Fancy, to shut up 72 Persons separately to translate a Work, that it is no ways likely it could ever come into *Ptolomy's* Head. What could be his Design in it? if he would have been satisfied of the faithfulness of their Version, it had been sufficient to have divided them into two or three Offices, why should he shut them up separately? Could he divine that they would all agree when writing separately? Was it not more natural that they should confer together to make a good Version? Is it not plain, That this whole Story is only fram'd to render the thing so much the more wonderful? But never had any thing less appearance of Truth, and therefore St. *Jerom* had reason to reject this Story as a Fable. He says, he does not know who is the first Author of it, but he assures us that 'tis a notorious falsehood, which is easie to be prov'd by the Testimonies of *Aristeus* and *Josephus*. I know not, says he, what Author he was that by a Lye built 70 Cells at Alexandria, into which the LXX being divided wrote one and the same thing, since *Aristeus*, that same *Ptolomy's* Advocate or Champion, and *Josephus* long after him, said no such thing; but that they conferr'd altogether in one Hall, and did not Prophesie: For to be a Prophet is one thing, and an Interpreter another.

St. *Justin* had been deceiv'd by some Jews of *Alexandria*, amongst whom this Fable perhaps was common, and who had shew'd him in the Island of *Pharos* some Ruines of ancient Houses, and made him believe that they were the Remains of the Cells of the LXX, as some Persons had persuad'd him at *Rome*, that the Statue of *Semon Sancus* was that of *Simon* the Magician. It's well enough known how frivolous and uncertain these pretended popular Traditions are, and especially among the Jews, who have al-

ways

ways been much addicted to believe and talk of wonderful and surprizing things, as may be seen by the *Talmud*. St. *Justin* being deceiv'd by the Jews, gave occasion to others of the Fathers to fall into the same Error; they only copied and follow'd him, and believ'd it on his Testimony, without enquiring into the Matter. So that their Authority is of no weight in this Point. St. *Augustin* considering this, spoke doubtfully of it, tho' he did not examine the thing; but St. *Ferom* having canvass'd it maturely did quickly discover its falshood.

We have none else now to deal with but St. *Epiphanius*, whose Narrative will be overthrow'n with so much the more ease, that it does not agree neither with that of *Aristeus* nor St. *Justin*. It's a new Romance, wherein the Author endeavour'd to have remov'd some Difficulties that were in the former. He well perceiv'd that it was ridiculous to shut up 72 Persons all alone, each in his Cell; he thought it more proper to put them together by two and two, and very bountifully assigns them two Servants and Clerks apiece; so that by this Story the 72 Houses are reduc'd to 36. But, to embellish his History, he will allow them no other but Sky-Light, and there he sets his 72 Translators to work from Morning till Night, without giving 'em leave to stir out. He readily foresaw likewise the Objection that might be made from their having but one Copy of the Law, and finds an Expedient to rid himself of that, by supposing that each Couple of the Interpreters had one of the Sacred Books, which they chang'd as they finish'd 'em, until such time as each Book had gone the round of the six and thirty Cells. But since there were but 22 Books and 36 Couple of Translators, it must be suppos'd that there were 14 who had nothing to do, or that the Books were divided into Parts. To avoid this inconveniency, they give them 22 Apocryphal Books to translate. Any one may perceive that this is all a groundless Invention, to vouch at any rate for the Story of the Cells. Nor is there any more likelihood in what they say, of their being brought every Night in 36 Sloops to *Ptolomy's* Palace, of their supping with him altogether, and being shut up afterwards in 36 different Chambers. To relate those Circumstances, is to discover their falshood.

*Aristeus's* Book which St. *Epiphanius* had seen, is certainly different from ours, but is less credible and more fabulous. He supposes two Journies of those Envoys from *Ptolomy* to *Eleazar*, one to get the Books, and the other to have them translated. He makes *Demetrius* to say, That he knew there were many other Books in the World among the *Ethiopians*, *Indians*, &c. and amongst other People he mentions the *Romans*, and adds, *those that are in Greece, which are not yet called Romans, but Latins*. An impertinent Remark, and which hath no Sence. The two Letters which he makes *Ptolomy* to write, are of a barbarous Style; and the 2d, as we have already observ'd, begins by a Sentence which is a pure *Hebraism*. Of what Profit is an hidden Treasure, and a Fountain stopp'd up? Which is taken from, or at least in imitation of, *Ecc. 20. 32. & 41. 17. Of what use is hidden Wisdom and an invisible Treasure?* But the Author of *Ecclesiasticus* is later than *Ptolomy Philadelphus*; and by Consequence those Letters are supposititious.

Hitherto we have not found any unquestionable Monument to establish the certainty of the Version of the Bible by the 72 Jewish Interpreters sent to *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. However, this History, how fabulous soever it be in its Circumstances, has a true Foundation. *Aristeus* and the other Jews of *Alexandria* would never have wrote such things, had not the Law been translated into Greek by the Jews in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*. There must be some Truth that hath given rise to this Fable, and that this Prince did in effect demand and caus'd to be made a Greek Version of the Books of the Law. This might pass for certain Matter of Fact; but the other Circumstances are all false or uncertain. Nay, there's no certainty that this Version was made by 72 Persons; and that perhaps, as well as the rest, may be an Invention of the Jews. In effect, it is hard to believe that in the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus* there could be found in each Tribe six Persons able enough to translate the Sacred Books into Greek; for tho' there remain'd among the Jews some *Israelites* of the Ten Tribes, transported by *Salmanassar*, it's hard to suppose that there were so many of them as that each Tribe could immediately furnish 6 Persons proper to translate the Law. Besides, to what purpose is such a Choice? Why must 72 Persons be sent to make this Translation? Were not 12 enough, and more than sufficient to accomplish it? This great Number was fit for nothing but to confound the Work. Some of the Jews, foreseeing those Difficulties, have rejected the Number of 72, and say that this Version was the Work of the five Elders; which would be much more probable, had we any Author of Credit that had spoke of it.

But some will say, Why hath this Version always been call'd that of the LXX, if not on the Account of its having been made by the 72 Interpreters, tho' LXX be only men-



mentioned for easiness sake, as is done in the Case of the 70 Disciples of our Lord, tho' they were 72. Some alledge the Version was so called because of its being approv'd by the *Sanhedrim*, compos'd of 72 Persons: But this is spoke without Proof, hath no Foundation in History, nor is it supported by the Testimony of any of the Ancients. It is much more likely that this Version was not call'd by that Name, but since the time that it was compos'd by 72 Interpreters; for this Name of the Version of the LXX is not found in any Author, who is not much later than the time of the supposed *Aristeus*. It is not found neither in the Writings of the Evangelists nor of the Apostles, tho' they make use of the Version; and it is no where but in *St. Justin* and the Fathers that followed him, that the ancient Greek Version of the Sacred Books hath been so call'd, to distinguish it from other later Versions, because Authors were of Opinion that it was made by 72 Interpreters.

## S E C T. IV.

*What Books of the Old Testament were translated by the LXX.*

THE Authors who are persuaded that there was really a Greek Version of the Sacred Books compos'd by the 72 Interpreters, don't agree as to the Number of the Books they translated; some alledge that they only translated the 5 Books of *Moses*; others believe that they translated all the Books that were in the Canon of the *Jews*; and there are some who have advanc'd, that they translated Apocryphal Books.

Those who maintain that the LXX have only translated the 5 Books of *Moses*, prove it thus: 1. Because *Aristeus*, *Aristobulus*, *Philo* and *Josephus* speak only of the Law, a Name, which, according to the Language of the *Jews*, agrees properly to the Books of *Moses* only. It's true, that this Name is sometimes taken more generally for all the Books of the *Jews*; but, we must confess, that *Aristeus* determines it often according to the sole Books of the Law given to *Moses*. And that *Josephus* in his Preface to his *Antiquities* says expressly, That the LXX did not translate all the Sacred Scripture, but only the Law. So that we cannot doubt but *Josephus* understood *Aristeus* only as to the Law of *Moses*; that is to say, of the Pentateuch; and that this is also the natural Sense of *Aristeus's* Book. Therefore *St. Jerom* had reason to say, in his Commentary on the 5th of *Ezekiel*, that *Aristeus*, *Josephus*, and all the Jewish School-men assure us, that the Septuagint translated only the 5 Books of *Moses*. A Sentiment which this Father embraces as the most probable, tho' being carried away by the Torrent of Custom, he gives also the Name of the Version of the LXX to the Greek Version of the other Books of the Bible. Upon the 16th of *Ezekiel*, speaking of a Passage of the Prophet which is not in the Greek Version, 'This, says he, is not found in the LXX, who perhaps in translating the Holy Scripture from Hebrew into Greek in the City of *Alexandria*, would not put it in for fear of offending the King. Tho' the Learned are persuaded that they interpreted nothing but the 5 Books of *Moses*. Upon the 2d Chapter of *Micah*, quoting the Greek Version of this Prophet, The Version of the LXX, saith he, if it be indeed the Version of the LXX, for *Josephus* and the *Jews* say, that they only translated and gave to King *Ptolemy* the 5 Books of the Law of *Moses*.

That same Father, in the Preface to the Hebrew Traditions on *Genesis* proves further, that there were no more but the 5 Books of *Moses* translated by the LXX, not only by the Authority of *Josephus*, but also by the Version it self of those Books, which is more conformable to the Hebrew than that of the rest. Add to this, says he, that *Josephus*, who hath wrote the History of the LXX, says they translated only the 5 Books of *Moses*, which we acknowledge to be more conformable to the Hebrew Text than the rest. Those Passages make it evident, that *St. Jerom* was persuaded that the LXX translated no more than the Pentateuch; tho' in some Places he quotes the Greek Version of the other Books of the *Old Testament* under the Name of the Version of the LXX, because it was the Custom. The *Talmudists* say likewise plainly, in the Treatise called *Megill*, that the LXX translated only the Law of *Moses*.

Secondly, It is further said in defence of this Opinion, That it is morally impossible that the 72 Interpreters could either by conferring together, or apart by themselves, have done all the Books which make up the Canon of the *Jews* in 72 Days. But according to *Aristeus* and others, they were no longer about this Work. Some say, that they only translated the Pentateuch in this time, and that afterwards they did the other Books; and by this means they think to reconcile *Aristeus* and *Josephus* with the

the Fathers who have said, that all the Sacred Books were translated by the *LXX*. But in vain, for *Aristeus*, *Josephus*, and the rest who have wrote that the *LXX* had translated the Law of *Moses*, supposed it as a thing certain, that they did nothing more, that their Enterprize was accomplish'd, and that they return'd after having translated the Law, without having done any thing toward the Version of any other Book.

The third Reason they alledge, to prove that the Version of the other Books was not done by the *LXX*, is the Difference of the Style betwixt the Version of those Books and that of the 5 Books of *Moses*. The latter, as *St. Jerom* hath observ'd, is more agreeable to the Original *Hebrew*, more faithful and better done; that of the other Books is many times further from the Sense of the Text, more remote from the Truth, and nothing so well writ. We may also find divers Hebrew Words translated one way in the Version of the Pentateuch, and another way in the other Books; which is a convincing Proof that they were done by different Authors.

Those who maintain on the other hand, That the *LXX* translated all the Books that were in the Canon of the Jews, build in the first place upon the Authority of *St. Justin*, who says, that all the Scripture was translated by the *LXX*; of *St. Clement of Alexandria*, who says expressly, that all the Scripture, that is to say, the Books of the Law and the Prophets, were translated by the *LXX*; of *St. Jerom*, *Tertullian* and *Origen*, of *St. Augustin* and *St. Epiphanius*, and of all the other Fathers who have wrote, that all the Books of the Bible were translated by the *LXX*, or quoted other Books than those that were wrote by *Moses* under the Name of the Version of the *LXX*. But the Authority of the Fathers in this Matter is not to be prefer'd to that of *Aristeus* and *Josephus*, who are more ancient Authors, and from whom they have taken this History. Besides, it was natural to give the Name of the Version of the *LXX* to the ancient Greek Version of all the Canonical Books, because they believ'd that the 5 Books of *Moses* which are at the Head of them, and compose the first and the principal Part of them, were really translated by the *LXX*, as the Title of the *Psalms* of *David* is given to the Collection of the *Psalms*, tho' there be divers of them that are not his, because there are more of them his than any others. Therefore it is that even an Author, who was not perswaded that those Books were translated by the *LXX*, could not however quote them otherwise, because it was the common Practice, as we have already observ'd, of *St. Jerom*.

It is said in the 2d place, That the Evangelists and Apostles quote the Prophetical Books as well as the Law, according to the Greek Version we now have. They were therefore translated at that time; nor do we read that there was any other Greek Translation before our Saviour's time but that of the *LXX*, therefore we must by consequence ascribe unto them the Version whereof the Evangelists and Apostles made use. This Argument proves indeed, that not only the Law, but also the other Books of the *Old Testament*, were translated into *Greek* before our Saviour's time, and that we have that Version; but it does not prove that the *LXX* translated the latter; for neither Evangelists nor Apostles do any where quote that Version under the Name of the *LXX*; and it may very well be, that others than the *LXX* are the Authors of them.

Thirdly, They build on this Conjecture to prove that the *LXX* must have translated the Sacred Books; *Demetrius*, say they, did not only seek for the Laws, but all the Books of all Nations. Is it credible then that he satisfied himself with the Law of *Moses*, and entirely neglected the Books of the Prophets and the History of the People of the Jews? Is it possible that the Jews who knew his Design, and that of the King his Master, would not have acquainted him that they had more Sacred Books which it would be proper to translate, and might be of great use for History and Moral Philosophy? It is not likely but they would have acquainted him with it, had he not known it; and that having acquainted him with it, he would not have desir'd to have had those Books. But this Argument is a meer Conjecture, which in Matters of Fact is of no great weight. It may be that the King and *Demetrius* did not desire to have any more but the Law of *Moses*, which was Venerable by its Antiquity, and that they did not care for the other Histories of the Jews. But let that be how it will, this Conjecture could not persuade neither *Aristeus* nor *Josephus* that they ought to suppose that the *LXX* translated any other Books than those of *Moses's* Law.

They say further, That if the *LXX* had not translated all the Sacred Scripture, God would not have provided sufficiently for his Church, for whose Advantage it was of importance that not only the Law of the Jews, but rather the Prophetical Books should be translated into *Greek*. But this Consideration is of no Consequence, for it matters little, as to the Authority of the Sacred Books, by whom they were translated, provided the Version be faithful and agreeable to the Original.



In fine, the Authority of some Modern Jews, who conjecture that all the Sacred Books were translated by the LXX, and the Testimony of *Josephus* or *Joseph Ben-Gorion*, who assures us that the 24 Books were translated by the LXX, are not to be any ways regarded in a Matter so ancient as this.

As to the Books that are not in the Jewish Canon, they are either those which the Churches of *Africk* and *Rome* have receiv'd since, or Books that are wholly Apocryphal. *St. Epiphanius* says, The LXX not only translated the former, but also the 22 Apocryphal Books. But for this he gives us no Voucher, and it is altogether incredible. As to the Books that are not in the Jewish Canon, and which we receive, there are some of them that were wrote in *Greek* by the Authors themselves, as the Book of *Wisdom* and the Books of the *Maccabees*. It would be absurd to say, that the LXX have translated them. We know that the Translation of *Ecclesiasticus*, which was wrote in *Hebrew* by *Jesus* the Son of *Sirach*, was done by his Grand-Son *Jafon*, who liv'd since the time of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*.

The *Greek* Additions which are made to the Books of *Esther* and *Daniel* were not writ by the LXX; the first were made since the time assign'd for the Version of the LXX, the 4th Year of *Ptolomy Philometer*; and the last are taken from the Version of *Theodotion*. The *Greek* Versions of the Books of *Tobit*, of *Judith* and *Baruch*, may perhaps be more Ancient, but we cannot say they were done by the LXX, because it's not credible that the Jews would translate those as Sacred Books which they rejected as Apocryphal. What appearance is there, that in the Copy of the Books which were to be translated, and sent by *Eleazar* to *Ptolomy*, they should have inserted the Apocryphal Works that the Jews rejected. Would not the High-Priest have been esteem'd a Prevaricator, if he had join'd the Books which he look'd upon as Apocryphal to those that were Sacred?

Archbishop *Usher* alledges that there were two *Greek* Versions before the time of our Saviour; that the first, which was the true Version of the LXX, made in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, was conformable to the *Hebrew* Text, and contain'd only the Books of *Moses*; and that the 2d, which was falsely call'd the *Septuagint*, was made after the 4th Year of *Ptolomy Physcon*, and that having been commonly receiv'd, it was put into the new Library of *Alexandria* collected by *Cleopatra*; but this System which is supported by no Testimony of the Ancients, is easily overturn'd. First, Because *Philo* and *Josephus* suppose that there was only one *Greek* Version among the Jews. Secondly, Because the Evangelists and the Apostles quote the *Greek* Version that we have. Thirdly, Because this 2d Version was unknown to *St. Justin*, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Origen*, *St. Jerom*, *St. Epiphanius*, and all the other Ancients. Fourthly, Because those Ancients have all of them suppos'd that *Aquila* the Jew was the first who attempted to make a new Version of the Bible after that of the LXX.

We don't believe then that there were two *Greek* Versions of the Bible before our Saviour's time, but we are perswaded that the Law of *Moses*, or the Pentateuch, was the first of the Jewish Books translated into *Greek* in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and that the following Books were translated at times afterwards by other Authors: That a Collection of those Versions was made, whereof the Hellenist Jews did commonly make use, even in their Synagogues, and which is become famous under the Name of the Version of the LXX, since the time that to render it more Authentic they invented the History of the LXX Interpreters, and afterwards that of the Cells. It is this Version the Evangelists and Apostles made use of, not only because writing in *Greek*, it was more easie for them to quote a Version already done, than to translate the Passages of the *Hebrew*, but also because they were oblig'd to make use of the Version that was us'd and authoriz'd by the Hellenist Jews. Thus the Christians receiv'd from the Jews the Version of the LXX, and it hath always been own'd and made use of in the *Greek* Churches.

#### S E C T. V.

*Of the Greek Versions of the Old Testament, made since the time of Jesus Christ by Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, &c.*

**B**Efore our Saviour's time there was no other *Greek* Version of the *Old Testament* but that which went under the Name of the LXX; but since the Establishment of Christianity, some Authors undertook to make new *Greek* Translations of the Books of the Bible, which they pretended to be more conformable to the *Hebrew* Text.

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The Jewish Profelite *Aquila*, of the City *Synope* in *Pontus* (a), Disciple to Rabbi *Akiba* (b), was the first who form'd this Design, and put it in execution in the 12th Year of the Emperor *Adrian*, the 128th of our *Æra*, by translating the Hebrew Text *verbatim*; but with too scrupulous a Niceness (c). He made two different Editions of his Version (d); the second was more exact than the first. This is that which the Jews valued most, and which they make use of since most commonly (e).

The 2d Greek Version is that of *Symmachus*, a Samaritan by birth, who first turn'd Jew, then Christian, and at last Ebionite (f). St. *Epiphanius* says he compos'd it in the Reign of the Emperor *Severus*; and at the same time he makes him more ancient than *Theodotion*; of whom, he says, that he did his Version in the time of *Commodus*, who reigned before *Severus*. It is this that gave rise to the common Opinion, That *Theodotion's* Version is older than that of *Symmachus* (g). Be that how it will, that of *Symmachus*

(a) The Jewish Profelite *Aquila*.] St. *Irenæus* tells us so, lib. 3. cap. 24. And after him the Author of the Abridgment ascrib'd to St. *Athanasius* and St. *Epiphanius*.

(b) Disciple to Rabbi *Akiba*.] St. *Jerom*, Comment. on *Isai*. cap. 8. says, The Jews believ'd *Aquila* to be *Akiba's* Disciple. St. *Epiphanius* tells many fabulous things of this *Aquila*; as that he was Father-in-Law to the Emperor *Adrian*, who made him Governor of a City: That he re-built *Jerusalem*, and called it *Ælia* from his own Name; that he was formerly a Pagan, but converted by the Christians that return'd from *Pella* to *Jerusalem*; that he was put out of the Church because of his being addicted to Judicial Astrology, and that turning Jew he learn'd Hebrew, and undertook a new Version out of hatred to the Christians, to destroy that of the LXX, and to corrupt the Passages of the Prophecies of Jesus Christ. The Author of the Abridgment ascrib'd to St. *Athanasius* says only, That *Aquila* was of *Synope*, and a Greek by Religion; that he was baptiz'd at *Jerusalem*; that having abandon'd Christianity he became a Jew, and undertook a new Translation of the Bible in the Reign of *Adrian*. Some have confounded him with the Paraphrast *Onkelos*, but are mistaken; for it's believ'd that *Onkelos* died before the taking of *Jerusalem*, and *Aquila* did not flourish till after that time.

(c) Too scrupulous a Niceness.] St. *Jerom* says in divers Places, that he was very Learned, and that his Version is made Word for Word, but with too much Scrupulousness and Affectation. On *Isaiab* 49. As to *Aquila*, I don't wonder, that he being a Person learn'd in the Hebrew Tongue, and translating it Word by Word, that in this Place he either dissembled his Knowledge or was deceiv'd by the perverse Exposition of the *Pharisees*. On *Hosea*, Chap. 2. *Aquila* a diligent and curious Interpreter. On *Habakkuk*, Chap. 3. *Aquila* interpreted as a Christian. On *Isaiab*, Chap. 8. He translated the Bible into Greek out of Contention, and not only translated the Words, but endeavour'd to mix the Etymologies of the Words; on which account he is justly rejected by us. Yet in his 138th Epistle to *Marcellinus*, he calls him a most diligent Interpreter of the Hebrew Words. And in his 125th Epistle to *Damasus*, *Aquila* does not translate more Contentiously, as some think, than he studiously Interprets Word for Word.

(d) Two different Editions of his Version.] St. *Jerom* speaks of those two Editions, and says that the 2d is most exact. On *Ezekiel* 4. *Aquila's* 2d Edition, which the Hebrews call the most exact Translation. On *Ezekiel* 16. according to the Interpretation of *Aquila's* 2d Edition. Ibid. cap. 20. *Aquila's* first Edition, cap. 40. *Aquila's* 2d Edition.

(e) Which the Jews valued most.] St. *Jerom* assures us, that they believe it to be the most exact. And St. *Augustin*, lib. 15. of the City of God, chap. 13. says, the Jews prefer *Aquila's* Version to all others. *Justinian* in his 146th Novel, allows the Jews to make use of that Version if they think meet.

(f) *Symmachus* a Samaritan.] St. *Epiphanius* and the Author of the Abridgment ascrib'd to St. *Athanasius* tells us, that he was a Samaritan. *Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 17.* and St. *Jerom* in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers tells us, that he was of the Sect of the Ebionites, and that he had also made a Commentary upon the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, to establish his Heresie: That his Commentary had been in the Hands of *Origen*, who had receiv'd it from *Julian*, with some other Commentaries of the same Author. Therefore the Ebionites were called *Symmachians* by the Author of the Commentary on the Epistle to the *Galatians*, ascrib'd to St. *Ambrose*. Perhaps St. *Irenæus* means *Symmachus*, when after having spoke of the Versions of *Theodotion* and *Aquila*, he adds, that they were followed by the Ebionites; as *Theodotion* the *Ephesian*, and *Aquila* of *Pontus* interpreted it, both of them Jewish Profelites, whom the Ebionites followed.

(g) That *Theodotion's* Version was more ancient than that of *Symmachus*.] Neither *Eusebius* nor St. *Jerom* set down the time when *Symmachus* compos'd his Version. St. *Epiphanius* says it was in the time of *Severus*: But as we have observ'd, he gives it the 2d place, and believes it to be more ancient than that of *Theodotion*, which, he says, was done in the Reign of *Commodus*, who was before *Severus*. It is true, that *Commodus*, in whose time he supposes *Theodotion* to have done his Version, is according to him, a 2d *Commodus*, different from the first, who succeeded *Marcus Aurelius*; but it is a palpable mistake, for there never was any *Commodus* that succeeded *Severus*. Father *Petau* supposes, that instead of *Severus* it ought to be *Lucius Verus*; so that according to him, *Symmachus's* Version was compos'd in the Reign of that Emperor, and is by consequence elder than that of *Theodotion*, which was not compos'd till the time of *Commodus*. The Reasons he alledges to prove that *Symmachus's* Version is the most ancient, are, 1. The Place that it held in the *Hexapla* after that of *Aquila* and before *Theodotion's*. But it may be answer'd, That *Origen* did not place those Versions according to the Order of their Antiquity, since the LXX was put after the Version of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*; but according to the Use that might be made of them, and that he judg'd it proper, after having plac'd the Version of *Aquila*, which was more literal, near the Hebrew Text, to put immediately after it that of *Symmachus*, which was not so literal; to the end, that by comparing those two Extreams, a Judgment might be made of those of the LXX and *Theodotion*, who had kept a Medium betwixt the two Excesses. Father *Petau* says in the 2d place, That St. *Jerom* and the other Authors usually quote *Symmachus's* Version before *Theodotion's*. But it's easie to perceive that they observ'd that Order because it was so in the *Hexapla*. The Author of the Abridgment ascrib'd to St. *Athanasius*, hath follow'd St. *Epiphanius* in placing *Symmachus* under the Reign of the Emperor *Severus*, but he contradicts himself as well as the Father, when he says that this



*chus* had a Place in the *Hexapla* of *Origen* before that of *Theodotion*; and the Author's that quote him, give him ordinarily the 2d Place: His Version was more free than the rest (b), for he applied himself chiefly to give the Sense, without translating it Word for Word, therefore he came nearer the LXX than that of *Aquila*. *St. Jerom* tells us in his Commentary on the 32d of *Ezekiel*, That there were two different Editions of the Version of *Symmachus*, as there were of *Aquila*.

The third Greek Version after that of the LXX, is that of *Theodotion* of *Ephesus*, according to *St. Ireneus* and the Author of the Abridgment of Scripture ascrib'd to *St. Athanasius*, and not of *Synope* a City of *Pontus*, as *St. Epiphanius* thought. It is said he was *Marcion's* Disciple, and that having had some Difference with those of his Sect, he turn'd Jew. *St. Jerom* in his Preface to his Commentary on *Daniel* says, The Church reads this Prophet not according to the Version of the LXX, but according to that of *Theodotion*, who is an Infidel that liv'd after the coming of Christ, and whom some call an Ebionite, tho' he be a Jew. Nevertheless, the Version of this Author was the best of the three, because he kept a just Medium betwixt *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, nor tying himself so servily to the Letter as the former, nor straying so far from it as the second. So that his Version was that which for Style was likest the LXX, as *St. Jerom* has observ'd. Therefore *Origen* made use of it to correct his Version of the LXX.

There were besides two other Greek Versions, whose Authors not being known, they were called by the Name of the Eighth and Sixth. *Origen*, as quoted by *Eusebius*, tells us, That one of those two Versions was found at *Nicopolis*, near *Altium* in *Epirus*, and the other in another place. And afterwards speaking of those two Versions, and of a 7th on the *Psalms*, he observes that one of those three Versions was found at *Jericho* in a Hoghead in the Reign of *Antonius Caracalla*, the Son of *Severus*; which *Zonaras* supposes to be the 7th Version: But *St. Epiphanius* and the Author of the Abridgment ascrib'd to *St. Athanasius* assure us, that it is the 5th that was found at *Jericho* in the 7th Year of the Empire of *Caracalla*, which is the 217th of Christ; and that the 6th is that which was found at *Nicopolis* by one of *Origen's* Friends, in the Reign of *Alexander* the Son of *Mammæa*, about the Year 228. *St. Jerom* speaking of the Authors of those Versions in his 2d Book against *Ruffinus*, gives them the Name of *Jews*, as well as he does to *Aquila*, *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*. Yet the Author of the Abridgment ascrib'd to *St. Athanasius* says, That the 5th was made by one of the Faithful at *Jerusalem*: And *St. Jerom* quoting him in his Commentary on the third of *Habakkuk*, confesses that he is favourable to the Christians. As to what remains, those two Versions were not of all the Books of the Holy Scripture, as *St. Jerom* observes in his Commentary on the 3d of *Titus*, but only of some of them, and chiefly of those that were writ in Verse.

Besides those Versions, there was a 7th, but it was only upon some Books, and chiefly on the *Psalms*. *Eusebius* quotes this Part of it. This 7th Version is not as some have thought the Version of *Lucian*; which was not a particular Version, but an Edition of that of the LXX after *Origen's*.

In fine, *St. Jerom* assures us in his Commentary on the 2d of *Habakkuk*, that he had besides found two other Greek Versions of the Prophets, and quotes a Passage of each. I have found, says he, besides the 5 Editions, that is those of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the LXX, *Theodotion's*, and the 5th on the 12 Prophets, two other Editions, in one of which it is written, That the Stone cried out of the Wall, as a Worm speaking in the Timber; and in the other, for the Stone shall cry out of the Wall, and the Worm shall speak those things out of the Timber.

Version was made 56 Years after that of *Aquila*; for this being compos'd the 12th of *Adrian* and the 128th of Christ, the 56th Year following is 184, which is the 4th or 5th of the Emperor *Commodus*. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and the rest, did not place *Symmachus* before *Theodotion*, but because they believ'd upon the Credit of *St. Epiphanius*, that he liv'd in the time of *Severus*. *St. Ireneus* writing in the time of *Commodus*, speaks of the Versions of *Aquila* and *Theodotion*, lib. 3. cap. 24. and reprehends those Jewish Proselytes, for so he calls them, because they had not translated the Passage of *Isaiah*, *A Virgin shall bring forth*, by the Greek Word *Παρθένος*, which signifies a Virgin, but by that of *Ναῦς*, which signifies a young Woman. It seems that *Theodotion* having translated it in the same manner, he would have spoken also of his Version, had it been done. They quote a Passage of *St. Jerom*, taken

out of his Preface to the Gospels, where he says, that *Theodotion* is in the middle betwixt the Old and the New; that is to say, betwixt *Aquila* and *Symmachus*; but that may be understood of the nature of the Version and not of the Time; so that it's a hard matter to determine which of the Versions is eldest.

(b) This Version was more free than the rest. ] So *St. Jerom* says in his Preface on *Job*. As if amongst the Greeks, *Aquila*, *Symmachus* and *Theodotion* had not express'd themselves in a temperate and middle kind of Translation, either by doing it Word by Word (that is *Aquila*), or Sense for Sense (that is *Symmachus*), or a mixture of both (that is *Theodotion*). In his Preface to the Gospels, I don't inquire what *Aquila* or what *Symmachus* say; nor why *Theodotion* goes a middle way betwixt the Ancient and Modern Interpreters.

SECT. VI.

Of the Hexapla and Tetrapla of Origen. Of the several Editions of the Bible contained therein, and their Order. Of the Works of Origen in reference to the Translation of the Septuagint, and of the several, both Ancient and Modern Editions, which have been since that time.

ORIGEN collected the several Greek Translations of the Bible (of which we are now to treat) into one Body, which he placed in different Columns against one another; by the side of the Hebrew Text, writ first in Hebrew Characters, and then in Greek Letters. This is the same Piece which the Ancients called the *HEXAPLA*, by reason of the six several Translations contained therein; and which according to *Epiphanius* may be called *OCTAPLA*, as being composed of Eight Columns: He also composed another of Four Columns, containing the Version of the Septuagint, of *Aquila*, of *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, which were called *TETRAPLA*.

It is of no great consequence to know, which of these two Pieces were composed first; and whether for more conveniencies sake *ORIGEN* did cut off Four Columns from the first, or whether, after he had begun with the *Tetrapla*, he intended to make it more perfect by the Addition of the Hebrew Text in Two Columns, and Two other Versions, which were met with afterwards. The last seems the most probable to me (a), because some of the Translations in the *Hexapla* were but newly discovered, and even after he had begun with the *Tetrapla*.

There is no dispute concerning the Translations, and Number of Columns, contained in the *Tetrapla*. *Eusebius* and *St. Epiphanius* say expressly, That they comprehended Four Versions: The Translation of *Aquila* in the First Column; that of *Symmachus* in the Second; the *Septuagint* in the Third; and that of *Theodotion* in the last.

But concerning the number of the Columns of the *Hexapla*, there is no small dispute among the Interpreters. *Eusebius*, *St. Jerom*, *Ruffinus*, and *St. Epiphanius* affirm, That besides the Six Versions mentioned before, they contained Two Columns with the Hebrew Text (b); the first written in Hebrew, in the second the Hebrew Words were expressed in Greek Characters: These

(a) The last seems the most probable to me.] *Mr. de Valois* and *Huetius* declare for the former; they found their Opinion upon a certain Correction of a Passage in *Eusebius's* Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 7. For, instead of ἐν τοῖς τετραπλοῖς διατακταῖς, according to *Suidas*, and in the Manuscript in the French King's Library, which implies no more, than that he had disposed the four Translations in his *Tetrapla*, as they were translated by the Interpreters; *Mr. Valois* following the Copies of three other Manuscripts, has put in the Word ἐξαπλακταῖς, which he will have here necessarily to imply that he composed the *Tetrapla* after the *Hexapla*. But this is no necessary consequence, for this Correction may be called in question; besides, that this Word may signify that he composed the *Tetrapla*, besides the *Hexapla*. It seems more probable, that after he had composed his *Tetrapla*, he was furnished by other Hands with other Translations, that were not come to light before. Thus much is certain, That the Sixth Translation was not known before the 228th Year, and his *Tetrapla* were composed when he writ his Letter to *Africanus* in the Year 228.

(b) That besides the Six Versions, they contained Two Columns with the Hebrew Text.] Thus says *Eusebius's* Hist. Eccl. l. 6. c. 16. Has igitur omnes interpretationes, cum in unum Corpus collegisset, ac per certa cola ac membra distinxisset, et sibi invicem e regione opposuisset, una cum ipso Hebraico Textu Hexaplorum nobis exemplaria reliquisset. *Ruffinus* is more particular in mentioning the Number and Disposition of these Columns, Lib. 6.

Hist. Eccl. Origenes illos famosissimos codices primus composuit, in quibus per singulas columnulas e regione, separatim opus Interpretis unius cujusque descripsit, ita ut primo omnium ipsa Hebraea verba Hebraicis literis poneret; secundo in loco per ordinem Græcis literis, e regione Hebraea verba describeret; tertiam *Aquila* editionem subjungeret; quartam *Symmachus*; quintam *Septuaginta* Interpretum, qua nostra est; sextam *Theodotionis* collocaret, et propter hujusmodi compositionem, Exemplaria ipsa nominavit *Hexapla*. *St. Jerom* says thus, Cap. 3. Epist. ad Tit. Nobis cura fuit, omnes veteris Legis Libros, qua vir doctus *Adamantius* in *Hexapla* digesserat de *Cæsariensi* Bibliotheca descriptos, ex ipsis autentis emendare, in quibus et ipsa Hebraea propriis suis Characteribus verba descripta, et Græcis literis transire e vicino; *Aquila* item et *Symmachus*, *Septuaginta* et *Theodotion* suum ordinem tenent. Nonnulli vero libri, et maxime ii, qui apud Hebræos versu compositi sunt, tres alias editiones additas habent, quas quintam et sextam et septimam Translationem vocant, auctoritatem sine nominibus consecutas. Hoc immortale illud ingenium suo nobis labore donavit. *St. Epiphanius*, in his Heresy of *Origen*, has these following Words, Primum ei studium fuit, sex in unum interpretationes conferre, *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, *Septuaginta* duorum, *Theodotionis* una cum editione quinta et sexta; quibus singulas Hebraicas distiones propriis elementis perscriptas, addidit, tum ex adversi altera in pagina contextum alterum fecit, ex Hebraicis distionibus, Græcis literis exaratis. Hunc in modum volumina, illa qua *Hexapla* dicuntur, composuit, qua præter Græcas editiones duas insuper Hebraici sermonis columnas continens, alteram



These Two Columns were the first, the Four Translations being the same in Order as in the *Tetrapla*, were disposed in the four following Columns; to wit, first, the Translation of *Aquila*; that of *Symmachus* in the second; of the *Septuagint* in the third; and that of *Theodotion* in the fourth; two other Columns containing the Fifth and Sixth Editions; and another the Seventh of some Books only of the Holy Scripture. St. *Epiphanius* mentions in a certain Passage, That the *Hebrew* Text written in *Greek* Characters, was comprehended in the last Column, the Six Versions being inclosed betwixt the Two Columns, containing the *Hebrew* Text. But *Epiphanius* and *Ruffinus*, who had seen the Original of *Origen*, assert positively, That the Two Columns containing the *Hebrew* Text, were placed first of all next to one another; and St. *Epiphanius* himself confirms this afterwards: Besides, it seems very reasonable, that since *Origen* had writ the *Hebrew* Text in *Greek* Characters, for no other end than the better to express the Sound and Pronunciation of the Words to the *Greeks*, the said Two Columns should be by one another.

Some affirm that the *Hebrew* Text of the *Pentateuch* written in *Samaritan* Characters, was comprehended in the *Hexapla*. But, as there is not one among the Ancients, who have mentioned the *Hexapla*, that has said this, this Opinion seems to be too presumptive. When *Eusebius* says; That *Origen* has brought to light again the Writings, transmitted to Posterity by the *Jews*, written in their own Characters, ἀντὶς Ἑβραίων στοιχείοις; he does not speak of the *Samaritan*, but of the common *Hebrew* Characters, and the word *Authentick*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνόματος, is not to be apply'd, as *Vossius* pretends, to the Character, but the Scripture it self. It is therefore to no purpose to alledge the Authority of *Eusebius* to prove the *Samaritan Pentateuch* to have been inserted in the *Hexapla*, the same being excluded from thence by the Testimony of St. *Jerom*, *Ruffinus*, and St. *Epiphanius*.

Neither does the Opinion of Archbishop *Usher* carry any great weight with it, who maintains, that there were two different Editions of the *Septuagint* in the *Hexapla*, to wit, one pure and true, the other adulterated; this being contradictory to the Testimonies of the Ancients, who all assign but one Column in the *Hexapla* to the Version of the *Septuagint*. And St. *Jerom* in his Epistle to *Sunnia* and *Fretela*, observes, That the Version of the *Septuagint* in the *Hexapla*, was different from the *Vulgar* Translation.

The *Hexapla* therefore were composed of Six, of Eight, nay of Nine Columns; to wit; of two of the *Hebrew* Text, and of Four Columns more for so many Versions of all the Books. There were Six Columns for so many Versions in a great many Books, and Seven in the *Psalms*, and some other Books disposed in the same order, we have mentioned before. This being granted, there arises a Question, Why this Work being composed of Eight or Nine Columns, is not rather to be called *Oktapla* than *Hexapla*? Some have acknowledged three different Pieces of *Origen*; the *Tetrapla* containing the Versions of *Aquila*, of *Symmachus*, the *Septuagint* and *Theodotion*, in Four Columns; the *Hexapla*, in which were added to the former the Two Columns with the *Hebrew* Text; and the *Oktapla* which was augmented with the Addition of the Fifth and Sixth Translations. But the Ancients are silent as to any other but the *Tetrapla* and *Hexapla*, in the last of which they place besides the Four Versions, also the Fifth and Sixth. 'Tis true, *Ruffinus* and St. *Epiphanius* call them sometimes *Hexapla*, sometimes *Oktapla*, but they speak all this while of the same Work. Others would derive the Name of *Hexapla* not from the number of Columns therein contained, but of the Versions; but according to this Opinion, they must rather be called *Heptapla*, upon the account of a Seventh Version of the *Psalms*, and of some other Books. *Huetius* gives us the most probable Reason, why they were called *Hexapla*, because the Fifth and Sixth Version was not of all, but only of some Books of the *Old Testament*: And though *Eusebius*, St. *Epiphanius*, and some others,

alteram Hebraicis ipsis, alteram Græcis elementis conscriptam; adeo ut vetus omne Testamentum, tam Hexaplis ejusmodi, quam duplici Hebraicorum vocabulorum contextum comprehensum fuerit. In this Passage St. *Epiphanius* supposes, The Column which contained the *Hebrew* Text written in *Greek* Characters, to have been the last of all, so that the Six *Greek* Versions are included betwixt the Two Columns of the *Hebrew* Text: But it is evident from

St. *Jerom* and *Ruffinus*, that these were placed in the first Two Columns: And St. *Epiphanius* himself retracts these Words in his Book of Weights and Measures, where he attributes the two first Columns to the *Hebrew* Text: Priores esse duas Editiones Hebraicas, ac deinceps *Aquila*, tum *Symmachum*, inde *Septuaginta Seniorum*, deinde *Theodotionis*; postremo quintam atque sextam.

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mention them to have been entire Translations of the Bible ; nevertheless St. *Jerom*, who had seen the Original of *Origen*, assures us in his Commentary upon the Epistle of St. *Paul* to *Titus*, that they related only to some Books, and especially those written in Verse, as well as the Seventh Translation. *Nonnulli vero Libri & maxime ii, qui apud Hebræos versu compositum sunt, tres alias Editiones additas habent, quam quintam & sextam & septimam translationem vocant.* This Work therefore of *Origen* containing no more than Six Columns in all, and only Eight or Nine in some Books, was called *Hexapla*, by reason of the Six Columns that composed the entire System, (unless the Lamentations of *Jeremiah*, which were not in the Translations of *Aquila* and *Theodotion*) and not *Ostapla* or *Enneapla*, because the Eight Columns had only reference to some Books, and the Nine to a much less number. Nevertheless, because a considerable number of Books belong to these Eight Columns, they were by some called *Ostapla*.

The following TABLE represents the true Disposition of the *Hexapla*, according to the marginal Notes of an Ancient Manuscript of Cardinal *Barbarini*, upon the Eleventh Chapter of *Hoseab*:

The H E X A P L A.

Col. I.	Col. II.	Col. III.	Col. IV.	Col. V.	Col. VI.	Col. VII.	Col. VIII.	Col. IX.
The Hebrew Text in Hebrew Characters.	The Hebrew Text in Greek Characters.	The Translation of <i>Aquila</i> .	The Translation of <i>Symmachus</i> .	The Version of the <i>Septuagint</i> .	The Translation of <i>Theodotion</i> .	In some Books. The Fifth Version found at <i>Fericho</i> .	In some Books. The Sixth Version found at <i>Nicopolis</i> .	In very few Books. The Seventh Version.

The T E T R A P L A.

Col. I.	Col. II.	Col. III.	Col. IV.
The Translation of <i>Aquila</i> .	The Translation of <i>Symmachus</i> .	The Version of the <i>Septuagint</i> .	The Version of <i>Theodotion</i> .

*Origen* did not only Collect and put in Order the Greek Versions of the Old Testament, but also Corrected and Augmented that of the *Septuagint*. For, having observed that it was different from the Hebrew Text, and that the several Copies did not agree with themselves, and that several Passages in the Vulgar Edition of the *Septuagint* were adulterated, he endeavoured to Correct that, which he put in his *Hexapla*, and to render it conformable to the Hebrew Text. To make a distinction betwixt what belonged to the Ancient Versions, and what was thought fit to be taken away or added, he put a Bar (*Obelus*), or a strait Line to those Words that were not in the Hebrew Text, and an (*Asterisk*) to those he had added and taken out of *Theodotion* and other Translations. These are his Words in the XV. Tom. of his Commentary upon St. *Matthew*. "There is a vast difference betwixt the several Editions of the Scripture, happening either through the carelessness of the Transcribers, or else the forwardness of some who pretend to Correct and Adulterate the Scripture, or perhaps by the Fault of the Correctors, who oftentimes have put in and left out, as they thought it most convenient: We have endeavoured, by the Divine Assistance to reconcile these differences in the Old Testament, by comparing the Editions of the *Septuagint* and their various Lectons with others, by retaining that Lektion which appears most conformable to the Original. We have joined a Bar to those Words, which are not extant in the Hebrew Text, thinking it not proper to leave them out. Others we have marked with Asterisks to serve as Marks, that they belong not to the Original Version of the *Septuagint*; but that they were taken out of other Translations, which were more conformable to the Hebrew Text. And in his Letter to *Africanus* he says thus: "If it did not savour of Vanity, I could speak here of my undertaking, which was to make our Versions of the Scripture conformable to that of the *Jews*, by comparing ours with theirs, to see where the difference lies. This I have endeavoured as far as possible, by making an enquiry in



to the various Lectiōns and different Interpretations to render the Version of the Septuagint the more Perfect. And a little before, he said, That he had marked with a Bar what was in the *Greek* and not in the *Hebrew* Text, and with an Asterisk what was in the *Hebrew* and not in the *Greek* Text. St. *Jerom* makes frequent mention of the Additions, Corrections and Subtractions made in the Version of the Septuagint, by *Origen*, and of the Bars and Asterisks he made use of for that Purpose. In his Epistle to *Sunnia*, and *Fretela* he says: "I would have you take notice, that the Edition which is called the Vulgar by *Origen*, *Eusebins* of *Cesarea* and other *Greeks*, and which is commonly now called that of *Lucian*, is different from the Version contained in the *Hexapla*. The Vulgar Version, it is True, is the Septuagint, but the difference is, that this has been adulterated by the Transcribers several times, and in several places; whereas that in the *Hexapla* is such as has been preserved in its genuine Purity without Adulteration in the Works of the Learned. So that as much as any of them differ from this, they differ from the *Hebrew* Text. In the Preface to his Commentary upon *Daniel*, he explains how *Origen* made the Version of the Septuagint conformable to the *Hebrew* Text: "*Origen*, says he, made an Addition to the Vulgar Edition of several things taken out of the Translation of *Theodotion*, which were mark'd with Asterisks; as some Verses were mark'd with Bars, to intimate that they were superfluous. St. *Jerom* speaks more plainly to this purpose in his Preface to the *Chronicles*: "*Origen*, says he, did not only collect and dispose the four several Editions over-against one another, the better to compare and correct one by the other; but he was so bold as to intermix the Translation of *Theodotion* with that of the Septuagint, subjoining Asterisks to what was added, and Bars to what appear'd superfluous. And in his 85th Epistle to St. *Austin*, he says thus, "I cannot but wonder, that you should not read the Books of the Septuagint in their genuine Translation; but as corrected by *Origen*, by Bars and Asterisks, and that you don't approve of the Version of a Christian, chiefly, because that his Additions are taken from the Edition of a *Jew* and Blasphemer. If you are so much addicted to the Septuagint, pass by what is mark'd with the Asterisks, or dash it out in your Edition, to shew your Zeal for the Ancient Version; but in so doing, you condemn all the Libraries of the Church, there being not one single Copy to be found in them without these Additions. It seems to have been St. *Jerom*'s Opinion, that the Additions of *Origen* made to the Septuagint were taken altogether from the Version of *Theodotion*, it being certain that he made frequent use of the same. But *Origen* himself assures us, That he likewise took them from other Translations, and *Ruffinus* confirms it in his Second Inveective against St. *Jerom*, "The *Apostates* and *Jews*, says he, had made a Translation of the Bible, and the *Jews* making use of this Version, it often happened, that when they disputed with the Christians, they objected that they had corrected, added, or left out many things in theirs. *Origen* therefore being resolved to tell the World how the *Jews* did read the Scripture, inserted their Editions into several Columns; the Bars and Asterisks, which he set at the beginning of the Verses, were to shew us where any thing was left out of, or added to these Versions; and they were inserted for no other end, than to let us know what was either wanting or superfluous, according to the Opinion of the *Jews*, who dispute against us. Thus he made use of these Asterisks and Bars to shew what was either added, or left out by the other Interpreters, without inserting any thing of his own.

From whence it appears that the Version of the Septuagint in the *Hexapla* in one Sense, was the true Translation of the Septuagint, but not in another. It was so, because you saw here the Text of the Septuagint corrected by several other Editions, and if you passed by the Asterisks, and read only what was marked with Bars, you had the Version much more Correct than the Vulgar. But if you left out what was mark'd with the Bars, and read the whole with the Asterisks; this was not the pure Version of the Septuagint, but reformed according to the *Hebrew* Text, and other Translations.

The Marks which *Origen* made use of for Distinctions sake, to know what was to be added or left out, were the Asterisks, or little Stars for the Additions; and certain Bars, or strait Lines, which St. *Jerom* and *Ruffinus* call *Virgulas*; and the first calls them likewise *Spits*. These Marks were put before the Words to be added,











added or left out, and at the end of them a kind of a Dart reversed, or two Points. These *Asterisks* and *Bars* are to be seen in the Compositures of St. *Jerom*, especially his Edition of the *Psalms*, according to the *Septuagint*, where in his Preface he has these Words: *Notet sibi unusquisque, vel jacentem lineam, vel signa radiantia, id est, obelos vel asteriscos: Et ubicumq; viderit virgulam præcedentem, ab eâ usq; ad duo puncta; quæ impressimus sciat in Septuaginta Translatoribus plus haberi. Ubi autem stellæ similitudinem perspexerit, de Hebræis Voluminibus additum noverit. Aque usq; ad duo puncta juxta Theodotionis duntaxat Editionem, qui simplicitate sermonis à Septuaginta Interpretibus non discordat.* In the same manner he describes the *Asterisks* and *Bars* in his Epistle to *Summia* and *Frerela*: "When, says he, *Origen* observed that there was something less in the *Greek* than in the *Hebrew*, he did supply it from the Version of *Theodotion*; and put an *Asterisk* or *Star* to it, to signify that this was to illustrate what was obscure. And, wherever he added any Thing to the *Greek* Version, which was not in the *Hebrew*, he put a *Virgula* before it, which we may call a *Spit*, to signify, that what is not extant in the Authentic Manuscripts ought to be struck out. These Marks are likewise to be met with in the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets. The same St. *Jerom* in his Preface to *Daniel*, observes, That he made Use of this *Bar* or *Spit* for distinction sake in the History of *Susannah*; the Song of the three Children in the Fiery-Furnace, the Stories of *Bell* and *Dragon* which are not in the *Hebrew* Text: *Veru anteposito easq; jugulante subjecimus.* *Epiphanius* treats at large of this Point, but so confusedly, that he has rather perplex'd than explained the Matter; he says First, That the *Asterisk* being subjoined to a Word, shews that it is so in the *Hebrew*, and that it is likewise expressed by *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and sometimes by *Theodotion*, and that the *Septuagint* did not think fit to Translate it, because it was a useleß repetition. But he is under a mistake; for first these Additions were generally taken from the Version of *Theodotion*, more than from the rest. Secondly, it was not only the useleß Repetitions that were left out in the *Septuagint*, but sometimes whole Sentences and useful Words: *Epiphanius* says likewise, that the *Bar*, which some call a *Lance*, others a *Halbard*, was placed before the Words which were in the Translation of the *Septuagint*, and not in the Versions of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, the same being inserted by the *Septuagint* by Divine Inspiration. The *Bar* did not mark absolutely what was left out in the Versions of *Aquila* and *Symmachus*, but only those Words, which were not to be met with, neither in the Versions, nor in the *Hebrew* Text. Thus *Epiphanius* lies under a mistake in this Point, which however he rectifies afterwards; when he says, That as often as any Words are found in the *Septuagint*, which are not in the *Hebrew*, the *Bar* shews that these are not originally in the Scripture.

*Epiphanius* makes also mention of the *Lemniskues* and *Hypolemniskues*, not mentioned by others. The *Lemniskue* is a strait Line betwixt two Points, and the *Hypolemniskue* likewise a strait Line with a Point under it. He says, that the *Lemniskue* was made use of to signify that the following Word had no connexion with the rest; and that it was found only in one or two Interpreters. But the *Hypolemniskue* on the contrary signified, that the Word was to be met with in two Interpreters, and belonged to the following Words. *Hesychius* in his *Greek* Commentary upon the XII. Psalm, speaks likewise of these *Lemniskues*, and says, That before any Verse not extant in our Interpreters, a mark used to be put, called a *Lemniskue*, being a Line betwixt two Points, the Line signifying the Verse, the two Points the two Interpreters. Some are of Opinion, that *Epiphanius* speaks here of two pair of the *Septuagint*; but if it be taken thus, it implies an absurdity; for how could *Origen* know the particular Opinion of the Seventy Interpreters? I am rather persuaded that *Epiphanius* speaks of the other Versions, and, that he intends the *Lemniskues* and *Hypolemniskues* as Marks to shew the Variety betwixt the Versions, and the different Ways of Translating the *Hebrew*, though this Father is not very plain as to the Use of the *Lemniskues* and *Hypolemniskues*; for out of what has been alledged before, it seems to appear, as if the *Lemniskues* were to distinguish the difference betwixt the Sense and the Words, and the *Hypolemniskues* only the difference of the Words: And that therefore the Lction where the *Hypolemniskues* were, ought to be preferred before those with the *Lemniskues*: Nevertheless out of two Examples given by him, to shew the Use of *Lemniskues*, it is evident, that the same were made use of in some Passages where there is no other difference but in the Words. For he cites this Passage of the 70. Psalm, *My tongue shall talk of thy righteousness, in lieu of thy righteousnesses*, which does not alter the Sense. The



other Example is taken out of the 71. Psalm, *his name shall be glorious before him*, instead of *before his eyes*, where the whole difference lies in the Words: And thus it is explained by *Epiphanius* when he observes that in these Passages there is no difference or defect in the Sense, the same thing being expressed in different Words; and that the *Lemnisques* were made use of here to shew that it was thus Translated by two or four Interpreters. And much to the same purpose he speaks in the 17 Chapter; so, that according to the Opinion of this Author, the *Lemnisques* were made use of to shew the differences in the Versions, as to the Words not in respect of the Sense. As to the *Hypolemnisques* it is certain that they likewise shew'd the difference betwixt the Versions; but *Epiphanius* does not expressly mention, whether this had a relation as well to the Sense as to the Words. Some make this distinction betwixt the *Lemnisques* and *Hypolemnisques*, that the first shews the difference betwixt four Interpreters, the last only of two. It seems most probable that the *Hypolemnisques* did denote a difference betwixt the Sense, whereas the *Lemnisques* only shew'd the difference of the Words. To the same purpose the *Lemnisques* and *Hypolemnisques* were made use of in that Ancient Manuscript of *Marshall*. But, though *Epiphanius* mentions the *Lemnisques* and *Hypolemnisques* in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, it is probable that he made very rarely use of them, because *St. Jerom* makes mention only of the *Asterisks* and *Bars*; and if he was to have marked all the Differences in the Versions, the Column of the Septuagint must have been over-charged: There are but a few *Lemnisques* in the Syriack Version of *Josuah* published by *Masius*, which the Interpreters made from a Manuscript of the *Hexapla* of *Eusebius* of *Cesarea*.

The following TABLE shews the different Figures of the *Bars*, *Asterisks*, *Lemnisques* and *Hypolemnisques*, as they are found in the Ancient Manuscripts:

The Bar as represented by *Epiphanius*,   
 As represented in the Syriack Copy of *Josuah* published by *Masius*,   
 As represented by *St. Jerom*,   
 The Asterisk in *Epiphanius*,   
 In *St. Jerom*,   
 In *Masius* and the Manuscript of *Marshall*,   
 The End of an Addition, or any Part to be left out is mark'd in *St. Jerom* by two quadrangular Points,   
 In *Masius* by the following Figure,   
 The Lemnisque in *Epiphanius* and *Marshall's* Manuscript,   
 The Hypolemnisque in the same *Epiphanius* and the Manuscript of *Marshall*, 

There scarce could be a more useful Undertaking than that of *Origen's* upon that Version of the Septuagint, if it could have been transmitted to Posterity unaltered; and if the Transcribers had carefully preserved the *Asterisks* and *Bars* made by *Origen*. But as this was a thing that required a more than ordinary care and exactness, so there arose no small confusion by the neglect of the Transcribers, as it is well observed by *St. Jerom* in his Epistle to *Sunnia* and *Fretela*: *Et hinc apud vos & apud plerosq; error exoritur, quod scriptorum Virgulis & Asteriscis subtractis, distinctio universa confunditur . . . quæ signa dum per scriptorum negligentiam à plerisq; quasi superflua relinquuntur, magnus in legendo error exoritur.* The reputation and ability of *Origen* and of his Work being so generally established among the Ancients, there were many who earnestly desired to have the Version of the Septuagint, as it was in the *Hexapla*, for which reason many Copies were transcribed, which, as it is very probable was made use of in the Churches of *Palestine*, where *Origen* was in great Esteem. By the carelessness of these Transcribers, and sometimes all of those who set them at Work, the *Asterisks* being either misunderstood or entirely left out in some Places, the Additions of *Theodotion* were confounded with the Ancient Version of the Septuagint; which perhaps moved *St. Jerom* to say, that *Origen* had corrupted and confounded the Version of the Septuagint.

*Pamphilus* and *Eusebius* being willing to remedy this Evil, caused a great number of Copies to be revised and corrected with all the exactness that could be according to the Original *Hexapla* and the *Tetrapla* of *Origen*, which were preserved in the Library of *Cesarea*. These were called the *Palestine* Editions (as *St. Jerom* observes in his Preface to the *Chronicles*) because they were by *Pamphilus* and *Eusebius*.

*Eusebius* first published in *Palestina*, where this Version was generally received, and used in the Churches.

Sometime before, *Lucian* a Priest of *Antioch* who suffered Martyrdom under the Reign of *Maximinus* in the Year 311. had undertaken to publish a New Edition of the Version of the Septuagint, corrected in some places according to the Hebrew Text. This was called the *Vulgar*, or the *Lucian* Edition from its Author. According to *St. Jerom*; this Edition was made use of in the Churches from *Constantinople* to *Antioch*: *Lucian* had not made so many Additions and Alterations as *Origen* in his Version of the Septuagint, neither was it altogether conformable to the Hebrew Text.

Much about the same time, *Hesychius* an *Alexandrian* Monk made a revival of the Version of the Septuagint, which Edition being published contained lesser Alterations than *Lucian's*. This was received in *Egypt*, so that the whole World is divided betwixt these three different Editions, as *St. Jerom* asserts in a certain Passage, which serves as a confirmation of what we have said upon this Subject: *Alexandria & Egyptus*, says he, *in Septuaginta suis Hesychium laudat auctorem. Constantinopolis usq; Antiochiam Luciani Martyris Exemplaria probat. Mediæ inter has Provinciæ Palæstinos legunt Codices; quos ab Origene elaboratos Eusebius & Pamphilus vulgaverunt, totusq; orbis hac inter se, trifaria varietate compugnat.* It seems as if *St. Jerom* in this Passage speaks not only of particular Persons, but also of whole Churches, that made use of these several Editions; and, that as the Edition of *Eusebius* and *Pamphilus* was read publicly in the Churches of *Palestina*, so that of *Hesychius* was read at *Alexandria*, and that of *Lucian* at *Antioch*, and in the other *Greek* Churches, tho at the same time *St. Jerom* in his Preface to the Four Evangelists, speaking of the Editions of *Lucian*, and *Hesychius* says, *That they were maintain'd only by a few obstinate Persons: Prætermitto eos Codices quos à Luciano & Hesychio nuncupatos, paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio.* He adds, that they had no authority of altering any thing in the Old Testament after the Septuagint, and that their Corrections in reference to the New Testament, were useless: *Quibus utiq; nec in Veteri Instrumento, post Septuaginta Interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse, cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata, doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt.* There is likewise another Passage in *St. Jerom's* Preface to *Daniel*, from whence it might be conjectured, that these two Editions were not used in the Churches, when he says, *That in all both the Greek and Latin Churches, both in those of Syria and Egypt, the Edition of Origen with Asterisks and Bars is made use of; to which purpose he speaks also in his 89th Epistle to St. Austin: That there are scarce one or two Editions, to be found in the Libraries of the Churches, without those Additions, mark'd by Asterisks; which seems to intimate that no other Edition but that of the Hexapla was used in the Churches.* I am not ignorant, that according to *Mr. de Valois* and *Huetius's* Opinion, the Asterisks mentioned in these two Passages are not to be understood only of those in the Hexapla, but likewise of the Additions made by *Hesychius* and *Lucian* in their Editions; but the first of these two Passages has a particular Relation to the Edition of *Origen*; as is most evident out of his following Words: *Sed & Origenes de Theodorionis opere in Editione Vulgata Asteriscos posuit, docens, defuisse, quæ addita sunt; & rursus quosdam Versus Obelis prænotavit, supersua quæque designans. Quumq; omnes Christi Ecclesiæ tam Græcorum, quàm Latinorum, Syrorumque & Egyptiorum hanc sub Asteriscis & Obelis Editionem legant:* Besides that we never read of any Asterisks and Bars in the Editions of *Lucian* and *Hesychius*. It seems most probable, that the Edition of the Hexapla of *Origen* was received in most Churches, though at the same time those of *Egypt* might make use generally of the Edition of *Hesychius*, as those of *Antioch* and the other *Greek* Churches did of that of *Lucian*. But *St. Jerom* looking upon those that encouraged these Editions as scarce in their right Wits, speaks always slightly of them, as being contrary to his own Sentiment; which was altogether for the Hexapla, as being conformable to the Hebrew Text, by the Corrections made in the Septuagint according to the Hebrew. To this Purpose *St. Jerom* speaks in his Epistle to *Sunnia* and *Fretela*: *It is to be observed*, says he, *That the Edition called by Origen, Eusebius of Cæsarea, and all the other Grecians the Vulgar, and which commonly is called the Edition of Lucian, is far different from that of the Septuagint contained in the Hexapla, which we have translated into Latin and is used in the Churches of Jerusalem and other Eastern Churches.* Where observe that he does not say that *Origen's* Version was us'd in the other Churches, and that consequently those of *Hesychius* and *Lucian* were used there. And in this sense ought to be understood



his Preface to the *Paralipomena* addressed to *Chromachus*, though Father *Martianay* be of the contrary Opinion. That St. *Ferom* afterwards adds, *as, when there is any difficulty arising in the Latin Translations of the New Testament, recourse must be had to the Greek Original; so, in reference to the Old Testament in case of any difference betwixt the Greeks and Latins, the Hebrew Text must be consulted, as being the spring from whence the others are derived.* The *Vulgar Version*, says he further, *is that of the Septuagint, but with this difference, that the Vulgar Edition is adulterated according to the difference of Times and Places, and the pleasure of the Transcribers; whereas the Version in the Hexapla and which we have translated in the Version of the Septuagint is preserved without any adulteration in the Books of the Learned: So, that, whatever differs from this Version, is different from the Hebrew Text.* It is surprizing to me, how St. *Ferom* can maintain in this Passage, that the Version in the *Hexapla* should be the Genuine Translation of the Septuagint, when it is undeniable that according to his own Confession, the same was intermixed with the Version of *Theodotion*; and, that supposing these Additions to be taken away, the same was not conformable to the Hebrew, and consequently was (according to his supposition) likewise adulterated.

From what has been said, it may be concluded, that all the time of St. *Ferom* there was no Genuine Translation of the Septuagint extant, but what was adulterated in many Places. The ancient *Vulgar Translation* was full of Faults: That of *Origen* was not the pure Version of the Septuagint, being not without an Intermixture; but a Composition of that of the Septuagint and other Versions: And, though he did distinguish the Additions and Amendments by certain Marks, nevertheless these Precautions were soon after rendered useless, by the carelessness of the Transcribers; and supposing these Distinctions added by *Origen* to the ancient *Vulgar Translation* of the Septuagint, could have been preserved entire without Corruption, there would nevertheless have been many Faults left in the Text of this *Vulgar Translation*. The Editions of *Hesychius* and *Lucian* were likewise imperfect, and St. *Ferom* did not approve of them, because they had not consulted the Ancient Manuscripts of the Version of the Septuagint, so that at the time of St. *Ferom* there was no Greek Edition, which might be look'd upon as the pure Version of the Septuagint.

Since the time of St. *Ferom* the Greek Churches did make use of such Editions of the Translation of the Septuagint, as were received among them; they had several new Copies of them, which being corrected from time to time according to the most ancient Manuscripts that could be found, were inserted in the first Impressions that were made of the Version of the Septuagint. There are three which may be considered as the principal Editions, the rest being only Copies taken from thence. The First is that of *Alcala*, or the Edition of the Bible by Cardinal *Ximenez*, printed in the Year 1515, and inserted into the *Polyglott* of *Philip II.* in the Year 1571. and afterwards in that of the *Paris* Edition. The Second is the *Venice* Edition, printed in the Year 1518, by *Aldus Manutius*; from whence have been taken most Editions in *Germany*. The Third is the Edition published at *Rome* by the care of Cardinal *Caraffa* in Greek, and with Greek Animadversions, in the Year 1587; according to a very ancient Manuscript found in the Library of the *Vatican*. The following Year *Nobilius* published likewise at *Rome* the ancient *Vulgar Translation*, collected out of the Books of the *Latin Fathers*; and in the Year 1628. Father *Morin* published at *Paris* the Version of the Septuagint according to the Edition of *Rome*, together with the Ancient *Latin Translation*, and the Animadversions of *Nobilius*. The Manuscript according to which the *Roman* Edition has been printed, is written in pretty large Letters, without any distinction of the Chapters, Verses or Words, and without any Accents; it is supposed to be near twelve hundred Years Old. This is the same Edition which has been followed by Mr. *Walton* in his *Polyglotts* published in *England*, being near the same with another Ancient Manuscript of *Alexandria*, which being sent into *England* by *Cyrill Lucar*, Mr. *Walton* did revise his Text by this Manuscript.

Of these Three Editions, that of *Alcala* is most agreeable to the Hebrew Text, because several of the Additions taken from the Version of *Theodotion* and others, are retained here, and several Passages are omitted, which are not in the Hebrew Text and some other Versions; from whence it is not altogether improbable, that this Edition is one of those extant in the *Hexapla*. The *Venice* Edition is not so frequently intermixed with the Additions of *Theodotion*, and consequently comes nearer to the Ancient *Vulgar Translation* of the Septuagint. But the *Roman* Edition does come nearest of all these three to the Version of the Septuagint, such

as it was before the Correction made by Origen, For, First, There are none of these Additions in it, which Origen has made, taken from other Editions, and marked with *Asterisks* (c). Secondly, All these Additions which were not in the Hebrew Text, but extant in the Version of the Septuagint, and were mark'd by Origen with the *Obelisks* (d) are contained in it. Thirdly, This Edition has all the Transpositions which were in the Vulgar Version of the Septuagint (e). Fourthly, All the most considerable Passages cited by most of the Ancient Fathers, as by St. Clement of Rome, in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and by St. Justin, agree for the most Part with this Edition; which is likewise most conformable to the Text of the ancient Manuscripts of *Marchal*, *Masius*, and that of *Alexandria*. It is nevertheless not to be denied, but that there remain in it some Additions taken from other Translations, some marginal Notes inserted in the Text, and many Faults occasioned by the negligence or presumption of the Transcribers.

(c) *There are none of these Additions in it which Origen, &c.* In the 14th Chapter of the Second Book of the *Kings*, there are twenty Verses concerning the Death of *Abijah* the Son of *Jeroboam*, which are left out in the Roman Edition, and which were inserted here by Origen in his *Hexapla*; whereas in the Vulgar Translation of the Septuagint, this History was related in the 12th Chapter of the same Book; as may be seen in *Theodoret*, *Procopius* of *Gaza*, and *Lucifer* of *Cagliari*. In the Venice Edition the same is related both in the 12th and 14th Chapter. In the 20th Chapter of *Joshua*, there are three Verses relating to the Cities of Refuge, which are omitted in the Edition of Rome, but are in that of Venice; they are not extant in the ancient Editions of the Septuagint. The four first Verses of the 17th Chapter of *Jeremiah*, which, as St. Jerom assures us, were not extant in the Version of the Septuagint, in his Time, and were not extant in the ancient Manuscript of *Marchal*, are likewise left out in the Roman Edition, but are inserted in that of Venice. The words of *Isaiah* in the 1st Verse of the 4th Chapter, *Abalienati sunt retrorsum*, which St. Jerom, St. Basil and *Procopius* affirm to have been inserted here, are not in the Roman Edition; as likewise the twenty second Verse of the 2d Chapter is left out, the same, (according as St. Basil, St. Jerom, St. Cyril and *Procopius* have observed) being not to be found in the Septuagint. The last words of the thirteenth Verse of the 6th Chapter, *Semen sanctum eris id quod steteris in ea*: Which, as St. Jerom and St. Basil observe were not extant in the Version of the Septuagint, are also left out in the Roman Edition: But the most considerable Passage of all those which have been taken notice of by the Ancients, in *Isaiah*, which is not in the Version of the Septuagint, though it be extant in the Greek Text, is in the 6th Verse of the 9th Chapter: Where we read in our Vulgar Version according to the Hebrew Text, these following Words: *Admirabilis, Consiliarius, Deus fortis, Pater futuri saculi, Princeps pacis*. These words are not in the Roman Edition, and according to the Observations of St. Basil, St. Jerom, St. Cyril and *Procopius*, they were likewise omitted in the Versions of the Septuagint. Neither are they mentioned in that Passage cited by St. Cyprian Lib. 2. to *Quirin* us, nor by St. Ambrose in his 3d Chapter

upon St. Luke. More such like Observations might be collected upon this Subject.

(d) 2dly, *All these Passages which were not in the Hebrew Text, but extant in the Version of the Septuagint, &c.* In the 32d Chapter of *Deuteronomy*, Verse 43. there is a whole Verse which is not in the Hebrew Text, cited by St. Justin in his Dialogue against *Trypho*, and by St. Hilary upon the 67th Psalm; by St. Epiphanius against the *Arians*. The Passage concerning the eleven Cities of Refuge mentioned in the 60th Verse of the 15th Chapter of *Joshua*, was not extant in any other Edition, but in the Version of the Septuagint, in St. Jerom's Time, but is inserted in the Roman Edition. In the last Chapter of the same Book, you meet with that Passage mentioned by St. Augustin Quest. 30. upon *Joshua*, concerning the Knives of Stone buried with *Joshua*, which is not in the Hebrew Text. Towards the end of the 9th Chapter of the *Proverbs*, there is a certain Addition authorised by St. Cyprian, which is not extant in the Hebrew. There is such another towards the end of the last Chapter of the 2d Book of *Samuel*; and in the 8th Chapter of the 1st Book of *Kings*, Verse 53. This last mention is made of by *Theodoret* and *Procopius*. These words in the 17th Chapter, Verse 23. of *Ezekiel*, *these branches shall be restored*, St. Jerom would have to be marked with an *Obelisk*, because they are not in the Hebrew. The like is to be met with in the 2d Chapter, Verse 10, and 15th of *Haggai*. In most of these Passages the other Editions agree with the Roman.

(e) *This Edition has all the Transpositions which were in the Vulgar Version of the Septuagint, &c.* In *Exodus* from the 36th to the 40th Chapter, are some Transpositions, which by Origen's own Confession in his Letter to *Africanus*, were in the Septuagint. In the 4th Chapter of the 1st Book of the *Kings*, there are several things which you read in the 3d and 9th Chapter in the Hebrew Text, which according to *Procopius* and *Theodoret*; are put in the above mentioned Chapter. Such another Transposition is to be seen in the 3d Chapter, and in the 25th Chapter of *Jeremiah* from the 13th Verse to the end of the Book, there is another remarkable Transposition. The ancient Greek Fathers have followed the Orders of the Roman Edition.



## S E C T. VII.

*Of the Authority and Faithfulness of the Greek Version of the Septuagint. Whether the same was done by divine Inspiration. Whether the Lxx Interpreters did make any Alterations in their Version. Whether the same has been Corrupted in many Places, and whether it may pass for an Authentick Translation.*

**M**OST of the Ancients being persuaded that the Lxx Interpreters made their Translations and yet agree in the same Sense, have looked upon this Translation as inspired by the Holy Ghost. And even among those who did not agree with the rest in this Point, the same was considered as the most faithful Translation, and exactly conformable to the Genuine Hebrew Text. *Aristæus* declares, that the Greek Version was in all respects agreeable to the Hebrew Copy, and that being examined in an Assembly of the *Jews*, they had declared the same to be so faithfully and exactly done, that nothing ought to be diminished in, or added to it. *Philo* pretends to so much Exactness in this Version, that it corresponds Word for Word to the Original, the Lxx Interpreters having expressed the Terms in the Hebrew Text by as many proper Words, so as to render this Version exactly conformable both in the Words and Matter to the Original. But notwithstanding all this, the Version of the Septuagint has always differed from the Hebrew Text in many Places, being often more intent upon expressing the Sense than the Words, as has been very well observed by *St. Jerom* and *St. Augustin*; and what has been said by *Aristæus* and *Philo* upon this Subject, must rather be taken in an hyperbolical Sense than as a real Truth.

Several reasons may be alledged for the difference which is found betwixt the Septuagint and the Hebrew Text. (1<sup>st</sup>,) The Hebrew Copy made use of by the Lxx Interpreters in their Translation, might not be faulty. (2<sup>dly</sup>,) The Septuagint might sometimes mis-read, or at least mis-understand the Hebrew. (3<sup>dly</sup>,) They might also sometimes designedly alter the Sense of some Passages in the Original Text, for some particular reasons. (4<sup>thly</sup>,) Because our Hebrew Text then might be very different from the Ancient, and consequently be adulterated. (5<sup>thly</sup>,) Perhaps the Version of the Septuagint was not the same in all respects as it was translated by the Septuagint, but many Passages might be either altered or adulterated. The first of these Reasons can scarce take Place, it being not very probable that the *Jews* would have chosen any other Original for this Translation to be made by, than what was most exact and perfect: Beside, that there is no Hebrew Original extant either at the same time, or more ancient, by which these pretended defects in the Hebrew Text might be discovered. Some there have been who are of Opinion, that the Septuagint made their Translation from the *Samaritan Pentateuch*. But there is but little appearance, that at a time when the *Jews* had the Sacred Writ in Hebrew Characters, and made use of no other, they should pitch upon the *Samaritan*, to be translated by the Septuagint. On the contrary all the Ancients agree in this Opinion, that the Original translated by the Lxx Interpreters was writ either in the Hebrew or Chaldean Characters. The second Reason alledged for the difference betwixt the Hebrew Text, and the Version of the Septuagint, carries much more probability along with it; it being unquestionable that there are many Passages to be met with in the Hebrew Text, which being ambiguous in their Significations, might consequently bear a different Interpretation. (1<sup>st</sup>,) In the different punctuations of the Words. (2<sup>dly</sup>,) In the putting of one Letter instead of another. (3<sup>dly</sup>,) Because some Hebrew words which have not the same sound, yet admit of different Interpretations. (4<sup>thly</sup>,) Because the Interpreter might commit an Error, in deviating from the true Sense of the Text, and inserting another not altogether so natural and consonant to the genuine Signification of the Words. Many Passages might be alledged, where the difference betwixt the Original and this Version may justly be attributed to one or other of these Causes. But as to the third Reason, it appears altogether improbable; there being scarce any grounds to suppose that these Interpreters who undertook the Translation of such a Piece should premeditatedly alter the true Sense of it. This could not be

be look'd upon otherwise than a gross and inexcusable and malicious Design, and I cannot see any reason sufficient to induce us into so ill an Opinion of the Authors of this Translation, as to think them guilty of such a Falsification. The *Jews* nevertheless, who are always full of their Mysteries, say, expressly in their *Talmud*, That the Lxx Interpreters did premeditately alter thirteen Passages, for which they alledge some arbitrary and no less frivolous Reasons; and if we examine these Passages, it will be found that there is either no difference in the Sense, or that at least it was not done premeditately, and that the Reasons they alledge are ill grounded (a). The fourth Reason, which is the Adulteration of the *Hebrew* Text, may indeed be applied to some few Passages, but the last, which is the Adulteration of the Version itself in many Places, is without doubt the main Cause of so many differences. This was already taken for granted in the time of St. *Jerom*, and before him; because not only *Origen*, but likewise *Lucian* and *Hesychius* had taken great Pains in reforming the Version of the Septuagint. We have given you some Rules before, to shew when to follow the *Hebrew* Text, and when the Version of the Septuagint, in case of any difference betwixt them; it is therefore needless to make a repetition of them in this place, no more than of what we have said concerning the Preference of the *Hebrew* Text, before the Version of the Septuagint. The only thing remaining, would be for us to examine these Passages, where this Version differs from the Original, and to give our Judgment, according to the Rules prescribed by us: But this Examination we will refer to a separate Article. We will only add thus much to what we have said before,

(a) If we examin these Passages, it will be found, that there is either no difference in the Sense, or that it was not done premeditately; &c. The following thirteen Passages are alledged by the *Talmudists* in the Treatise called *Megill*. They say that the Septuagint at the very beginning of *Genesis* did Translate, in lieu of, *In the beginning God created*, thus, *God created in the beginning*; for fear two different Principles should be supposed, to wit, *Beresith* and *Elohim*, that is, the Beginning, and God. A frivolous Reason indeed, besides that they are mistaken in the matter of fact, in all the Editions of the Version of the Septuagint, it being said, *In the beginning God created*. They are likewise mistaken, when they alledge, that in the 26th Verse of the same Chapter, they have instead of *Let us make man*, translated, *I will make man*, in all the Editions of the Septuagint it being expressed *ποιήσω υἱόν*. Thus they are in an Error concerning the Passage in the 7th Verse of the 11th Chapter; where they pretend that it is said in the Septuagint, *I will descend*, whereas it is in the *Hebrew* Text expressed in the Plural, *Let us descend*; and so they are likewise in the 12th Verse of the 18th Chapter, where as well in the *Greek* as in the *Hebrew*, it is said that *Sarah did laugh within her self*. Concerning the third Passage in the 2d Verse of the 2d Chapter of *Genesis*, it is said in the Version of the Septuagint and in the *Samaritan* Pentateuch, that God compleated his Work on the Sixth Day, where the *Hebrew* Text has it on the Seventh. As we have already observed before, there is no real difference in the Sense of this Passage, the Septuagint having only explained more clearly the *Hebrew* Text. The difference which is alledged in the sixth Passage being the 49th Chapter the 6th Verse of *Genesis*, does not proceed from any real intention of altering the Sense of the Text, but from the Ambiguity of the *Hebrew* words: For the Verb may signify as much as to cut the Sinews or Nerves, and the Substantive according to its different Punctuation signifies an Ox if it is read *Schor*, and a Wall, when it is read *Schur*. This Ambiguity has made the Author of the Version of the Septuagint Translate it thus: *They cut the Sinews of an Ox*, whereas the Author of the Vulgar Translation, and the *Chaldean* Interpreters have translated it: *They threw down a Wall*; which is more agreeable to the History of *Simeon* and *Levi*, related in this Passage, who had destroy-

ed the City of *Sichem* after they had slain all its Inhabitants. The seventh Passage is in the 4th Chapter, Verse 20. of *Exodus*; but there is no real difference in the Sense, the same thing being expressed in more general Terms: For, whereas the *Hebrew* Text says, That *Moses* did put his Wife and Children upon an Ass, the *Greek* Version expresses it upon Beasts fit to carry Burthens *ἐν ταῖς ζώοντις*, *Super subjugalia*. The eighth Passage is in the 12th Chapter, Verse 40. of *Exodus*, concerning the time of the Children of *Israel*'s abode in *Egypt*; which, as we have observed before, is only a farther Explication of the Text. The *Talmudists* are no less mistaken in the ninth Passage, which is in the 24th Chapter, Verse 11. of *Exodus*; there being not any real difference there betwixt the Septuagint and the *Hebrew* Text. The whole difference which is alledged to be in the 15th Verse of the 16th Chapter of *Numbers*, arises only from the changing of the *Daleth* into a *Resh*. The Addition which is made in the 4th Chapter, Verse 9. of *Deuteronomy*, of these Words, *to enlighten you*, does not in the least alter the Sense. The *Talmudists* are no less in an Error, concerning the twelfth Passage in the 17th Chapter, Verse 3. of *Deuteronomy*, there being not the least difference betwixt the Septuagint and the *Hebrew* Text. The last of all is the Passage in the 11th Chapter, Verse 6. of *Leviticus*. That Creature called in the *Hebrew* Text *Arnebet*, the Suptuagints have interpreted by the Word *Δαουρὶς*, which bears a double signification, the interpretation of the *Hebrew* as well as the *Greek* word being equally uncertain. What is alledged, that the Septuagint did pitch upon this Word, because they would not make use of that of *λαγός* in respect of King *Ptolomey* the Son of *Lagus*, is a meer fantasticalness of the *Talmudists*; who are in a gross mistake, when they suppose that the Spouse of *Ptolomey Philadelphus* was called *Arnebet* or *Lagus*, and that *Dasyus* signifies as much as a short Legged Beast. These are the Dreams of the *Rabbi's* upon this Subject. St. *Jerom* in his Prefaces to the *Pentateuch*, to *Isaiah*, and to his Traditions of the *Jews* says, that the Septuagint did industriously hide the Mysteries, especially those of the Trinity and Incarnation of Christ; but this Supposition is built upon a very slender foundation.

that,



that, though there are some Varieties betwixt the Version of the Septuagint and the *Hebrew* Text, for reasons before mentioned, this does not hinder, but that the *Greek* Version may pass for a very good Translation of the *Hebrew* Original; because these differences are of little consequence, and don't make any alteration either in respect of the true Substance of the History, or the Doctrines of the Holy Scripture, which is always the same Word of God, in whatever Language it be writ; and these differences are not of such consequence, but that both the Version and the Original Text may be made the Rule of the true Religion. We may farther add, without the least contradiction to Truth, that among all the *Greek* Versions, that of the Septuagint may claim the most Authority: *First*, Because this Translation is the most Ancient, and was first of all received among the *Hellenistical Jews*. *Secondly*, Because the Evangelists and Apostles did make use of the same. *Thirdly*, Because this Version was received and authorized by the common approbation of the *Eastern* Christians, and was the Mother of the *Latin* Version, which was translated from thence, and used in the *Western* Churches, for the first six Ages. For, which Reason this Version may claim the Title of Authentic with all the Justice in the World, this Name being properly given to any publick Deed or Instrument, authorized and received in any Tribunal. And the Version of the Septuagint having been received and continuing still as such, it justly deserves the Title of an Authentic Translation.

## C H A P. VII.

Of the *Latin* Versions of the Bible, and especially of the *Vulgar* Translation.

### S E C T. I.

*Of the Ancient Latin Versions before St. Jerom's time, and more especially of the Ancient Vulgar, or the Italian Translation.*

**I**T is beyond all question, that the *Latin* Churches had even in the first Ages, a Translation of the Bible in their Language; for the sacred Writ being the Foundation of the Christian Religion, upon which they built the whole System both of their Morality and Doctrine, the Church could not be long without such a Translation, as might be understood by every Body. But as the *Greek* Language was generally understood among them, and that the *Latin* was the *Vulgar* Language, every body took the Liberty to make what Alterations or Additions he judged most convenient, so that in process of Time the ancient Version became an entire New one. This is the true Reason, which has occasioned these various Lectons in the *Latin* Version in the time of St. *Jerom*, which might rather be considered as so many different Translations, as this Author has observed in his Preface to *Joshua*: *Maximè cum apud Latinos tot sint Exemplaria, quot Codices, & unusquisq; pro arbitrio suo, vel addiderit vel subtraxerit quod ei visum est.* And St. *Augustin* complains likewise in his Second Book of the Christian Doctrine, in the 11. Chapter, of that vast Number of the *Latin* Translations. Those who have translated the Holy Scripture, says he, into *Greek* may be numbred; but not those who have made the *Latin* Versions: For every one, that had any knowledge of both Languages in the first Ages, and met with any of the *Greek* Versions, undertook a new Translation. *Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebræa Lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt; Latini autem Interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuiq; primis fidei temporibus in manus venit Græcus Codex, & aliquantulum facultati sibi utriusque Lingue habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari.* All these Translations were made according to the Version of the Septuagint, none of all these Interpreters having attempted to Translate from the *Hebrew* Original; nay, it is evident that they never as much as consulted the Original Text, there being but very few among the Christians of the *Latin* Church, who were versed in the *Hebrew* Language.

But

But among all those *Latin* Translations there was one which was generally received, and therefore called by St. *Jerom* the *Vulgar* or common Translation. St. *Augustin* gives this Version the Name of the *Italian*, and the Preference before all the rest, as being more perspicuous and literal; *In ipsis autem Interpretationibus Itala præferatur; nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententia.* This Version was afterwards styled the *Ancient*, from the time that St. *Jerom*'s Translation was received in the Church, as may be seen in St. *Gregory*'s Preface upon *Job*; in *Cassian* and St. *Eucherius* who give it this Name, this being the same that was read generally in all the *Latin* Churches before that of St. *Jerom* was introduced. Both the Author of this Translation and the time when it is made is unknown to the World, and there is none of the true ancient Editions remaining; but *Nobilius* has taken a great deal of Pains to supply us in its stead with another, in which he has made a collection of all the Scripture passages to be met with in the ancient *Latin* Fathers, and supplied the rest by a Translation from the *Septuagint*, in a Style and Terms as conformable as could be to those of the Fragments of this ancient Version. But as the ancient Fathers did not always stick so closely to this ancient *Vulgar* Version in their Citations; but that sometimes they would Translate themselves some of these Passages they cited, it came frequently to pass that the same Passages were alledged in very different Terms, and that not only by several Fathers, but sometimes by the same Author; besides that *Nobilius* in those Passages which he was obliged to supply by his own Translation, could probably not always hit upon the same Words, which were made use of by the ancient Translator; so that no positive Assertion can be made, that his Version is equivalent in all respects to the ancient *Vulgar Latin* Translation. But thus much may be conjectured from what remains of that Version, that its Author was a most religious observer of the *Greek* Version of the *Septuagint*, which he had translated word for word without so much as consulting the *Hebrew* Original. Besides, this Version favours something of Barbarity, and is obscure in many Places, the Author having not made the least account of the Purity of the Language; though at the same time it must be confess'd that in this simple, and if it may be permitted me to say so, clownish Style, there is an agreeable mixture of many bold, lofty, noble and sublime Expressions.

## SECTION II.

*Of the several Works of St. Jerom upon the Bible; of his new Translation from the Hebrew Text: Whether he did it by divine Inspiration; whether his Version is different from our Vulgar Translation, and when the same was received in the Latin Church.*

**S**AINTE *FEROM* in imitation of *Origen*, did undertake to revise the Text of the *Latin* Version of the Bible. The first thing he did was, to correct such Errors as were slipped into this Translation either by the ignorance or carelessness of the Transcribers, and to reform the whole according to the Version of the *Septuagint* extant in the *Hexapla* of *Origen*, with their *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*. (a) He was but young, and then at *Rome*, when he first laid Hand to this Work, which he completed in a little time. He gave us afterwards a Second Edition of the *Psalms*, much more correct than the former. But having afterwards attained to a more

(a) The first thing he did, was to Correct such Errors, &c. and to reform the whole according to the Version of the *Septuagint*, as extant in the *Hexapla*.] This he affirms himself in his 2d Book against *Ruffinus*, in his Preface to *Chromacius*, in his Preface to the Book of *Job* address'd to *Paul* and *Eusebius*, and in his Preface to his Second Edition of the *Psalms*. In his Letter to St. *Augustin* he makes a distinction betwixt the two different Editions he had made of the holy Writ, one of which, he says, was marked with the *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, the other was a New Version. There arises some doubt, whether

he made an exact revival of the Version of all the Books of the Old Testament, by the *Hexapla* marked with *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, because he himself mentions no more than Six Books, which were so revised by him; to wit, the Book of *Job*, the *Psalms*, the Three Books of *Solomon*, and the *Paralipomena*, and it is only in the Prefaces of these Books he makes mention of this Correction. St. *Augustin* speaking of the *Asterisks* and *Obelisks* in the Version of St. *Jerom*, only mentions the Book of *Job* and the *Psalms*. But St. *Jerom* in his Second and Third Book of his Apology against *Ruffinus* and



more perfect Knowledge of the *Hebrew* Language (*b*), in which he was instructed by several *Jews*, he undertook a New Translation of some of the Books of the Old Testament from the *Hebrew* Text, and having at the solicitation of his Friends, continued thus to Translate the rest by degrees he at last perfected an entire New Version of all the Books contained in the *Hebrew* Canon (*c*).

The main reason which induced St. *Jerom* to take upon him this New Translation, was the difference which he found to be, betwixt the Version of the Septuagint, and by consequence betwixt the ancient Vulgar *Latin* Translation and the *Hebrew* Text. He was fully persuaded, that the Version of the Septuagint was adulterated in many Places, and that the other *Greek* Versions were in no wise exact; and, that being made by *Jews*, he looked upon it as un-becoming Christians to make use of them; That the Version extant in the *Hexapla*, though coming much nearer to the *Hebrew* Original than the common, yet was far from being exact: *Origen* having obliged himself, to keep to the Text of the Version of the Septuagint entire, and to add nothing, but what was taken out of the other *Greek* Translations, and especially out of that of *Theodotian*; and that it was more safe and to much better purpose to look for the Truth of the Christian Religion at the Spring-head, which is the Original Text, than in the Rivulets or its Branches, that is to say, in the Translations; He did believe he did a signal piece of Service in this to the Church; *First*, By giving us a Translation of the Holy Scripture in its Purity. *Secondly*, By enabling the Christians to assert against the *Jews*, that their Citations out of the Holy Scripture, were altogether conformable to the *Hebrew* Text. *Thirdly*, By discovering to them what adulterations and alterations had been introduced by the *Jews* in their Versions of Holy Writ. *Fourthly*, By delivering the *Latin* Church from that prodigious Variety of *Latin* Translations, which frequently obliged them to have recourse to the *Greek* Versions to correct their Faults.

Nevertheless, how useful soever this undertaking of St. *Jerom* proved to the Publick, it raised him many Enemies, and hard Censures against his Work, of which he complains in most of his Prefaces. Some envious of his great Reputation, did exclaim against him as one who had adulterated the Scripture. Others laid to his Charge, that he preferred the Interpretations of the *Jews* of his Time, before the Version of the Septuagint, which being authorised by the Evangelists and Apostles themselves, had met with a general reception among Christians. Some less rigorous, were however of Opinion, that, though his Version might be allowed to be very good, yet ought the same not to have been made so publick, or at least ought not to have been read in the *Latin* Churches, because it must needs turn to the prejudice of the Version of the Septuagint and the ancient Vulgar *Latin* Translation, which would be the occasion of Contradiction betwixt the *Ea-*

and in his 128th Epistle to *Lucinius*, says positively that he has revised and corrected very exactly the whole Version of the Septuagint; and in his Epistle to *Sunnia* and *Fretela*, he tells them, that he has Translated the Version of the Septuagint as extant in the *Hexapla*. *Lastly*, In his 94th Letter to St. *Augustin*, who had desired of him his Translation from the Septuagint, he sent him this Answer: That it was not in his Power to gratify him in what he had desired of him; because he wanted Transcribers fit for to undertake this Business; especially to make an exact Copy of his Edition of the Septuagint, which was mark'd and distinguish'd by *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*. He adds farther, that he had lost some part of it by the Fraud of a certain Person.

(*b*) Having attained to a more perfect knowledge of the *Hebrew* Language.] He had applyed himself to this Study in his younger Years, during the time of his Solitude, as he himself attests in his 4th Epistle to *Rusticus*, and in his Epitaph upon *Paul*; but he brought himself to a greater Perfection in it, by his frequent Conversation with the *Jews*, and when about twenty Years after he returned from *Palestine*, he pay'd a great Price to a certain *Jew* who instructed him in the *Hebrew* Language; as he himself observes in his 67th Letter to *Pammachius*. Thus in his Preface upon *Job* and upon the *Paralipomena*, he makes mention of a *Jew* a Native of

*Tyberias*, and of another of *Lydda*, who were both his Masters. And in his Preface to *Daniel* and the Books of *Tobit*, he speaks of a *Jew*, who had taught him the *Chaldaean* Language. And in his 142d Letter to Pope *Damasus*, he confesses, that he had learn'd much of the *Jews*.

(*c*) He at last perfected an entire New Version of all the Books contained in the *Hebrew* Canon.] He began with the Books of *Samuel* and of the *Kings*, where he prefixed his general Introduction presented to *Paul* and *Eustochius*. After these he translated the Book of *Job*, and those of the XVI. Prophets. There were certain Copies of these his Works at *Rome*, which were done in the Year 393. at which time he writ his 52d Letter to *Pammachius*. It was much about the same time he perfected the Version of the *Psalms* and of the Books of *Salomon*. The Book of *Ezrah* was not translated till towards the latter end of the Year 394. And the Translation of the *Pentateuch* was not completed till after the Death of *Paul*, about the Year 405. Next to these came the Books of *Josua*, of *Judges*, of *Ruth*, and *Esther*; and last of all the *Paralipomena* presented to *Chromacius*. All which is sufficient, to contradict what has been asserted by some, that he undertook this his last Translation, by special Order from Pope *Damasus*, it being certain that this Pope dy'd before ever the same was begun.

*Stern* and *Western Churches*. *St. Augustin* was of the same Opinion, and having several times found Fault with *St. Jerom* that he had made a Translation different from that of the *Septuagint*, he confessed nevertheless afterwards, that the same might be of good Use, but ought not to be read in the Churches, for fear of raising a Scandal among Christians.

But *St. Jerom* despised the Reproaches and Calumnies of his Adversaries, who, whilst they exclaimed against, and found fault with his Translation in Publick, did read and admire his Work in Private. He complains of the Ingratitude of the Age he lived in, who, instead of acknowledging and giving due praises to the service he had done to the *Latin Church*, did endeavour to represent it as a Crime. He answers those who were so Zealous for the Version of the *Septuagint*; That he had not undertaken this New Translation with an intention to condemn that of the *Septuagint*, which he valued and approved of, and which had been revised and corrected by him in his younger Years. If the said Version of the *Septuagint* had been transmitted to posterity in its genuine Purity, he should never have attempted to make a New Translation from the *Hebrew*; but the same being adulterated, and intermingled with others in the *Hexapla*, to wit with the Versions of *Aquila* and *Theodotion*, he had judged it more for the benefit of the Publick, to give the World a New Translation from the original Sacred Text, than to retain either a Version that was defective, or else those done by the *Jews*. In his Letter to *Sunnia* and *Fretela* he protests, that it was not his Design to make the least Alteration in the Office of the Church, but that they ought to continue the singing of the ancient Version in the Churches; but, that his Version would be very useful for private Persons, for the better understanding of the Holy Scripture. *St. Augustin* did towards the latter Years of his Age follow the Version of *St. Jerom*, and frequently made use of it upon Private occasions.

*St. Jerom* has not been so solicitous in his Version to stick so close to the Letter, and to Translate the Text Word for Word, as the *Jew*, *Aquila* had done in his; but though he is not so scrupulous in following the Letter, he is very exact and faithful in giving the true Sense. To avoid all suspicion of Affectation and Novelty, he has, as much as possibly he could, followed the Version of the *Septuagint*, and has retained the very Expressions of the ancient Vulgar *Latin* Translation; so that in many Passages his Version may pass rather for a Correction or Reformation of the other. He has however been very careful in avoiding the Barbarisms and Solæcisms, and in retaining the true Elegancy of the *Latin* Tongue. *Hoc sequimur*, says he in his 135 Epistle, *ut ubi nulla est de sensu mutatio, Latini sermonis elegantiam conservemus*. But he has avoided all foreign Ornaments and affected Nicety, in lieu of which he has made use of a Style favouring much of a natural Simplicity, at which he desires the Reader not to be offended in his 103. Epistle to *Paulinus*. *Nolo offendaris in Scripturis sanctis simplicitate & quasi vilitate verborum*.

The Learning of *St. Jerom*, his great Application and Care in composing and perfecting this Version; the favourable Judgment given in behalf of the same by all the most learned *Jewish* and *Christian* Interpreters, together with the general Approbation of the Church, leaves us no room to doubt, but that this was a most excellent Translation. Notwithstanding which we are not under any obligation to believe that this Version was exempt from all Faults, and that the same has been brought to Perfection by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, as *Melchior Canus*, *Titelman*, *Salmeron*, *Father Morin* and some other Authors pretend. *St. Jerom* was far from having any such thoughts of himself, as may be seen by his Preface upon the *Pentateuch*. It is, says he, quite a different thing, to be a Prophet, and to be an Interpreter. The first being inspired by the Holy Ghost, foretells things to come; But the last must have a sufficient share of Learning and plenty of Expressions to Translate what he understands before. And in his Commentary upon the 40th Chapter of *Ezekiel* he has these following Words: *When we Translate the Hebrew Words into Latin we are sometimes guided by conjectures*. And in the 19th Chapter upon *Isaiab*, he acknowledges that he was not Infallible, nay, that he had committed some Errors in his Translation: *Melius reor proprium errorem reprehendere, quam dum crubesco imperitiam confiteri in errore persistere in eo quod transtuli*, &c. He is himself sometimes doubtful of the true Signification of the *Hebrew* Words, and expresses them in his Commentaries in a different Sense from what he had done in his Version. *St. Augustin* and some others of the best Friends of *St. Jerom* were not of Opinion, That he had made his New Translation by divine Inspiration, but look'd upon him as a Person so well skill'd in the *Hebrew* Language, as to be able to undertake and bring it to Perfection



Perfection by his own Skill. Neither can it be said, without contradiction to Truth, that the Version of St. *Jerom* is free from all Faults, or that he never deviated from the true Sense of the *Hebrew* Text. Lastly, To believe the Version of St. *Jerom* to be made by divine Inspiration, God must have revealed it to us, and the Church must have confirmed it by her Authority. But neither of these two being done, what reason is there to suppose a divine Inspiration, which is neither known nor confirmed to us by any authority? Notwithstanding all the opposition made by the Enemies of St. *Jerom*, who were envious at his great Reputation, to prevent his Version from being received and approved, and notwithstanding all their Exclamations against it, most of the Learned Men, even those of his Time, did approve of his Work, and exhorted him to bring it to Perfection. Nay, his *Latin* Version which he corrected after the *Hexapla*, was received in many Churches. The Church of *Rome* made use of his *Plaiter* reformed according to the *Septuagint*. St. *Augustin* did approve and make use in *Africa* of his Version of the Book of *Job*, which was likewise corrected by St. *Jerom* from the *Septuagint*. There were also several Bishops, who caused his Versions made according to the *Hebrew* Text, to be read publickly in the Churches; among which number there was a certain *African* Bishop, of whom mention is made by St. *Augustin* in his 71st Letter; that having caused to be read in his Church the Book of *Jenab*, being the Version of St. *Jerom*, he extremely surprised the People, because they did not pronounce the Word *Gourd*, which they were used to hear. *Lucinus* of *Betica* did send several able Copyists to St. *Jerom*, to transcribe his Version, which then began to be Famous throughout *Spain*.

*Salvian* of *Marseilles*, and some other Authors of the Fifth Age, have many Citations in their Works out of the Holy Scripture, in which they follow the Version of St. *Jerom*. In the Sixth Age, this Translation became as general as the ancient *Vulgar* Version, and was in the same esteem. That the same was used in the Church of *Rome*, is evident from St. *Gregory's* Letter to *Leander* which was writ by way of Preface to his Morals; where he declares: *That he explains the New Version (meaning St. Jerom's), but takes his Citations sometimes out of one, sometimes out of the other; that, as the Holy Apostolical See, of which he is the Head, makes use of both, so his Doctrine might be founded upon both. Novam vero translationem dissero, sed ut comprobationis causa exigit, nunc novam, nunc veterem per testimonia assumo, ut quia Sedes Apostolica utraque utitur, mei quoque labor studii ex utraque fulciatur.* In a certain Passage of his Morals, speaking concerning the difference betwixt the New and ancient Version he says; That the New is more exact and comes nearer to the *Hebrew* Original: *Sed tamen quia haec nova translatio ex Hebraeo nobis Arabicoque eloquio cuncta verius transfudisse perhibetur.* Lib. 20. Mor. Chap. 23. Since the time of St. *Gregory* the Version of St. *Jerom* got soon the upper Hand, being the only one made use of both in Publick and Private. St. *Isidore* tells us, that in his Time, to wit about the Year 630, the Version of St. *Jerom* was generally received in the Churches, as being the Plainest and Truest: *De Hebraeo autem in Latinum eloquium tantummodo Hieronymus Presbyter Sacras Scripturas convertit, cujus Editione generaliter omnes Ecclesiae usquequaque utuntur pro eo quod veracior sit in sententiis, & clarior in verbis.* Lib. 1. Off. Chap. 12. *Hugo de St. Victor* says positively, That the *Latin* Church received and authorised only this Version. And St. *Anselm*, St. *Bernard*, *Rupert*, *Haimon*, *Peter Lombard*, *Richard de St. Victor*, and to be short, all the other *Latin* Authors of the latter Ages, have followed this Version in their Commentaries and other Works, though perhaps they also (d) sometimes mention and alledge the Old Translation, when they explain certain Passages.

The Copies of the Version of St. *Jerom* multiplying by degrees, they underwent the same Fate, which all other Works are of necessity subject to, if often transcribed, that is to say, many Alterations did slip into them by the fault and carelessness of the Transcribers: This is the source of all these various Lessons in the *Latin* Editions of the Version of St. *Jerom*. Many were employed under the Reign of *Charles* the Great in reforming the Editions of the Bible, as this Prince himself testifies in his Preface upon the Homilies of *Paul* the Deacon, where he says,

(d) Sometimes mention the Old, &c.] The Councils of *Toledo* in 653, 656, and 675, alledge both the one and the other of these two Versions. *Julian* of *Toledo* gives the preference to the *Chronologies* of the *Septuagint*. *Peter Lombard* speaking of the *Terrestrial Paradise*, observes, that in the ancient

Version it was read *ad Orientem* and not *à principio*. St. *Anselm*, St. *Bernard*, *Rupert*, *Richard de St. Victor* as likewise some Authors of the latter Ages, as St. *Bonaventure* and St. *Thomas*, take their Citations sometimes from the ancient Version, and make frequently mention of the same.

That he had taken care to have all the Books both of the Old and New Testament, which were adulterated before by the unskilfulness of the Transcribers, corrected with all the exactness imaginable. Afterward *Stephen* the II. Abbot of *Cîteaux* having still observed a great variety in the Manuscripts of the Version of *St. Jerom*, did consult with the *Jews* concerning them, the better to enable himself to follow in his Editions those Lectons which were most consonant either to the *Hebrew* or *Chaldean* Text. But as from time to time new Errors slip into these many Copies of the Bible, the Authors of the latter Ages endeavoured to Correct them in their Works, which they intituled, *Corrections of the Bible*, of which two Manuscripts are extant in the Library of the *Sorbonne*.

These several Alterations are the true Cause why our Vulgar Version is not altogether conformable to the Original Translation of *St. Jerom*; for though it is the same, nevertheless it is almost impossible, but that in process of time, among the many Alterations many Errors must likewise have crept into the several Editions. But in the main, our Vulgar Version is the Translation of *St. Jerom* in reference to all the Books contained in the *Jewish* Canon, except the *Psalms*. It must be confessed that our Vulgar is not consonant Word for Word in the same Purity to the Canon of the *Hebrew Truth*, or the *Divine Library* of *St. Jerom* published not long ago by Father *Martianai*: But the difference betwixt these two Editions is not very considerable, unless in the Books of the *Kings*, and in the *Proverbs*, where there are still remaining some Sentences of the ancient Vulgar Translation.

But this assertion must not be extended without exception to all the Canonical Books of the Old Testament as received among us. For, the Version of the *Psalms* is not the same which *St. Jerom* made from the *Hebrew*, and which is extant in his Works, and in the Canon of the *Hebrew Truth* of Father *Martianai*; but it is the Vulgar Translation revised and reformed by *St. Jerom* after the *Hexapla*, with the *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, which may yet be seen in the ancient Manuscripts of the *Psalms*, commonly called the *Gallican Psalter*. The Books of *Tobit* and *Judith* though not in the *Jewish* Canon, are nevertheless of the Version of *St. Jerom*, as well as the Additions to the Books of *Esther* and *Daniel*. But the Books of *Baruch*, the Book of Wisdom and *Ecclesiasticks* and that of the *Maccabees* are of the ancient Vulgar Translation.

### S E C T. III.

*Of the exactness and authority of the Vulgar Version; in what Sense this Version was declared Authentic in the Council of Trent; whether the same ought to be preferred before the Hebrew Original or other Versions.*

**T**HOUGH it must be confessed (as we have observed before), That the Version of *St. Jerom* from the *Hebrew* Text, is not altogether without defects, and that he has not always attained to the Sense of the Text in its utmost Perfection; it is nevertheless undeniable that this Version is very exact and conformable to the Original; these passages where the difference lies being but few in Number and of no great Consequence. But there are some Passages in his Version, where he has retained the Sense of the Old Vulgar Translation, notwithstanding he has given another Interpretation to those *Hebrew* Words, in his *Hebrew* Questions; either not to deviate too much from the general received Opinion, or rather, because he had changed his own, finding that his Observations made upon these Passages were not altogether exact, and that the Sense he had given them in his Version was preferable to the other. As for instance; in his *Hebrew* Questions he says, upon the 2d Verse of the 1st Chapter of *Genesis*, that the *Hebrew* Word implies rather *incubabat* than *crebatur*, whereas he has retained *crebatur* in his Version; perhaps because he judged his former Observation not of sufficient weight. He has also retained some Expressions of the ancient Version which did not alter the Sense, as in these words, *Let us go abroad*, spoken by *Cain* to *Abel* in the 8th Verse of the 4th Chapter. And he has not been always over scrupulous to bind himself to the *Hebrew* Text, but deviates from it sometimes, which nevertheless is but seldom, and in matters of little moment. Besides this, it ought to be ob-



served, that in many of these Passages the Fault is not on St. *Jerom's* side, whose Version in its genuine Purity came much nearer to the *Hebrew Text*; but is to be attributed to the many adulterations crept into the Version of St. *Jerom*. Thus for instance in the 3d Chapter Verse 15th. *ipse pro ipsa*. In the 8th Chapter Verse 17th. *Et non revertebatur, pro Et revertebatur*. In the 26th Chapter Verse 52d. *Non invenimus, pro invenimus*; and in many more Passages, which may be seen by comparing our Vulgar Translation with the *Hebrew Verity*, published by Father *Martianai*. But, as has been observed before, all the differences which are to be found betwixt our most correct Editions of the Vulgar Version, and the *Hebrew Text*, are of no great consequence, there being very few of them, that imply any Alteration in the Sense, and none that interfere in Point of Doctrine or Morality. To be short, there are few Versions more exact and more conformable to their Originals.

Taking this for granted, there arises a Question, in what Sense this Version has been declared Authentic by the Council of *Trent*, this being a Point much in dispute among the Divines: For whilst some have explained the Intention of the Council to have been, to give this Translation the preference to the Original Text, and to consider it as the only Authentic Holy Scripture; others assert, that this Version was put in the same degree with the other *Latin* Translations, and had in no wise impaired the Authority and authentic Prerogative of the Original Text. Some there have been, who have maintained, that the Council by declaring this Version Authentic, did exempt it from all Errors; as others do indeed confess that there are some defects in the Vulgar Version, but very inconsiderable ones, and such as may be discovered and corrected either by the *Hebrew* or *Greek Text*; so that the Council's intention was, to declare it free from all Errors, which concern either our Faith or Morality.

Let us see the Words used in the Decree of this Council in the 4th Sess. *The Holy Council taking into Consideration, the Advantage the Holy Church would reap by Determining, which of all the Latin Editions of the Sacred Writ published to the World, ought to pass for Authentic, ordains and declares, that the same Ancient and Vulgar Version, which has been approved of and used in the Church for many Ages past, shall be considered as the Authentic Version in all public Lessons, Disputes, Sermons and Expositions, which no body shall presume to reject, under what pretence soever.* For the better understanding the true meaning of this Decree, we ought to enquire into the proper signification of the word *Authentic*. This is properly a Term of Law, implying as much as a certain Deed or Instrument justifiable in Law, and invested with a public Authority. A Deed may be thus qualified, (1st,) Because it is acknowledged for an Original written by the Author's own Hand, in which Sense a last Will or Testament is look'd upon as Authentic being written by the Testator's own Hand. (2dly,) If it be a faithful Copy, and authorised as such, of any Text in the Languages it was writ at first: And in this Sense, I suppose it is when *Tertullian* says, That the Authentic Letters of the Apostles were preserved in the Apostolic Churches. And in the same Sense the Deputies of the Pope did in the sixth general Council require, that they should bring forth the Authentic Books, *τὰ ἀσθενήματα ἐκκλησια*, of the Works of these Fathers they were to Cite, out of the Library of the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. For these Copies were no Original Manuscripts of these Fathers, but ancient and faithful Copies. To be short, all Deeds, and Acts signed and sealed by public Officers are Authentic, because they are justifiable in Law, though they be not signed by the Judges or Parties concerned. (3dly,) The word Authentic may be attributed to such Translations, as are known to be conformable to their Originals, and which may serve instead of them. Thus the Versions of certain Pieces written in a Foreign Language, may pass for Authentic, if they are received as true and faithful Translations by People of good Credit. It is unquestionable, that in the first Sense we have no Authentic Sacred Writ, there being no Original extant, Writ by the Hands of the Sacred Writers. In the second Sense, the *Hebrew Text* of the Old, and the *Greek* of the New Testament are Authentic, being faithful Copies, as much as can be supposed in this kind, of the Works of the Sacred Writers. In the last Sense, the Version of the Septuagint, the ancient Vulgar formerly; and now our Vulgar Translations may be considered as Authentic, as being Versions authorised and approved of by public Authority. And in this Sense it is, that the Council of *Trent* has declared our Vulgar Translation Authentic; that is to say: That the Intention of the Council was, that among all the *Latin* Versions, these alone should

should be made use of in public Sermons, Disputes and Conferences. This Authentic qualification however does not imply an exact Conformity in all respects, to the Original Writings, such as have been dictated by the Holy Ghost, or an exemption from all Errors whatsoever: But this Version deservedly claims this Title, as being Morally consonant to the Original, and that both for its Antiquity and exactness it ought to be preferred before other Translations.

This is the utmost extent that can be given to the Decree of the Council of Trent. For, *First*, It was not the Intention of this Council either to prefer before, or compare to the Original Text this Version, but only with the other *Latin* Translations. This may be seen at the very beginning of this Decree, where it is declared, that the whole intention is, to make the World understand, which among all the *Latin* Editions of the Bible ought to pass for Authentic: *Ex omnibus Editionibus Latinis, quæ circumferuntur*. There were at the time of the sitting of this Council many *Latin* Versions of the Bible published, some by Catholics, some by Heretics, so that whilst they made use, in their Citations, of several different Versions, this confusion proved the occasion of great Contestations, and it might easily happen, that the Catholics misguided by the Versions of the Heretics were drawn into an Error; to avoid this inconveniency, the Council did give the preference among all other *Latin* Translations, to the most Ancient, which had been approved of in the Church for many Ages before, which could not be charged with any Error, in point of Faith or Morality, and which was morally conformable to the Original Text: This Version is commanded to be made use of as the only One in all Sermons, Conferences or other publick Acts; without the least diminution however of the authority and authentic Qualification of the Original Text, or of the Chapter, *Ut Veterum*, Distinct. 19. which ordains, that the Books of the Old Testament shall be examined according to the *Hebrew*, and those of the New Testament, according to the *Greek* Text. *Ut veterum Librorum fides de Hebræis Voluminibus examinanda est, ita novorum veritas Græci sermonis normam desiderat*.

*Secondly*, The Council, when it declared the Vulgar Version Authentic, did not thereby declare it as done by Divine Inspiration, neither as a piece conformable in all respects to the Original Text, or free from all Errors; the Council it self having acknowledged some Defects in the Text of the Vulgar Version, did order that the same should be corrected, which was done afterwards; neither is any thing of it to be found in the Canons, and some of the Divines that were present at the said Council assure us of the contrary.

*Thirdly*, The Council did not forbid private Persons to have recourse to the *Hebrew* Text, nay even to other *Latin* Translations made from the *Hebrew*, when they were to explain any Passage in the Holy Scripture, nor did it enjoin them to follow always the Sense of the Vulgar Version; there is full Liberty left to any of the Interpreters to recede from it, and to follow in their Commentaries or their Versions, the Sense of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* Text, as they find it most suitable. Several Interpreters of the Bible, and many Catholic Divines have made use of this Liberty since the sitting of this Council; for they have not only taken their Citations from the Original Text, and the *Oriental* and *Greek* Versions; but have also often deviated from the Sense of the Vulgar Version, and followed that of the Originals, and of some other Versions. Nay, they have without the least scruple made New *Latin* Translations from the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Text, and have made use of them in their Translations of the Bible in their Mother Tongue. The whole Intention of the Council was, that the Vulgar Version should generally be made use of in public Lessons, Disputes, Sermons and Conferences, to avoid the variety and multiplicity of Citations.

Those Divines who were either present at the Council of Trent, or who have written the History and Apology of it, have given the same Interpretation of this Decree of the Council, and have strenuously affirm'd against *Calvin*, that it was not the Intention of this Council to prefer the Version before the Original Text, or to acknowledge no other Holy Scripture divinely inspired besides the Vulgar Translation, or to declare it free from all Errors. Let us see, how *Andreas Vega*, one of the most able Divines that were present at the Council of Trent, refutes *Calvin* and *Melancthon* in his Treatise of Justification, Lib. 15. Chap. 9. "That you may, says he, at last be convinced of your Error, concerning the approbation given by the Council of the Vulgar Translation in the fourth Session, and that you may not in vain trouble your Heads any farther to discover the Errors  
" of



of this Version, pray let me tell you my Opinion in a few Words, upon this Subject, which may also serve for an Answer to *Melancthon*. The Council did not in the least approve of these Errors, which might be found by those that are well versed in Languages and in the Holy Scripture; its approbation extended only to the Vulgar Version corrected and freed from those Errors, which were slip't into it by the negligence of the Transcribers or Printers. It was far from the Intention of the Council, to oblige us to pay a kind of adoration to this Version, as if it were descended from Heaven. They were not ignorant, that the Translator, whoever he were, was no Prophet, and that hitherto God had not judged us worthy of such a Person, as could pretend to Translate the Holy Writ from its native Language into a foreign Tongue, with the same Spirit it was written at first. They had no design to interrupt the laudable Endeavours of able Divines well skill'd in Languages, who agree in this Point, that several Passages might have been better translated, or, that, the Holy Ghost had expressed more by the Words of the Original, and that there might be a more proper Sense deduced from the Text, than, what is to be found in the Vulgar Latin Version. But, in respect of the Honour due to this Version by reason of its antiquity, and the general approbation of all the Councils of the Latin Church, where the same has been received for many Ages pass'd; and that the Faithful might be assured that no pernicious Error can be drawn from thence, but may be read without the least danger; and to prevent all farther confusion occasioned by the Variety of Translations, and to stop the farther progress of making New ones, the Council wisely ordain'd, that this Version should be made use of in all public Lessons, Disputes, Sermons and Commentaries, which were to be writ upon the Scriptures. The reason why this Council did declare the same Authentic, was to let the World understand, that it was not contaminated with any Errors, which might prove pernicious either in point of Doctrine or Morality. And it was for the same Reason that it was ordained, that no body under what pretext soever, should presume to refuse it. The very Expressions used by the Council upon this as well as on such like occasions, are convincing Arguments that this was the real Intention of the Council. But to remove all farther doubt, I can with all the veracity in the World appeal to the Testimony of the most Illustrious and most Reverend Cardinal *de Sanctâ Cruce*, a Person equally famous for his Piety and Learning, who as he is a great Patron of Learning, so he was President in this and the following Sessions. For he told me the Night before this Decree pass'd, and several times since, that the Intention of the Council did not extend any farther in favour of the Vulgar Translation. Thus the approbation of the Council is no Bar to you nor any body else, to have recourse to the Spring-head, in case of any difficulty, and to communicate to the Public, what ever you may find conducing to assist and instruct the Latin Divines, and to furnish them with fresh Matter to render this Vulgar Version more perfect, and to receive what they find most agreeable to the Original and the Sense of the Holy Ghost. The Testimony of this Divine is not only very considerable in it self, but most especially by the Addition of that of the Cardinal *de Sanctâ Cruce*, who being afterwards created Pope, and assumed the Name of *Marcellus II.* *Andreas Vega* durst not have presumed to make use of his Name and Authority in a public Book, unless it had been True.

*Melchior Cane* Bishop of the *Canaries*, who not long after; to wit, under the Pontificat of *Julius II.* was present at the Council of *Trent*: *Don Diego Payva de Andrade* a Portuguese Divine, who was there under the Pontificat of *Pius IV.* And *Alphonfus Salmeron* a Jesuit, who was likewise one of the Divines present at this Council, do agree with *Vega*, that it was not the Intention of the Council to prefer the Vulgar Translation before the Original Text, but only before the other Latin Versions; and that no Prohibition was intended against the Allegations of the various Lectons in the Hebrew and Greek, and to improve them (as *Salmeron* says expressly) not only for the establishment of good Manners, but also for the proving and edifying our Faith and Doctrine, by Arguments drawn from the Original Text of the Holy Ghost. These Authors had the opportunity of learning from several of those that were concerned in this Decree, the true meaning of the Council.

The Jesuit *Mariana*, who died in the Year 1624, is of the same Opinion, and alledges in his own behalf not only *Vega*, but also *Lainez* General of the Jesuits, who was also present at this Council. And in the same Sense this Decree has been interpreted by the best Divines, that have writ upon this Subject since the

time

time of this Council; as by *Genebrard, Ribera, Serarius, Bonfrerius, Sanders, Adam Contzen, Turner, Dominique Bannex,* and many more.

*Bellarmin* objects against *Calvin*, that it is no less than a Calumny to affirm, that the Council of *Trent* gave the preference to the Vulgar Version before the *Hebrew* Text. These are his Words in the 10th Chapter of his 2d Book of the Word of God: "Another Untruth, says he, raised by *Calvin* is, that the Fathers assembled at the Council of *Trent* did ordain, that no Credit ought to be given to those, who draw the pure Water from the Spring-head, and who discover Falsities and Errors; by the perspicuity of unquestionable Truth. I call it an Untruth, because there is nothing like it in the Decree of the Council. For the Fathers don't make the least mention of the Originals, but only in respect to the many different *Latin* Translations, which are in every Bodies Hands, they pitch'd upon one, which they prefer'd before all others. With a constancy and gravity altogether agreeable to the Church they did prefer the Old before the New ones, one which had been established by a long Tract of Time before those that were of a very late Date, and as one may say, undigested; and to be short, they selected One among a great many, that seem'd to contradict one another. In the same manner *Bellarmin* speaks of the Authority of the *Greek* Text of the New Testament in the 7th Chapter of the same Book. "As to what relates to the Authority of the Edition of the *Greek* Text of the New Testament, it is unquestionable, but that nothing can come in Competition, with that of the Apostles, if we were not entirely convinced that the same had been adulterated. And in this respect I am of the same Opinion, I have declared before in reference to the *Hebrew* Originals: To wit, That all the *Greek* Editions are not generally adulterated, and that on the other Hand they are not to be considered always as the pure Originals, whereby to Correct without contradiction, all that is disagreeable to it; as *Calvin* and *Chemnitius*, have falsely imagined. This Cardinal says two Things: The First, that the *Greek* Text, is not generally adulterated; which is to be understood even of those Passages that are different from the *Latin*, for, it is evident, that where there is a conformity betwixt the *Greek* and *Latin*, it could scarce enter into the Thoughts of those (who, to patronise the Vulgar Version, are no great admirers of the *Greek* and *Hebrew*), to affirm, that the *Greek* Text was adulterated in these Places because that by consequence the *Latin* must be so too. The Second is, that the *Greek* Text is not so pure and exact, as to serve in all respects for a Rule to Correct the *Latin* by the *Greek*. He does not say, that it may never be done; but only that it is not to be done in all respects. Thus by resuming his Argument, he always limits his Assertion to this, that there are certain Passages, where the *Latin* deserves the Preference before the *Greek*. "Now the *Greek* Editions, says he, are not always free from defects, but several Errors are crept into them by the carelessness of the Transcribers, and that therefore it is not always the surest way to Correct the *Latin* by the *Greek*, is what I am going to prove by Examples.

Lastly, Cardinal *Pallavicin* treating on purpose of this Subject in his 6th Book and 17th Chapter of the History of the Council of *Trent*, does assert, (1st,) That the Council of *Trent*, did not compare the Vulgar Edition with the *Hebrew* or *Greek*, but only with other Translations. (2dly,) That it suffices for a Version to be declared Authentic, if the same be not adulterated positively in any Part, nor different from the Original even by inadvertency in the essential Parts. (3dly,) That the Council did not declare the Vulgar Version perfect and free from all Errors. (4thly,) That the Council did not take away from the Catholick Interpreters the Liberty of Examining the Books of the Old Testament after the *Hebrew*, and those of the New after the *Greek* Originals, and to elucidate and rectify the Sense of the Vulgar by the Original Text, according to the Appointment of the Chapter, *Unverbum, &c.* These Assertions he maintains by the Testimony of those Divines that were present at the Council of *Trent*, and were cited by us before, whose Authority removes all farther doubt concerning the Design and Intention of the Council, which indeed is evident enough from the very Words of the Decree.

Reason it self tells us, that there is not the least Probability that the Council should declare the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Texts not Authentic, and the Vulgar Version absolutely conformable to the Original, and altogether free from Errors: For from thence must follow, that both the *Eastern* and *Western* Churches had made a Bible, which was not Authentic, the Rule of their Faith, for the First six Ages,



they having not made use of the Vulgar Version, but of the Version of the Septuagint for the Old Testament, and, of the Greek Text, or else of a Latin Translation quite different from ours, for the New Testament; and that the Eastern Churches never had, neither have at this Day an Authentic Bible. It must likewise be affirmed, that the other Eastern Churches, that never made use of the Vulgar Latin Translation, never had the Authentic Scripture. One convincing Proof, that the Council, when it declared the Vulgar Version Authentic, did not necessarily imply the same to be conformable to the Original Text, is, that the Version of the *Psalms* of St. *Jerom* from the *Hebrew* were not declared Authentic, but the ancient Vulgar Translation. No question but the Council could not be ignorant, that this Translation was not consonant to the *Hebrew* Original, whereas the Version of St. *Jerom* came much nearer to it; what could therefore be the Reason, why the Council did not approve the Version of the *Psalms* of St. *Jerom*, when it approved the other Books of his Version? An evident Proof, that the Council did not measure this Authentic qualification by the exactness of the Version, and its congruity with the *Hebrew* Text, but by the Authority it had received by its long continuance in the Church. For, as the Church had generally retained the ancient Vulgar Version of the *Psalms*, the Version of St. *Jerom* being never introduced among them; the Council judged it most convenient to prefer the First, to conform themselves to the present Custom of the Church. Besides, if the Council, by declaring the Vulgar Version Authentic, had intended to declare it free from all Errors, it must of necessity follow, that the same both before and since the time of this Council had been looked upon, as absolutely free from all Errors. But it is unquestionable that before the Time of this Council it was not free from defects; that *Nicolas de Lyra*, *Paul de Burgos*, *Priddy*, *Jerom ab Olastro*, *Isidore Clarus*, *Sixtus* of *Sienna* and *Cajetan*, have both observed and discovered them: That the Vulgar Version was so far from being exempt from Errors, at the time of this Council, that the Popes *Sixtus V.* and *Clement VIII.* did cause the same to be reformed in many Places; and that even after the Correction made by Order of Pope *Clement VIII.* the most strenuous Asserters of the Papal Authority have confessed that there remained still some Errors. For, *Lucas* of *Bruges*, who had undertaken this task with a great deal of assiduity, having sent to Cardinal *Bellarmin* since the Corrections made by Order of Pope *Clement VIII.* his Observations upon these Passages, which, according to his Judgment wanted a farther Correction, the Cardinal answered him in these Words: "I give you thanks for the Book you have sent me, but let me tell you, that we did not intend to correct the Vulgar Bible with all the exactness that could be, but, that, designedly we have pass'd by many things, which seem'd to want Correction. These were not only such Errors as were slip't into this Version by the Negligence of the Transcribers or Printers, which the Correctors would without doubt have taken care of, but rather certain Defects committed by the Translator, which they did not judge convenient to be reformed. And that this is the real Truth appears by the Preface it self, which *Clement VIII.* has caused to be prefixed before his Edition; where it is expressly mentioned that many things were altered on purpose in the Vulgar Version, and that other Matters were left unaltered, though they seem'd to want some Alteration: *Sicut nonnulla consilio mutata, ita etiam alia quæ mutanda videbantur, immutata relicta sunt.* They give a threefold Reason for this: (1<sup>st</sup>.) For fear of giving offence to the People, by too many Alterations. (2<sup>dly</sup>.) Because it was possible that our Ancestors might have some *Hebrew* and *Greek* Editions more perfect than now a days, which perhaps are much degenerated from their Genuine Purity by the Negligence of the Transcribers: *Qui fortasse tam longo tempore identidem describendo minus puri atque integri evaserunt.* They don't alledge here that the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Text is adulterated in all these Places, where it disagrees with the Vulgar Version; but only that it is possible, some Errors may be crept in by the frequent Transcriptions. The (3<sup>d</sup>.) Reason which is alledged, why they would not make any more Alterations in the Vulgar Translation, is, that it was not their Design to compose a New Edition, or to Correct and Reform the Translator of the ancient Vulgar Version, but only to publish this Version free from all the Errors of the Transcribers and Printers. Nevertheless there are remaining many Errata in the Latin Text of the Vulgar Version, many of which were observed and published by *Lucas* of *Bruges* in the Year 1618, after the Correction of this Version. He maintains in his Preface, that the Correctors at *Rome* have let slip many Errata; and appeals to the

Testimonies

Testimonies of Cardinal *Bellarmin* and of *Bandinus*, Director of the Press in the *Vatican*, who, says he, commended my endeavours, and acknowledged that the Bible corrected by Order of Pope *Clement VIII.* was not free from all Errors.

After the Council of *Trent* had approv'd and preferr'd the Vulgar Version before others, they ordered that a New and very Correct impressi<sup>o</sup>n should be made of the same. But from the time of the Decree of this Council made in the Year 1546. till the beginning of the Pontificat of *Sixtus V.* which began in the Year 1585. there was no New Edition of the Bible corrected, and authoris'd as such. *Pius* the IV. and *Pius V.* were the first that laid Hand to the Work; but it advanced but slowly under them, it being not brought to Perfection till under the Pontificat of *Sixtus V.* who caus'd a New Edition of the Vulgar Version, corrected, to be published. Those, who were employed in this Work followed this Method: They revised the Text after the ancient Manuscripts, and in case of any ambiguity or variety in the Manuscripts, they had recourse to the *Hebrew* and *Greek*, to determin which Lecti<sup>o</sup>n ought to be preferr'd in the Text of the Version. This work being finished, Pope *Sixtus V.* did spare nothing to have it carefully Printed in the Printing-House of the *Vatican*, and he assures us, that he had with his own Hands corrected the Faults of the Press: After which he declared by a Bull prefixed to this Edition, which appear'd to the World in the Year 1590. at *Rome*, with the advice of the Cardinals deputed for that Purpose by his own Consent and according to the Plenitude of his Power, that, this Vulgar Edition of the Old and New Testament which he had caus'd to be published, being without question the same Vulgar Version declared Authentic by the Council of *Trent* and printed with all the exactness imaginable, should be read only in all the Churches; forbidding any impressi<sup>o</sup>n to be made for the future of this New Edition of the Vulgar Version, that should not be conformable to this, or to add any various Lecti<sup>o</sup>ns in the Margin; ordaining at the same time, that all the Books of the Offices of the Church should be corrected after this Vulgar Version, under pain of the grand Excommunication incurr'd *ipso facto*, to be referr'd to the Pope, and other Penalties mentioned in the same Bull given at *St. Maria Majori* the first day of *March* in the Year 1589. After some few Copies of this Edition were dispersed, it was soon after suppress'd; and in two Years after Pope *Clement VIII.* published another very different from this in many Places, which he back'd by his Authority as the only Authentic one, forbidding by his Bull dated the 9th of *November*, in the Year 1592. to Print any others for the future. Mr. *James* an English Protestant has been very exact in collecting even the least differences of these two Editions, which he makes to amount to above two thousand: 'Tis true some of them are about trifles, but many of them are likewise of no small consequence: *Clement VIII.* has followed more closely the *Hebrew* Text, and his Edition is much more Correct than that of *Sixtus V.* though he expresses himself in far more moderate Terms in his Preface prefixed to this Edition. Moreover, though the Vulgar Version be not altogether free from Errors and Defects, it must nevertheless be confess'd, that the Council of *Trent* had sufficient Reason to prefer this before all the other *Latin* Versions as some of the more moderate among the Protestants have been forced to confess themselves (a); First, Because this Version was the most Ancient of all those extant at the time of this Council. Secondly, Because the greatest part of it was done by *St. Jerom*, who was a very exact and faithful Interpreter. Thirdly, Because the same had been used for many Ages pass'd in the *Latin* Church. Fourthly, Because this Version is writ in a simple and natural Style free from affectation, and yet full of noble Expressions. Fifthly, That all taken together this is the best and most perfect Version. It is therefore unjustly done by some of the Protestants who thus exclaim against this Decree of the Council of *Trent*; and either put a worse interpretation upon the Sense of it, or else endeavour to vilify the Vulgar *Latin* Translation.

(a) As some of the Protestants are forced to confess, [Testament, *Paul Egius*, *Ludovius de Dieu*, *Casautus*, &c. *Theodore Beza* in his Preface upon the New *Grocius* and *Walton*.



## S E C T. IV.

## Of the New Latin Translations of the Bible.

**I**T was not till the last Age, that any New *Latin* Translations were made of the Bible from the *Hebrew* Text. 'Tis true, *Nicolas de Lyra* and *Paul de Burgos*, had before that time corrected many Passages in the *Vulgar* Version, according to the true Sense of the *Hebrew* Text; but they never attempted to give us an entire Version of the Bible.

*Sanctes Pagninus*, a *Dominican* Monk, was the First who attempted to make a New Translation from the Modern *Hebrew* Text. His design was encouraged by Pope *Leo X.* who promised to defray the Charges of the Impression. He was employed in this great Work near thirty Years, which appear'd in Print the first time at *Lyons* in the Year 1527. being authorized by two Letters of Pope *Adrian VI.* and Pope *Clement VII.* which are prefixt to it. He declares that he has receded as little as possibly could be from the *Vulgar* Translation; and that only in those Places, where it was different from the Sense of the *Hebrew*; nevertheless his Version is quite another thing than the *Vulgar*, having been too scrupulous in adhering to the words of the Text, the utmost rigour of the *Grammatical* Rules, which makes his Translation obscure, and to favour of Barbarity in many Places; having neglected one of the fundamental Rules of Translation, which is to be careful to express rather the Sense than the Words of an Original. He has also been misguided in some Places, having affected too much to follow the Explications of the *Jewish Rabbis*. He might likewise have saved himself the trouble of altering the ancient and commonly received Names of Men and Cities, to substitute in their Place, others, pronounced according to the New punctuation. It must however be confess'd that this undertaking of *Pagninus* is a very useful Work, that his Translation is both exact and faithful, and very proper to explain the literal Sense of the *Hebrew* Text.

*Arias Montanus* being employed by King *Philip II.* to compile an Edition of the *Biblia Polyglotta*, did content himself with making a revival of the Translation of *Pagninus*, in which he reformed some Passages which he judged not agreeable to the literal Sense. His chief aim has been to Translate the *Hebrew* Words by the same number of *Latin* ones, so that he has accommodated his whole Translation to the most scrupulous Rules of *Grammar*, without making any reflection whether his Version were tolerable *Latin* or could pass for intelligible. So that this Version is rather to be look'd upon as a *Grammatical* Commentary, than a True Version, which is more proper to instruct young Beginners in the *Hebrew*, than to be read separately.

The Translation of *Thomas Malvenda*, a *Spanish* *Dominican*, as it is more *Grammatical* and Barbarous than the Version of *Arias Montanus*, so it is not much in request.

Notwithstanding that Cardinal *Cajetan* was not versed in the *Hebrew*, he undertook nevertheless a Translation of some part of the Bible Word for Word from the *Hebrew*, by the Assistance of two Persons very well skill'd in that Language, the one being a *Jew*, the other a *Christian*, who made it their business to Translate literally the *Hebrew* Words. His intention was by this means to give us a Translation conformable in all respects to the Original; and he has taken effectual care to avoid those obscure and barbarous Expressions which must needs have ensued, if he had been too anxious in translating the Text *Grammatically*.

But the design of *Isidore Clarius* a Monk of *Mont-Cassin*, and afterwards Bishop of *Foligno*, appears to be both more reasonable and less difficult. For he did not pretend to make an entire New *Latin* Translation of the Bible, but only to reform the *Vulgar* Version after the *Hebrew* Text: He did this with good Success in many Places, yet confesses himself, that he has pass'd by some, where there was no great difference betwixt the Sense of the *Vulgar*, and the Original, to give some allowance to Custom, and to give as little offence as could be to the Catholics, if he had made too many alterations in the *Vulgar* Version. He declares however, that he has corrected above eight thousand Passages in the Bible.

These are all the Translations of Note of all the Books of the Old Testament done by Catholic Authors from the *Hebrew* Text, not reckoning the Versions of some

some particular Books, as of the *Psalms* by the Learned *Simeon de Muis*, who has been very careful in retaining both the Sense and the Words of the Vulgar Version, as far as could be done without injustice to the Sense of the *Hebrew* Text, and has not tied himself up so strictly to all the *Grammatical* Niceties. So that his Version is both intelligible and very good *Latin*, without the least affectation of Elegancy and without Barbarisms.

The Protestants have also signalized themselves by several New Translations of the Bible, done from the *Hebrew* Original.

*Sebastian Munster* was the First among them, who undertook to give us a New *Latin* Translation of the Bible from the *Hebrew*. He has not been so anxious in adhering to the *Grammatical* signification of the Words, as *Pagninus* and *Arias Montanus*, but has explained the Sense in better *Latin*; so that his Version is more intelligible and less barbarous, though he has been very careful not to deviate from the Sense of the *Hebrew* Text, and has even retained some of their Idiorisms. He has also consulted the Commentaries of the best *Rabbies* and commonly has followed their Interpretations; but with discretion, having chosen such as he judged most agreeable to Truth. *Huetius* bestows upon him the Character of a Translator well versed in the *Hebrew* Language, whose Style is very exact and conformable to the Original. Truly, his Translation is the most literal, but at the same time the most faithful of all those done by the Protestants.

The Translation of *Leo Juda* a *Zuinglist*, printed at *Zurick* in the Year 1543, and afterwards reprinted by *Robert Stephens* in the Year 1545. in Two Columns, (one containing the Vulgar Version with the Notes of *Vatable*,) is written in a more elegant Style, than *Munster's*; but this Author recedes sometimes too far from the literal Sense; and in some places, changes the Expressions for better *Latin*, but which are more remote from the true Sense, and don't express with the same force the true meaning of the *Hebrew* Text. He also sometimes gives himself too much Liberty, to determin the Sense of the *Hebrew* Text, according to his own particular Opinion.

But at the same time he has not taken near so much Liberty as *Sebastian Chatillon*, commonly known by the Name of *Castalio*, who having taken a fancy to give the World an elegant *Latin* Version of the Bible, has mixt, his prophane Expressions with the Text of the Holy Writ. There is not the least Mark in this Version of that noble Simplicity and natural Grandeur, of that unexpressible Force of the Style observed in the Originals and in the other Versions: His whole Style being affected, effeminate, overcharged with false Rhetoric, and in a word absolutely Prophane, and not suitable to the weight of the Subject he treats of. He is besides this too bold in his Expressions, not always exact nor faithful, and after all, does not always write good *Latin*.

The Version of *Tremellius* and *Junius*, has much more of the true natural Simplicity. The chief *Hebraisms* are preserved, and the whole is exactly conformable to the *Hebrew* Text, without the least Obscurity or Barbarity; however this Version is not altogether free from Defects. The Authors have affected to make use every where of the Pronouns relatives, which are not in the *Hebrew*, and also superfluous; neither are they always so conscientious, but that sometimes they put in more than is in the Text, and add some Words to extort the Sense they would give it. They likewise very frequently recede without the least necessity from the Words of the Vulgar Version, instead of which they often put others, which are neither so Good, nor so Noble.

*Andrew* and *Luke Osiander*, have acted with more reservedness in their Editions of the Bible; for they have contented themselves to add to the Vulgar Version such Corrections, as they believed ought to be made according to the *Hebrew* Text, without the least diminution nevertheless of the Text of the ancient Version; but have inserted their amendments printed in a Character different from the Text of the Vulgar Version, which indeed may easily breed some confusion: For which reason it would have been more proper to have printed the Differences of the *Hebrew* Text in the Margin.

This Method seems the most Rational, and has been followed by most of the learned Catholic Commentators. They never pretended to touch the ancient Vulgar Version authorized and received in the Church for the publick Offices: But as they were convinced that the said Version was not altogether exact, and that they did not think themselves obliged to follow it in every respect; they did without the least difficulty make their Observations in their Commentaries con-



cerning the Differences betwixt this Version and the *Hebrew* Text, which Passages, being translated according to the literal Sense, they have put in the Margin. According to this Model a New Edition of the *Latin* Bible might be projected; to wit: To have the Text of the Vulgar Translation well corrected and printed, and to put in the Margin those Passages where it differs from the *Hebrew*, with the literal Translations. The only difficulty would be in the *Psalms*, where the differences betwixt the ancient Vulgar Version and the *Hebrew* being so many, it would be impossible to put them all in the Margin without making a Confusion. For which reason my Lord Bishop of *Meaux* found himself obliged to cause the Version of the *Psalms* of St. *Jerom* from the *Hebrew* Text, to be printed in a Column on the side of the Vulgar Version of the *Psalms*; Mr. *de Muis* (whose Example I have followed,) has done the same, viz. reformed the Text of the ancient Version, put it thus corrected in the next Column to the ordinary Vulgar Version. In so doing there is not the least Opposition to the Bull of *Clement VIII.* which forbids the Printing of the Vulgar Version, otherwise than it is extant in the Edition of the *Vatican*; this Bull having only a respect to the Printers and Booksellers, who Print and Sell the Text of the Vulgar Version; therefore, provided there be no Alterations made in the Text to be printed, there is no prohibition against any Marginal Notes, expressing the various Lectons, and the Differences betwixt this Version and the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Originals; For, otherwise it must follow, that the most learned Interpreters of our Age have acted contrary to, and incurr'd the Penalty of Excommunication contained in the Bull of *Clement VIII.*

## CHAP. VIII.

### Of the Oriental Translations.

#### SECT. I.

##### Of the Chaldee Paraphrasts.

THE *Chaldean* Language is the same, which being used in *Assyria*, the *Jews* after their return from *Babylon* used for their common Language, and in process of Time became their natural Language. This gave Birth to the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts of the Original Text of the Bible, called TARGUM. For the Doctors of the *Jewish* Law seeing themselves under a necessity to make the *Jews* understand the Text of the Holy Scripture, which was read in *Hebrew* in their Synagogues, were forced to explain the Law to them in a Language intelligible to all. This is the true Origin of the *Chaldee* Paraphrasts. But it is very uncertain at what time these Sort of Interpretations began first to appear in writing: It seems, as if they were not much in use, before the *Hebrew* Language was no more understood by the Vulgar Sort of the *Jews*; which was not immediately after the Captivity, but a considerable time after, as we have shewn before.

The First of the *Chaldee* Paraphrases which has been transmitted to us, is that of ONKELOS, which by some is made Contemporary with our Saviour, and whom some confound with RABBI AKIBA, or with the Interpreter *Aquila*. But the whole is full of uncertainty, it being not very probable that he should be the same with *Akiba* or with *Aquila*; neither have we any assurance that this Interpreter was contemporary with our Saviour.

The Second Translation is of *Jonathan Ben-Uziel* a Disciple of *Illel*, whom they make likewise contemporary with our Saviour, or at least with his Disciples. But as the TARGUM of *Onkelos* is only upon the *Pentateuch*, so the true TARGUM of *Jonathan* is only upon the Books called by the *Jews* the *Prophetical Books*; for that which has been foisted into the World upon the *Pentateuch* under the Name of *Jonathan*, is supposititious, and of a later date, as may be sufficiently seen by the difference of the Styles, by the new and barbarous Words and the many Fables inserted in this TARGUM upon the *Pentateuch*; Not to alledge here, That mention is made of the *Misna*, of the City of *Constantinople*, of the Sea of *Tiberias*,

rias, and of some other Matters which have not the least congruity with the time, in which it is supposed *Jonathan* to have lived.

These are the only two *Chaldee* Paraphrases that can lay claim to any Antiquity; For though it remains uncertain, whether they were coincident with the time of our Saviour, there is nevertheless a great deal of Probability, that they are much more Ancient than the *Gemara*, as is sufficiently evident from the Purity of the Sense in which they are written. The Translation of *Onkelos* is pretty exact, and even Word for Word from the *Hebrew* Text: That of *Jonathan* is more copious and augmented by some Additions.

The TARGUM upon the *Hagiographa*, which is attributed by some to *Joseph* firmam'd the *Blind*, and by others to different Authors, is unquestionably of a fresher date, than those of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*, as is likewise the TARGUM of *Jerusalem*, which is written in a most barbarous Style, intermixed with a great many Foreign Words, taken from the *Greek*, *Latin* and *Persian* Languages. In the last are whole Sentences, which you meet with likewise in the New Testament; but it is possible the Author took them from thence, or else that they were certain Proverbs used among the *Jews*.

There are besides these some other Manuscript *Chaldee* Paraphrases, but which are not very Ancient, full of Fables and written in a barbarous Style. We will, without insisting any farther upon them only make this reflection, that it is most surprising, how it came to pass that neither *Origen* nor *St. Jerom* have made the least mention of these *Chaldee* Paraphrases, which might be a very good Argument against the Antiquity of those of *Onkelos* and *Jonathan*. But however it be, the *Jews* tell us Miracles of those Two Translations, to give them the more Authority, and to make the World believe, that those who were the Authors of them were endued with a Prophetic Spirit. But these are their ordinary Fictions, which ought not to be regarded. We must nevertheless not fall upon the other Extreme, and imagine that these Paraphrases are altogether useless and ought not to be used by Christians. There are ancient Translations or Interpretations, which may be useful in several respects: For, (First,) They are circumstantial Evidences which corroborate the Sincerity of the *Hebrew* Text; unto which they are Consonant, and serve sometimes to determine the Signification of Words, which may have divers Significations. (Secondly,) In several Passages they illustrate some Matters concerning the Word of God and the Messiah; as especially in that celebrated Prophecy of *Jacob*, where the Word *Shilo* is interpreted by that of *Messiah*, in the TARGUMS of *Onkelos*, *Jonathan* and of *Jerusalem*. (Thirdly,) They illustrate several difficult Passages in the *Hebrew* Text, and interpret the true Sense. (Fourthly,) They make us acquainted with many ancient Customs and Ceremonies used among the *Jews*. Thus far they may be useful to us: But care must be taken, not to adhere always to the Sense of these Interpretations, which sometimes deviate from the literal Sense, to take the opportunity of inserting some Morals or History in the Text, many times of their own Invention, and which are not to be found in the Original.

## SECT. II.

### Of the Syriac Translations of the Bible.

THE Language most commonly used among the Christians of the East next to the *Greek*, is the same which is called the *Syriac* Language, having derived its Name, because it was more particularly made use of in *Syria*. It is properly a Dialect of the ancient *Arabian* or *Chaldean* Language, which may be divided into three different Dialects; to wit, into that of *Babylon*, which is the *Chaldean* Language in its Purity; into that of *Jerusalem*, which is the same used among the *Jews* after their Return out of the Captivity of *Babylon*; and lastly into that of *Antiochia*, which was used by the Christians of *Comagena*, and of some other Provinces bordering upon *Syria*, where this was the native Language of the Country.

There



There is not the least question, but that in the first Age of the Church, the Christians living in those Parts, had a Translation of the Bible in this Language; for as they were not skilled in the *Greek*, and their Church Offices were celebrated in the *Syriac* Language, it was absolutely requisite to have a Version of the Bible, which they might read in the Churches, and insert in their Church Offices. But it seems very probable that their First Translations were made from the Version of the Septuagint. We have observed before, that *Masius* had a very ancient Edition of a *Syriac* Version of the Old Testament, done from the *Hexapla*: But, besides this Version, the *Maronites* have another Translation of all the Books of the Old Testament, done from the *Hebrew* Text, which they cry up for its Antiquity, even to that degree, that some among them pretend to Affirm, that some part of it was done in the Time of King *Solomon* at the Intercession of *Hiram* King of *Tyrus*, and that the other Books done since the Time of *Solomon*, were translated under the Reign of *Abgarus* King of *Edessa*. This is the same Version *Gabriel Sionita* has credited upon too slight a Foundation. For, it remains as yet undecided, whether the *Syriac* Version cited by St. *Basil* and by St. *Ambrose* upon the Work of Creation, by St. *Chrysostom* and by *Theodoret* upon the *Psalms*, by *Procopius*, and in the *Greek Scholia*, is the same we have now a-days. But howsoever it be, both the Time and the Author of this Translation is as yet uncertain, which is much in use among the *Maronites*, the *Nestorians*, and the Oriental *Jacobites*. The first who publish'd this Version was *Gabriel Sionita*, who took care of that Impression of it which is extant in the *Polyglott* of *Paris*. Mr. *Walton* has inserted afterwards this Version in the *English Polyglott*, but more correct and revised by many Manuscripts, and augmented with the Translations of the Books of *Judith*, *Tobit*, *Baruch*, *Jeremiah*, the History of *Susannah*, *Bel* and the *Dragon*, the Song of the Children in the Fiery Furnace, and two or three of the Books of the *Maccabees*.

This Version is done from the *Hebrew* Text, notwithstanding which, it is not always agreeable to this Original, but in some places is more conformable to the *Samaritan Pentateuch*, and in some to the Version of the Septuagint. Nevertheless, the Author sticks closer to the literal Sense of the *Hebrew* Text, than the *Lxx* Interpreters have done; and as there is a great Affinity betwixt the *Hebrew* and *Syriac* Languages, there are certain Passages, in which he has more happily express'd the Sense of the Text, than any of the other Interpreters in their Versions; and yet is this Translation not altogether free from Errors, some of which are to be attributed to the Authors, but many to the negligence and ignorance of the Transcribers, who have confounded many times such of the *Syriac* Letters as had a resemblance to one another, and have in many places put one Name instead of another. In the *Psalms* the *Syriac* Interpreter has taken the Liberty to leave out the ancient Titles or Inscriptions of each *Psalms*, in lieu of which he has given us others which are an Abstract of the Contents of each *Psalms*. A certain Argument, that the Author of this Version was no *Jew*, but a *Christian*, he having applied several *Psalms* to *Jesus Christ* and his Church.

### S E C T. III.

#### Of the Arabic Versions of the Bible.

THE *Arabian* Language, which was included (till the Sixth Age of the Church,) within the Confines of *Arabia*, was afterwards by the Victories of the *Saracens* spread over a great Part both of the *East* and *West*, and is to this day much in use among a great Part of the *Eastern* Nations. This Language is very Ancient, extremely copious and of great Use for the well understanding of the *Hebrew* Text, they having many Roots in common betwixt them, from whence it comes to pass, that we must often have recourse to the *Arabic* for the better explaining of such *Hebrew* Words, the signification of which is doubtful. There are likewise many useful Observations, and some Ceremonies mention'd in the Bible, which may be best explained by the *Arabic* Books.

The *Arabic* Versions of the Scripture are of two Sorts, some are done by *Christians*, others by *Jews*. There is a Translation of the whole Old Testament, the Author

Author of which is supposed to be *Saadias Gaon* a Jew of *Babylon*, who writ the same about the Year 900, of Christ. Of this whole Book there has been no more published yet than the *Pentateuch*; which the *Jews* caused to be printed at *Constantinople* towards the latter End of the last Age. This Version is done from the *Hebrew* Text, but is rather an Interpretation, than a literal Translation, the Author following sometimes *Onkelos*, sometimes the *Septuagint*.

Besides this Version of the *Pentateuch*, the *Jews* have yet another *Arabic* Translation, published in *Mauritania* in *Hebrew* Characters, which *Erpenius* has caused to be printed in *Arabic* Characters at *Leyden* in the Year 1622. The Author of this Version has exactly followed the *Hebrew* Text, Word for Word; except that in some Passages he has altered the Phrase, when the Scripture attributes certain things to God, which literally taken belong only to Creatures; in lieu of which he makes use of such Expressions, as he judges more suitable to the divine Majesty: As for instance, whereas he should have translated this Passage in the 29th Chapter, Verse 45, 46. of *Exodus*; *I will dwell among the Children of Israel*; he says thus: *I will make my glory to dwell among the Children of Israel*. And in the 3d Chapter, Verse 14. in lieu of, *I am that I am*, he has translated: *The Eternal will be for ever*.

Mr. *Pocock* mentions an *Arabic* Translation of the Books of the *Kings*, done by a Jew, but quite different from the Version of *Saadias*, which he prefers before the other.

Among the *Arabic* Translations done by *Christians*, there is one printed in the *Polyglotts* of *Paris* and *England*; both the Author and the Time when it was writ is uncertain. As much as may be conjectured this Version was made since the *Alcoran*, and even since that of *Saadias*; the Author having taken some Words out of the First and followed the Second in many Places. *Gabriel Sionita* affirms, that the Manuscript from whence he copied this Version, was three hundred Years Old, and is done in part from the *Hebrew* Text, in part from the *Septuagint*. The *Pentateuch* is translated from the *Hebrew* Text, or rather taken from the Version of *Saadias*. The Book of *Joshua* from the *Hebrew*, that of *Job* from the *Syriac*; the rest from the *Septuagint*. The Books of *Esther*, of *Tobit* and the *Macchabees* are left out in this Version. *Augustin* Bishop of *Nebio* assures, that there are two *Arabic* Translations of the Old Testament among the *Oriental Christians*; to wit, One of *Syria* the other of *Egypt*, and that in his Edition of the *Psalms* he has followed the *Syriac* Edition. *Cornelius à Lapide* attests, that in the *Vatican Library*, and in that of *Florence*, there are two Manuscripts of these two Versions, and that he has seen the *Latin* Translations of them, done by *Risius*, a *Maronite* and Archbishop of *Damascus*, which he makes use of in his Commentary upon the Scripture. The Edition inserted in the *Polyglotts* is the *Egyptian* Edition, which is evident from thence, that the same is quite different from that of *Augustin* of *Nebio*, and agrees with many Passages cited by this Author out of the *Egyptian* Edition; and *Gabriel Sionita*, who was the First that inserted this Version in the *Polyglotts* printed at *Paris*, had his Manuscript out of *Egypt*.

There are besides these many other *Arabic* Translations of some Books of the Old Testament, both in Manuscript, and Printed; as for instance a Translation of the *Pentateuch* supposed to be done by *Ibn Sina* from the *Syriac*, and another under the same Name, from the *Septuagint*: Two other Versions of the *Pentateuch*, the Manuscripts of which are in the *Oxford Library*, and mention is made in them of the *Asterisks* and *Obelisks* of *Origen*. Several Translations of the *Psalms*; Two of which are in Print; One published by *Augustin* Bishop of *Nebio* and printed at *Genoa* in the Year 1516. and the other by *Gabriel Sionita* at *Rome* in the Year 1619. Mr. *Walton* makes mention of a Third Translation, of which he says, he has seen several Manuscript Copies, and of a Translation of the Prophets, of which there is a Manuscript Copy in the *Oxford Library*.

All these *Arabic* Versions are made from the *Greek* Version of the *Septuagint*, or else from the *Syriac* Translation, and are neither very Ancient, nor of any considerable Authority, and full of Errors: The best use to be made of them, is that they may serve sometimes to illustrate some difficult Passages.



## S E C T. IV.

*Of some other Oriental Translations of the Bible.*

THE Gospel being preached to all Nations, and the Holy Scripture being the Foundation of the *Christian* Religion, which the *Christians* were obliged to read both in Public and Private, there is no doubt, but that from the first Establishment of *Christianity* among different Nations, the Scripture was translated into their several Languages. St. *Augustin* in his Second Book of the *Christian Doctrine*, observes, That the Holy Scripture was spread all over the World, by the Translations that were made of it in many different Languages: And upon the 105th *Psalms*, he says; That it is God's most signal Mercy, that he has been pleased to let the Scripture be translated into many Languages. St. *Jerom*, in his Preface upon the Gospel directed to *Damascus*, testifies; That in his Time, the Holy Scripture was translated into many Languages. St. *Chrysostom* in his First Homily upon the Gospel of St. *John* says; That the *Syrians*, the *Egyptians*, the *Indians*, the *Persians*, the *Aethiopians* and several other Nations had caused the Gospel to be translated into their Languages. *Theodoret* in his Fifth Book of the *Remedy against the Passions of the Greeks* affirms; That the whole World is fill'd with the Doctrine of the Apostles and of the Prophets, and that the *Hebrew* Books are not only translated into one Language; but also into those of the *Romans*, of the *Egyptians*, of the *Persians*, of the *Indians*, of the *Armenians*, of the *Scythians* and *Sarmatians*, in a Word, into all the Languages used by all Nations. *Socrates* and *Sozomen* tell us; That *Ulpilas* Bishop of the *Goths*, who lived about the middle of the Fourth Century, had translated the Holy Scripture into the *Gothic* Language. Pope *John VIII.* gave his Approbation by his Letters to the Version made of the Holy Scripture into the *Sclavonian*. In short it is a Thing unquestionable, that, in all the Nations where there were any *Christians*, that spoke another Language besides the *Latin* and *Greek*, they had Translations of the Bible in their Native Languages. For though the *Greek* was current in the *Eastern* Empire, as the *Latin* was in the *Western*, there were nevertheless many both without and within the Empire, which had retained their ancient Native Languages; as the *Syrians* in some Provinces, under the Patriarch of *Antioch*, the *Egyptians*, or *Coptes* in *Egypt*, the *Carthaginian*, or *Punick* Tongue in *Africa*, &c. In these Places, though most People of any Note understood and spoke either *Greek*, or *Latin*, nevertheless the Country People and others of the Vulgar retain'd their ancient Language, and scarce understood any thing of *Greek*, or *Latin*: For which reason it was, that they found themselves obliged to read the Holy Scripture, to Preach and Perform the Church Office in their Native Languages. We have told you before, that the *Syrians*, that is to say, those of *Isauria*, of *Osroëna* and *Mesopotamia* had the *Syriac* Version of the Holy Scripture, St. *James* of *Nisibe* in *Mesopotamia* and St. *Ephren* of *Edeffa* in *Osroëna*, explain'd the Holy Scripture in the *Syriac* Language, and writ several Books in the same Tongue, for the Instruction of the Faithful. It is sufficiently Manifest out of the Acts of the Council held at *Berytus* about the Cause of *Ibas* Bishop of *Edeffa*, that the Bishops of *Osroëna* did not understand any other Language but the *Syriac*: For, *Uranus* Bishop of *Himera* in *Osroëna* being one of the Commissioners appointed for the Management of this Cause, they were obliged to make use of an Interpreter to explain to him in the *Syriac* Tongue, what the other spoke in *Greek*. And the Two other Bishops, to wit; *Photius* of *Tyre* and *Eustathius* Bishop of *Berytus*, could not understand *Uranus* without an Interpreter: So we may observe in the Council of *Constantinople* under *Mennas*, held under the Reign of *Justinian*, that several of the Bishops of the Provinces on the other side of the *Euphrates* had signed in the *Syriac*. From whence it is Manifest, not only that the *Syriac* was the current Language in *Mesopotamia* and *Osroëna*, but also that the *Greek* was not as much as understood by the Bishops, so that it would have been impossible for them to instruct the People, and to Celebrate the Church Offices, unless they had had the Holy Scripture translated into their Native Tongue, and performed the Church Office in the same. The Religious History of *Theodoret* serves for a Confirmation of this Truth; for he observes, that in a certain Monastery composed of the Disciples of *Eusebius* betwixt *Antioch* and *Berea*, some of the Monks sung the Church Office in *Greek*, and some in their Native Language. In the 5th Chapter he relates; That St. *Publius* of

of the City of Zeugma situate upon the Banks of *Euphrates*, having founded a Monastery about thirty Furlongs from that City, was obliged to cause the Church Office to be sung in *Greek* by those that understood that Language, and in the *Syriac* by those which were ignorant of it, which was afterwards continued in this Monastery. St. *Jerom* in the Life of St. *Paula* tells us, that at the Funeral of this Holy Widow, it was ordered that the *Psalms* should be Sung in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin* and *Syriac*, not only for three Days together till such time that the Corps should be interred near the Manger of our Saviour, but also for a whole Week. Which shews that the Office was so regulated as to be performed in *Syriac*, *Greek* and *Latin*. It is related in the Life of St. *Sabas* (who lived towards the latter End of the Fifth Century) writ by one of his Disciples, that some *Armenians* being come to visit this Saint, he assigned them a particular Oratory, where they might sing to the Praise of God in their own Tongue each *Saturday* and *Sunday*; and that, their number increasing afterwards, he caused a New Church to be built for the other *Christians*, and gave the Old one to the *Armenians*, where they read the Gospel and used their Liturgy in their own Language; that afterwards they received the Communion in the *Greek* Church, and that St. *Sabas* was contented to make them sing the *Trisagion* in *Greek*; the better to be assured that they should not add these Words: *Who have suffered for us*; pursuant to the Orders of *Peter de Foulon*, who usurped the Chair of *Antioch*, and was a favourer of the *Eutychian* Heresy. These *Armenians* who came to visit St. *Sabas*; would not have performed divine Service in their own Tongue in *Palestine*, unless they had been accustomed to it before; and consequently they could not read the Holy Scripture in the *Armenian* Tongue unless they had had a Translation of their own. St. *Theodosius* who was contemporary with St. *Sabas*, and Abbot of a Monastery near *Jerusalem*, had under his Tuition (as it is related by the Author of his Life) Three Monasteries, One composed of *Greeks*, the Second of *Armenians* and a Third of those called *Besses*, each of whom performed their Church Office in their Native Tongue, at the seven Canonical Hours: But when they were to receive the Communion, they heard a Sermon each in their own Church and Language, and afterwards met altogether in the great *Greek* Church, where they received the Sacrament. The *Besses* are a People of *Thrace*, which according to this Author, did read the Scripture and officiated in their Churches in a peculiar Language, which, is not unlikely was the *Sclavonian*.

The *Greek* Language was neither understood nor spoke in *Egypt*, at least not by the common People, in the *Thebais*, and other Places remote from *Alexandria*. St. *Anthony* did not understand *Greek*, for, when the *Greek* Philosophers came to consult with him, he could neither understand nor talk with them but by an Interpreter, as it has been observed by St. *Athanasius* in his Life. So when St. *Paphnutius* came to visit St. *Anthony*, he was forced to make use of an Interpreter, because he did not understand the *Greek*, as it is related by *Palladius* in his History of the Life of St. *Paphnutius*. But though St. *Anthony* did not understand *Greek*, he knew the whole Bible by Heart; His Disciples bestowed most of their time in Singing of *Psalms*, in Fasting and Praying, and in the Study of the Holy Scripture: From whence it is evident that the Bible was translated into another Language, such as they were well versed in, and that they sung their Church Office in the same. This is confirm'd by what we read in St. *Athanasius* of the Conversion of St. *Anthony*; who happening to come into the Church at the same time, that they were reading the Gospel, where our Saviour advised the Young Rich Man, to sell all that he had, and to give it to the Poor and follow him; being touch'd by these Words, took a resolution to abandon all. He did not understand *Greek*, it was therefore not in *Greek*, but in the *Egyptian* Language, that the Gospel was read at that time when he entred the Church. This is also confirm'd by the Testimonies of *Palladius* and *Ruffinus*. *Palladius* says, That St. *John* of *Egypt* could not talk with him but by an Interpreter; and *Ruffinus*, that St. *Apollonius* gave him three Monks to conduct him and his Companions to those Monasteries in *Egypt* that understood both the *Greek* and *Egyptian* Languages; these were questionless intended to be their Interpreters. It is beyond all doubt, that many of those *Christians* who led a retired Life in *Thebais*, did neither understand nor speak *Greek*, when at the same time the principal business of their Life was, to read and meditate upon the Holy Scripture, and to learn a great Part of it by Heart. From whence it is evident that even since the first Ages of the Church, there was an *Egyptian* Translation of the Bible. This is the same Language which is now a days called



called the *Coptick*, which some believe to have derived its Name from a certain City of *Thebais* called *Copte*; but it seems more probable, that the Word *Copte* is the same with that of *Egypt*, and that by corruption they did pronounce *Gopte* or *Copte* instead of *Gypse*. The *Coptic* at present contains abundance of *Greek* and *Arabic* Words. There are several Manuscripts of some Books of the Old Testament in the *Coptic* Language, and among others there is One of the *Psalms*, and a Volume containing the Twelve lesser Prophets, and *Daniel*, in the *French King's Library*. There is likewise another Manuscript there of the Four Evangelists, writ in *Coptic* by a Bishop of *Damiata* about five hundred Years ago; and another Manuscript of the Canonical Epistles, of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and a *Coptic* Liturgy. Father *Kirker* who has seen several Manuscripts of the Bible in the *Coptic* Language, is of Opinion, that the *Coptes* did the first time Translate the Scripture into their own Tongue, about the time of the Council of *Nice*. However it be, their Versions are much more Ancient than the *Arabic* Translations, which were not introduced till after the *Coptic* was suppressed, and the *Arabic* succeeded instead of it, to be the Vulgar Language of the Country: Notwithstanding which, the *Coptic* Translations were abolished in the Church Service, and this Language was retained among the Men of Learning there, as the *Syriac* in other Countries, and the *Latin* among us. It is not improbable, but that the *Coptic* Versions of the Old Testament were done from the *Greek* of the Septuagint, which was much esteemed in *Egypt*. The *Coptes* are *Monophysites* or *Jacobites*, their Patriarch resides at *Cairo*, and takes also upon him the Title of Patriarch of *Alexandria*.

The *Ethiopians* and *Abyssines* depend on this Patriarch, who have taken most of their Books and Church Ceremonies from the *Coptic* Churches, and agree with them in Point of Religion. It is uncertain when they first received the Gospel; some make the Eunuch of the Queen *Candace*, who was baptized by St. *Philip*, their Apostle. *Scaliger* is of Opinion, that they were not converted till under the Reign of *Justinian*. When one *Adad*, a King of the *Auxumites* having made a Vow to turn *Christian*, if he vanquished the King of the *Omerites*, introduced the *Christian* Religion in *Ethiopia* after he had been Victorious over his Enemy. The antiquity of the *Christian* Religion among the *Ethiopians*, seems to be confirmed by several Customs, more Ancient than the Time of *Justinian*, as for instance that they keep both the *Sabbath* and *Sunday*, that they abstain from Blood, and of Things strangled. But it is possible, that they may have received these ancient Rites from some other *Eastern* Churches, where they were practised, according to the Prescription of some of the ancient Canons what we read in the Apology of St. *Athanasius*, that he ordained *Frumentius* Bishop of *Auxume*, is a convincing Proof, that already at that time there were some beginnings of the *Christian* Religion among this People. Since that time the *Ethiopian* Church has been always dependent on the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, and united with the *Egyptian* Church. The *Ethiopian* Language is derived from the ancient *Assyrian* or *Chaldean*, which is the Reason they call themselves *Chaldeans*. Their Language is very different from the ancient *Chaldean*, though there be a mixture in it of *Chaldean*, *Hebrew* and *Arabic*. The Language used by the *Ethiopians* now a-days, is far different from the ancient *Ethiopian* in their Books; and they have also two different Characters; One, the *Syriac* or Holy Character; the Second, the Common. It is without question, that the whole Bible was translated into the *Ethiopian* Language, and it is reported, that Mr. *Gaulmin* had an ancient Manuscript of the whole *Ethiopian* Old Testament. But of all the Books of the Old Testament, there never was any printed but the *Psalms* and the Song of *Solomon* in the *Ethiopian* Language at *Rome* in the Year 1513. at *Cologne* in the Year 1518. and since that time in the *Polyglotts*. This Translation was made from the *Greek* of the Septuagint, or from some *Coptic* Version, done from the Septuagint. *Ludolphus* affirms, That the *Ethiopian* Bible contains likewise the *Apocrypha*, that is to say, those called *Deutero-Canonical* among us, together with the *Proto-Canonical*.

The whole *Persian* Empire never embraced the *Christian* Faith, nevertheless we are inform'd by the Ecclesiastical History, that there were many *Christian* Churches there. So we read in *Eusebius*, that a *Persian* Bishop was present at the Council of *Nice*. And so great was the encrease of the *Christians*, Churches and Bishops, in a little time, that *Sapor* King of *Persia* raised a general Persecution against them, and killed a great Number of Bishops, Priests and other *Christians*; it is related by *Sozomen* in the Second Book of his History, 8th Chapter, &c. Yet was the *Christian* Religion not so entirely extinguish'd here, but that some sparks remained, and

*Theodosius*

*Theodosius* the Younger took upon him the Defence of the *Christian Churches in Persia*, which were in great Danger of being quite exterminated by their King. In the time of *Cosroës*, who was contemporary with *Heraclius*, there were yet a great Number of *Christian Churches* throughout *Persia*. We cannot reasonably doubt, but that the *Christians in Persia* always had a Translation of the Bible in their Tongue; but there is nothing left of it now a-days: And the modern *Persian Language* is nothing else but a mixture of several other Languages, being entirely degenerated from what it was in ancient Times. The *Persian Translations* of some Books of Scripture, which we now have, are of a very modern Date. The *Pentateuch* inserted in the *English Polyglots* is translated by a certain Jew, called *Tavose* or *Tavuse*, from the *Hebrew*, for the Use of the *Jews*, and printed in *Hebrew Characters*, with the *Hebrew Text*, and with the Versions of *Onkelos* and *Saadias* at *Constantinople* in the Year 1551. Mr. *Walton* had Two *Persian Manuscripts* of the *Psalms*; one translated by a *Portuguese White Fryar*, and the other by some *Jesuits*, which he did not judge worthy to be inserted in his *Polyglots*.

It is beyond all question, that many Ages past, the *Christian Religion* was established in *Armenia*, and that there were great and flourishing Churches in those Parts. A certain *Armenian Hermite*, called *Mesrop*, whom they make contemporary with *St. Chrysostom*, is reputed the first Author of the *Armenian Churches*, and of the *Armenian Translation* of the Bible from the *Greek* and *Syriac*; but without any creditable Authority. *Theodoret* affirms, That in his Time the Bible was already translated into the *Armenian Tongue*, which is confirmed in the Lives of *St. Sabas* and *Theodosius*, cited by us before; but if we had not such ample Testimonies on our side, it is without question, that so soon as the *Christian Religion* was established in *Armenia*, they had a Translation of the Bible in that Tongue; in our Age, *Uscan* an *Armenian Bishop*, being sent abroad by the Patriarch of *Armenia*, caused an entire *Armenian Translation* of the Bible to be printed at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1664, which is the same used among the *Christians* in those Parts; but its Antiquity is very uncertain. This Bishop passing from thence through *France*, made a beginning with an impression of several of their Books relating to their Church Office, at *Marseilles*, where he died before it could be brought to perfection.

The *Muscovites*, *Iberians* or *Georgians*, and the Inhabitants of *Colchis* and *Mingrelia* have likewise Translations of the Holy Scripture in their respective Languages from the *Greek*, but they are not very Ancient.

Some are of Opinion, that *St. Jerom* translated the Holy Scripture into the *Dalmatian Tongue*, founded upon a certain Passage in his Letter to *Sophronius*: *Quorum (Septuaginta) translationem diligentissime emendatam olim meae Linguae hominibus dederim*. Which has induced them to believe, that *St. Jerom* being a Native of *Dalmatia*, speaks in this Place of his Mother Tongue; but there is no doubt, but that he speaks here of the *Latin*, the common Language of the *West*, as may be seen in his Preface to *Joshua*, where speaking of his *Latin Translation* from the *Hebrew*, he says, that he offers it to those that understand his Language: *Sciat me non in reprehensionem veterum nova cudere, sicut amici mei criminantur; sed pro virili parte offerre Linguae meae hominibus*.

There are those also, who pretend, that *St. Augustin* makes mention of a Version of *Psalms* in the *Punic Tongue* in his Commentary upon the 118th *Psalms*; though he speaks not of the Holy *Psalms* in that Place, but only of the Alphabetical Songs, which were made in his Time, sometimes in the *Punic*, sometimes in the *Latin Tongue*; his whole meaning being no more than that they were not so exact to commence each Verse of these Songs by the same Letter, as it was observable in the 118th *Psalms*. *Omnes Octonos Versus in Hebraicis Codicibus ab ea quae illis proponitur littera incipere, ab eis qui illas noverunt litteras nobis indicatum est, quod multò diligentius factum est, quam nostri vel Latine vel Punicè, quos Abecedarios vocant Psalmos facere consueverunt*. It is very uncertain whether the Bible was ever translated into the *Punic Tongue*, the *Latin* being the common Language used in all the Cities of *Africa*, whereas the *Punic* was only retained among the Country Fellows and Slaves, as is evident from many Passages in *St. Augustin*. For it is manifest out of his Sermons, that they preached generally in *Latin* in the Cities of *Africa*; in his four and twenty Sermons upon the Words of the Apostle, alledging a *Punic Proverb*, he tells them that he will give it them in *Latin* and not in the *Punic Tongue*, because that all of them did not understand the last: *Latine vobis dicam, quia Punicè non omnes nostis*, which shews plainly that all his Auditors did not understand the *Punic Tongue*, but the *Latin*. The Alphabetical *Psalms* had been composed by *St. Augustin* for the benefit of the Vulgar and Ignorant Sort of People, which



was nevertheless done in *Latin*. It is also Evident out of St. *Augustin*, That the Bishops were not versed in the *Punic* Tongue, and that there were but few Priests, who understood it; for, he observes, that *Valerius*, his Predecessor, did not understand two *African* Country Fellows, who spake to him in the *Punic* Tongue; and out of his 173d Letter, that St. *Augustin* himself, and *Crispin* the Bishop of *Calamus* being to speak before the Country People, were forced to make use of an Interpreter: And out of his 209th Letter: That he had chosen a certain Priest who understood the *Punic* Tongue, on purpose to send him to the Castle of *Fussala*, which demonstrates, that all the Priests were not versed in that Tongue. There is one single Passage in his 84th Letter, which seems to intimate, that there were but few in *Africa* who understood *Latin*: But this Place is adulterated, and in lieu of these Words: *Sed cum Latina Lingua cujus inopia in nostris Regionibus Evangelica dispensatio multum laborat*; which are absolutely nonsense, it ought to be thus read: *Sed cum Punicæ Linguae inopia in nostris regionibus Evangelica dispensatio multum laboret*. For it is beyond all dispute, that at *Hippo*, and in the other *African* Cities, *Latin* was the general Language they suck'd in with their Mothers Milk; because St. *Augustin* says of himself, that he had got the *Latin* Tongue by the kind Expressions of his Nurses of *Tagasta*, where he was born.

Generally speaking the *Latin* Tongue was spread and spoke all over the *Western* Empire; For, as St. *Augustin* observes, speaking of *Rome*, in his 19th Book, of the *City of God*, in the 5th Chapter: This proud City did not only put the Yoak upon the vanquish'd Nations, but likewise forced them to use the *Latin* Tongue. *Pliny* looks upon it as a particular Benefit done to Mankind by the *Romans*, when they made their Language the common tie of Commerce betwixt so many different and barbarous Nations: *Justus Lipsius* speaking of the stupendious Progress of the *Latin* Tongue in the *West*, has these following Words: *This Tongue*, says he, "After 600 Years confinement, did spread all over the World, as well by the many *Roman* Colonies, as by the Freedom of the *Roman* City bestowed upon those of other Nations, which was the occasion the *Latin* Tongue spread it self over far distant Countries, so, that *Plutarch* says, that already in his Time the *Latin* Tongue was spoken in all Parts. But this is chiefly to be understood of the *Western* and *Northern* Parts. For the *Greeks* and *Eastern* Nations were not so forward in encouraging a Language, which they thought not near so refined as their own. But as for those of *Africa*, *Gaul*, *Spain*, *Pannonia*, and *England* they embraced it with a great deal of Joy, to that degree that this New Tongue by degrees thrust their ancient Languages out of Doors. *Et inducto novo paulatim abolitum ierunt veterem sermonem*. This is confirmed by *Apuleius* in reference to *Africa*, and by St. *Cyprian*, St. *Augustin* and some other Fathers of that Nation, in their Sermons. *Strabo* says of the *Gauls* under the Reign of *Augustus*, that they ought not to be called *Barbarians*, having with the *Roman* Language also taken up their Customs. He speaks to the same purpose of the *Spaniards*; as *Velleius* does of the *Pannonians*. *Tacitus* tells us, That *Agriкола* had such an ascendant over the *English*, that they, who before that time disdain'd the *Latin* Tongue, became desirous of attaining to its Perfection.

The *Latin* Tongue was therefore generally understood and spoken in all the Provinces of the *Western* Empire; and those Countries which were without the Limits of the Empire, having not received the Christian Faith till for a considerable time after, what wonder is it if there are no ancient Translations of the Bible in these Languages extant, they having been used to read the Scripture and perform divine Service in the *Latin* Tongue, which was generally understood all over the World? But when these Barbarous Nations, that had no knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue, as the *Goths*, *Sclavonians*, *Sarmatians* and others began to embrace the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, they had likewise Translations of the Scripture in their respective Languages: But as they were useful only to them, so they were lost with them. Since that time the Face of Affairs in *Europe* being changed, and the *Roman Western* Empire being Canton'd out to many Nations, who have created so many different Monarchies, and received the Doctrine of the Gospel, the *Latin* Tongue, which these Nations by degrees became to be acquainted with, was still retained in the publick Office of the Church. But in these latter Ages, the *Latin* Tongue being not so generally spoken, though the *Latin* has not been quite abolished in the publick Office of the Church, yet they found themselves under an obligation of instructing the People, and preaching the Word of God, as likewise of Translating the Bible into the Vulgar Languages, used among these different Nations; of which we shall treat in the following Chapter.

## C H A P. IX.

Of the Translations of the Bible into the Vulgar Tongue, and of the reading of the Holy Scripture.

## S E C T. I.

*The History of the Translations of the Bible into the Vulgar Tongue.*

THE Sacred Historians, have doubtless writ in the Vulgar Tongue generally used and understood at that time in those Countries where they writ. *Moses* and the other Authors of the Books of the Old Testament before *Ezra*, writ in the Language of their own People, that the *Jews* might not want Opportunity to instruct themselves, by the reading of these Books, which contained both the Law of God, and the History of their Ancestors. The *Hebrew* Language being commonly understood as yet at the time of *Ezra* and *Nebemiah*, They writ in the same Language; but because the *Jews* were better used to the *Chaldean* than their own ancient Characters, *Ezra* in lieu of the *Samaritan* Characters, which they made use of before, introduced the *Chaldean* Characters. The *Hebrew* being afterwards left off to be spoken among the *Jews*, they began to Translate the Holy Writ into the *Chaldean* Tongue, for the Benefit of the *Jews* living in *Judea*; whilst the *Hellenists*, that is to say, those who dwelt in other Countries, and understood and spoke the *Greek* Tongue, did make use of the Version of the *Septuagint*, and afterwards of that of *Aquila*. The Evangelists and Apostles writ at a time when the *Greek* was commonly used in the *Roman* Empire, for which reason they made use of this as the most general Language to publish the Gospel all over the World; and for the same Reason it is, the Books of the New Testament were all writ originally in *Greek*, except the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, and the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which, if we may believe the Ancients, are writ in the *Hebrew* or *Chaldean*, being design'd for the *Jews*, who spoke this Language, but were soon after translated into *Greek* for the general Benefit of all the *Christians*. Though the *Greek* was very common even in the *West*, nevertheless, there being many Persons who did not understand it, they were soon after translated into the *Latin* Tongue. So likewise those People which understood neither *Greek* nor *Latin*, as the *Syrians*, the *Ethiopians*, the *Egyptians*, *Armenians* and *Persians*, had their own Translations of the Holy Scripture in their several Languages, after they were converted to the *Christian* Faith. Afterwards the *Arabic* being become the Vulgar Language in the *Levant*, the People had both the Old and New Testament translated into that Language, and of late Years the *Greeks* themselves have caused them to be translated into the Vulgar *Greek*. In the *West*, as long as the *Latin* Tongue was generally spoken and understood, scarce any Translations were made into the Vulgar Languages. But, after the *Latin* Tongue began to be suppress'd among those Nations, who had built the Foundation of their Monarchies upon the Ruine of the *Roman* Empire, which happen'd very gradually, each of these Nations had their own Translations of the Bible into the Vulgar Tongue. These are the same Translations we intend to treat of in this Chapter; but as these Versions would be almost useless, if the Lay-men were forbidden, and especially those who don't understand *Latin*, to read the Holy Scripture, this does oblige us, to examin at the same time, that famous Question, concerning the reading of the Holy Scripture. We will therefore begin this Chapter, with an Historical Account of the Translations of the Bible in the Vulgar Languages, to wit: The *French*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, *German*, *English*, &c. After which we will examin, First of all, Whether the reading of the Bible be absolutely forbid to the ignorant Lay-men, and whether the Holy Writ was only intended to be perused by the Priests, and other Learned Persons. Secondly, Whether the reading of the Holy Scripture may be useful to all the Faithful, with the Opinion of the Holy Fathers upon this Subject. Thirdly, Whether it be true that in the last Age the Church has forbid the reading of it to the People, as likewise the Translations of the Bible into the Vulgar Tongue, and the reason of this Prohibition. Fourthly, Whether this pretended

Prohibition



Prohibition holds still good, now the occasion of it is ceased. What is to be said upon this Subject, is intended in reference both to the Old and New Testament.

It is above eight hundred Years ago, since *Othofred*, a *Benedictin* Monk of the Abby of *Weissenburg* and a Disciple of *Raban*, translated the History of the Gospel into the *Teutonic* Language; that the People of that Country, who scarce understood *Latin*, might the better read the Word of God, as he himself says in his Preface to *Luitbert* Archbishop of *Mentz*. I have, says he, writ some Part of the Gospels in *French*, with Moral and spiritual Reflections, that such, as are not well acquainted with any other Language but their own, may read and understand the Word of God in their Native Tongue, without deviating from it. *Scripti namque eorum precum suffultus juvenamine, Evangeliorum partem Franciscè compositam, interdum spiritualia, moraliæque verba permiscens, ut qui in illis alienæ Linguae difficultatem borrescit, hic propriâ Lingua cognoscat sanctissima verba, Dominique Legem suâ lingua intelligens, inde se vel parum quid deviare mente pertimescat.* This Work is not so much a Translation of the Gospel of the Four Evangelists, as an History or Concordance taken from the Four Evangelists and divided into Five Books. *Matthew Flaccius Illyricus* has caused it to be printed at *Basil* in the Year 1571. and adds in his Preface, that he had seen at *Strasburg* an ancient Book of the *Psalms* in the same Language. He also assures us, that *Strabo*, *Raban* and *Haimo* did likewise Translate the Bible into the Vulgar Tongue under the Reign of *Charles* the Great. But he does not prove his Assertion, neither do I find it confirmed by any other Author.

In the *French* King's Library there is a Manuscript of the *Psalms* in *French* without either Preface or the Name of any Author, numbred 8177. which is supposed to have been writ in the Eleventh Century; and another numbred 7837. supposed to be done towards the End of the Twelfth Century: The Author of this last call himself *Mr. Peter* of *Paris*, and has dedicated his Work to *Simon Rat*, Knight Hospitaller of *St. John* of *Jerusalem*.

The most ancient Translation of the Bible into *French* is that of *Guiars de Moulins* a Canon of *St. Peter* d' *Aire* in the Diocess of *Terouane*, who was employed in translating the Historical Books of the Old and New Testament from the Year 1291, till 1294, as they are extant in the History of *Peter The Eater*. There are several Editions of this Translation in the *French* King's Library, to wit: One numbred 6819. which has an Advertisement prefix'd to it, shewing the Name and Quality of *Guiars de Moulins*, and the Time when it was translated. Several others there are numbred 6818, 6820, 6821, 6822, 6823, 6825, 6826, and 6828. writ in a different Style, but translated by the same Hand. The Manuscript numbred 6819. contains only the Translation of the History of *Peter The Eater*, but the others have likewise besides this, the *Psalms*, the *Proverbs* of *Solomon*, and the other Books of the Old Testament, as well as the Epistles of the Apostles; yet some of them have only the Translation of the History or Concordance of *Peter The Eater*, that is to say, the Four Evangelists mix'd together, whereas in the others the Four Evangelists are translated separately and in due order.

Some Historians affirm, that *Charles V.* King of *France* caused the Bible to be translated into *French* under his Reign by *Nicholas Oresme* Superiour of the House of *Navarre*, Doctor of *Paris*. There are no Manuscripts left now, which expressly bear in the Front the Name of *Nicholas Oresme*; and according to *Tillet*, he was not the only Person employed in this Work: But it is very probable, that many of the ancient anonymous Manuscripts of the Bible in the *French* King's and other Libraries, are of the Translation of *Nicholas Oresme*, who followed exactly the footsteps of *Guiars de Moulins*; and for that reason would not set his Name to it. Among others there is One in the *French* King's Library, numbred 6701. which is supposed to be of *Nicholas Oresme*, though the same is near the same with that of *Guiars de Moulins*, because the Author has put the Word *Chaplain* instead of that of *Priest* in the 14th Chapter of the *Acts*, and in the 1st Epistle to *Titus*. This affectation gives us some reason to believe, that he who made this Alteration was One of the Kings *Chaplains*, which indeed suits with *Nicholas Oresme*, who was the Treasurer of the Holy Chappel of *Paris*.

There is another Manuscript writ much about the same time by *Rudolph de Prelles*, and dedicated to King *Charles V.* being a kind of Commentary upon the Scripture, which ends with the *Psalms*. There are also several other ancient Translations of some part of the Bible in *Verse*, in the *French* King's Library; which are done much about the same time.

Since

Since that time several have applyed themselves to revise and correct the French Translations of the Bible, and in the Fifteenth Century *James le Grand*, a Doctor of *Paris*, did make a Translation of, or rather a Commentary upon the Old and New Testament, part of which is to be seen in a Manuscript in the Library of *Navarre* in Two Volumes. At the end of it is set down, that it was done in the Year 1462.

The First French Bible was printed by the Order of *Charles VIII.* and dedicated to that Prince, and by consequence before the Year 1498, being the Translation of *Guiares de Moulins*. There was likewise an Interpretation of the *Psalms* in French under the Reign of this King. Mr. *Baluze* has a Second Volume of a French Bible, beginning with the Proverbs of *Solomon*, printed in the Year 1520. In the Year 1523. Mr. *Colins*, Printer of *Paris*, did likewise Print the New Testament in French.

But the First Edition of the whole Bible translated from the Vulgar Text into French, was printed in the Year 1530 at *Antwerp*, by *Martin Lempereur*, with privilege from *Charles V.* Mr. *Simon* believes the same to be supposititious, because the date of the Year of *Charles V.* is the First of his Reign, which is coincident with the Year 1519, and, because it is mention'd in the Privilege, that this Translation was communicated to the Inquisitors of the Faith and some other Divines, when it is certain that there was no Inquisition in *Flanders*; besides that the Translator has translated these Words in *Genesis*: *Ipsa conteret caput tuum*, thus; *This Seed shall bruise thy Head*. And, Lastly, Because that in the Preface, the Books of the Scripture are divided there as the Protestants do, to wit, into Canonical, which are contained in the Jewish Canon, and Un-canonical. But these reasons are not very convincing, as Mr. *Simon* himself has observed: For it must be that there was a mistake in the Date of the Year of the Reign of *Charles V.* because in the Privilege of the Second Edition of the 21st of Nov. in the Year 1533. the Date of the Reign of this Prince is said to be the XIV. and mention is made of a Petition made for that purpose in the Year 1530. Neither is it said in the Privilege, that there was an Inquisition in *Flanders*, but only that this Bible was communicated to the Inquisitors. The Translation of the Words *ipsa conteret*, is not so very strange, because it ought to be in Latin *ipse conteret*, as we read it in the best Editions of the Vulgar Translation. As to the division of the Sacred Books, the same is taken from the Preface of *St. Jerom.* The First Edition of this French Bible in the Year 1530. is to be seen in the French King's Library: The Second of the Year 1534. is larger, and extant in the Libraries of *St. Germain des Prez*, and of *St. Genevieve*. These Two Editions are before that of *Robert Olivetan*, the First published by the Protestants in the Year 1535. and done after this. The Translation we speak of was printed the Third time in the same Place in the Year 1540. which Edition is to be seen in the Jesuits Library of the College of *Levis le Grand*. In the next Year, and 1544, and 1548; there was printed at *Paris* the Old Translation of *Guiares de Moulins*. The Translation printed at *Antwerp*, was done with a great deal of exactness, being revised by the Divines of *Lowvain*. The Author himself was a Person of an extraordinary Capacity, who has added his Notes, to shew the difference betwixt the Hebrew and Greek, and sometimes explains the most difficult Passages. He had made this Translation from the Vulgar Latin, though at the same he has followed *Erasmus* in some Places.

This *Antwerp* Bible has been as it were the Foundation of all the French Bibles, since published either by the Catholics or Protestants. The First is that of *Robert Olivetan* a Kinsman of *Calvin*, who pretends to have been the First who translated the Bible from the Hebrew into French; and he does not make the least mention of any French Translation before his; he has copied the *Antwerp* Translation, and corrected only such Passages as were different from the Hebrew Text. Besides that it is sufficiently apparent, that *Olivetan* did not consult the Originals, but only the Latin Versions made from the Greek and Hebrew; and he has with too much Affectation changed the Words of *Apostle*, *Bishop*, *Priest*, *Deacon*, *Calice*, received by the Church, for these of *Ambassadour*, *Overseer*, *Elders*, *Minister*. *Calvin* being convinced of the Defects of this Version of *Olivetan*, did give us a New Edition, which comes much nearer to the Vulgar Latin, and he has again made use of the Names of *Apostle*, *Bishop*, *Priest*, &c. Many Editions were published of this betwixt the Years 1550 and 1561. with Notes, and in every Edition there were some Additions and Alterations made either in the Text or Notes. In the Year 1560. there was printed a New Edition of this Bible revised by *Theodore Beza*, who again made use of the former Names of *Elders*, &c. In the following Years, there was published another French Translation of the Bible from the Italian



Version of *Diodati*, which for some time was in Request among the *Calvinists*. In the Year 1588. the *Geneva* Translation of the Bible was again corrected by *Cornelius Bertrand*, *Theodore Beza*, *la Faye*, *Rotan*, *Jacquemot* and *Goulart*. They corrected many Errors of the Versions of *Olivetan* and of *Calvin*, and rendred this Translation much more conformable to the *Hebrew* and *Greek* Text. This is the same that has been ever since made use of among the *Calvinists*, and which has been little altered since. This is also the same which has been revised by the *Sieurs Desmarêts*, Ministers of *Groningen*, and printed with Notes at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1669.

\* In the Year 1555. *Sebastian Castellio* published another *French* Translation of the Bible at *Basil*, done from the *Latin*, with the same Affectation as the *Latin*, full of extravagant Expressions and in an obscure Style. These are the *French* Bibles of the Heretics, let us now come to those of the Catholics.

*Renatus Benedict* Doctor in Divinity of the Faculty of *Paris*, Curate of *St. Peter des Arcis*, and afterwards of *St. Eustace*, Professor of Divinity in the College of *Navarre*, did undertake a New Translation of the Scripture, or rather a Reformation of the *French Geneva Bible*, which was published in the Year 1566. But as he had made this revisal with too much precipitancy, he left many Expressions, which being displeasing to his Brotherhood, this Work was censured by them. *Renatus Benedict* submitted his Book to the Judgment of the Faculty, and of the Bishop of *Paris*, unto whom it belonged, either to approve or reject this Version of the Bible. The Faculty censured this Work, and the Bishop of *Paris* refusing to condemn it, they address'd themselves to Pope Gregory XIII. who by his Brief dated the 3d of Nov. 1575. condemned it, as containing many Errors, Heresies, intolerable Blasphemies, as well in the Text, as in the Notes, Additions and Prefaces. *Renatus Benedict* writ to the Pope, acknowledging his Errors in this Version, which he attributed to his too much precipitancy in publishing it at a time when he thought it most necessary, and submitting himself to the Judgment of the Pope and the Faculty. Being afterwards in the Year 1598. made Dean of the Faculty, he renewed his former Protestation, declaring that he himself condemned the Bible published under his Name, the same having incur'd the Censure of the Apostolic See, and of the Theological Faculty of *Paris*.

Some time after, the Doctors of *Louvain* did undertake a New Edition of the Translation of the Bible, altogether conformable to the *Vulgar Latin*, and freed from the Errors and affected Expressions of the *Calvinist* Bibles; they followed the Old *Antwerp* Translation, and that of *Olivetan*, which they corrected, as *Renatus Benedict* had done, but with much more exactness. This Translation was printed with Privilege from the King of *Spain*, and with the Approbation of *Molanus*, Licensor of the Press at *Antwerp* in the Year 1578. at *Lyons* in the Year 1585. and in several other Places.

Since that time, the *French* Translations which were published by the Catholics, were for some time nothing else but Copies of the *Louvain* Edition, corrected in some Places; such was the *French Bible* of *Peter Besse*, dedicated to the King and printed at *Paris* in the Year 1608. and the Bible of *Peter Frison*, Penitentiary and Canon of the Church of *Rheims*, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1610. The Bible of *James Corbin*, Advocate in Parliament at *Paris*, printed in the Year 1641. approved by the Doctors of *Poitiers*, does recede more from the Bible of *Louvain* than the rest, and adheres closer to the literal Sense of the Text of the *Vulgar Latin*.

Not long after *Francis Veron*, whom some call Father *Veron*, because he had been a Royal *Jesuit*, though he left that Society to be made Deacon of Divinity, Lecturer upon the Controversies, deputed by the Clergy to write upon that Subject, and Curate (for these are the Titles he gives to himself), did Publish a New Translation of the New Testament, or rather a New Edition of the Version of the Doctors of *Louvain*, revised and corrected after the Text of the ancient *Vulgar*, published by *Clement VIII.* and conferr'd with the *Greek*. This Edition appear'd in the World in the Year 1647. dedicated to the Clergy of *France*.

The Translation of Mr. *de Marolles* Abbot of *Villebion*, is not done from the *Vulgar Latin*, but from the *Greek* Text, or rather from the Version of *Erasmus*. Of these there have been Three Editions; the First in the Year 1649. The Second 1653. The Third 1655.

But we must also take a short view of the Translations of our late Times, which are both better *French* and more refin'd than the preceding Editions: The First, is the Edition of the New Testament, which is called the Edition of *Mons*, because the First Edition of this Work, printed in the Year 1667. was published under

under the Name of *Jasper Migeot* Printer at *Mons*. The *Second*, is the Translation of the New Testament, done by Father *Amelot*, Priest of the Oratory, the first Part of which was printed at *Paris* in the Years 1666. and of which there have been several Editions since. The *Third*, is the Translation with Explications of the New Testament, done by Mr. *Godeau* Bishop of *Venca*, printed at *Paris* in the Year 1668. The *Fourth*, is the Translation of the whole Bible, by the Sieur *Isaac de Maitre*, commonly called of *Sacy*, done from the Vulgar in several Volumes with literal and spiritual Notes; some part of which was published in his Life time, and since continued by *Peter Thomas* Lord of *Fosse*, and is ready to be published. The *Fifth*, is a Translation of the New Testament, by Father *Du Quesnel*, Priest of the Oratory, with Moral Reflections; and differs but little from the Edition of the New Testament of *Mons*, only that the Author has rendered this more conformable to the Vulgar *Latin*, by altering it in these Places where the other had deviated from the *Latin* to follow the *Greek*. The *Sixth*, is that of the New Testament of Father *Bonbours* a Jesuit, the first Part of which is now publishing. We may also add the Version of the *Psalms*, by Mr. *Godeau*; the Version of the *Psalms* from the *Hebrew*, and the Vulgar by Mr. *Sacy*, and some other Translations of the *Psalms*. All these Translations are so well known, that we need not give our judgment upon them; recourse may be had in this Case to the Criticisms made upon them, and the Apology writ in their defence. It is time for us to proceed to the Translations of the Bible made in other Vulgar Languages.

It is near four hundred Years ago, that *James de Voragine*, Archbishop of *Geneva*, translated the whole Bible into *Italian* from our Vulgar. But this ancient Version is quite lost; the First *Italian* Translation of the Bible, which we have, was done by *Nicolas Malbermi*, a *Venetian* and *Benedictin* Monk, Abbot of *St. Michael de Lemo*, translated from the Text of the Vulgar *Latin* towards the end of the XV. Century. The First Edition was published in the Year 1471. There are two more Editions of it, published in the Year 1477. one of which was revised by Friar *Martin a Dominican*, and of which there have been many Editions since in *Italy*. In the Year 1530. *Anthony Bruccioli* translated the Bible into *Italian* from the *Hebrew*, or rather from the Version of *Pagninus*; which he dedicated to *Francis I.* King of *France*. Of this there are three successive Editions within the Years 1539, 1540, and 1541. About the beginning of our Age, *John Diodati* Minister in *Geneva*, gave us a New *Italian* Translation of the whole Bible, very conformable to the *French* Edition of *Geneva*. The First Edition was published in 1607. the Second in the Year 1641. are all the *Italian* Translations of the whole Bible. The New Testament was translated by Father *Zachary*, a *Dominican* Fryar of *Florence*, and printed apart at *Venice* in the Year 1542. There is also another *Italian* Edition of the Epistles and the Gospels printed in 1583.

There are but few *Spanish* Bibles. There is an ancient Manuscript of it in the *Catalonian* or *Provence* Tongue in Three Volumes in the *French* King's Library, numbered with 6831, 6832 and 6833. *Frederic Furius*, in his Works intituled *Bononia*, printed at *Basil* in the Year 1556. affirms, that there was an ancient Version of the Bible in the Language of *Valenza*, that it was done about a hundred and thirty Years before that time, and printed forty Years ago; That there was also an ancient Version of the Evangelists in the same Tongue, and a Translation of the Epistles of *St. Paul* in the *Castilian* Language, which were suppress'd by the Inquisition. *Cyprian Valerius* makes likewise mention of a Translation of the Bible in the Language of *Valenza*, published with the Permission of the Inquisitors, and especially of *St. Vincent Ferrier*; but whether the Inquisitors have since thought fit to suppress these Translations, by reason of the great Number of *Jews* in *Spain*, or whether by some other Accident, these Translations are either quite lost, or lye absconded in some Libraries of *Spain*, there are none of them in *France*. The First *Spanish* Translation of the Bible which is left, is that of *Cassiodore Reyna*, printed in *Germany* in the Year 1569, which *Cyprian Valerius* a Calvinist has since that time caused to be reprinted with some Alterations at *Amsterdam* in the Year 1602. and at *Faneftort* in 1622. This Translation was made from the *Hebrew*, or rather from the Version of *Pagninus*, and the New Testament from the *Greek*. The *Jews* of *Ferrara*, have also published a *Spanish* Bible done from the *Hebrew*, of which there are several Editions. The two First printed at *Ferrara* in 1553 and 1559. and the last at *Amsterdam* in 1661. There is a Translation of the New Testament in *Spanish*, done by *Francis Enzinas*, and dedicated to *Charles V.* of which there are also several Editions; and another *Spanish* Translation of the New Testament



stament different from the before mentioned, printed in 1596. The Translation of *Cassiodore Reyna*, has been likewise printed apart in the Year 1625.

Though we have not now a-days any German Translations of the Bible before that of *Luther*, yet both the Protestants and Catholics agree in this Point, that there were some before that time. *Mathefius* a Lutheran says, that he himself had in his younger Days, seen a German Bible, and that his Father had the Gospel appointed for each Sunday throughout the Year in the same Language, as likewise some Books of the Old Testament with the *Postilles*. *Walter*, another Lutheran, confesses, that there were three several German Editions of the Bible before *Luther*, and the Jesuit *Nicholas Schaten* a German by birth, writing in the Year 1674. against a Lutheran, who had objected to him, that the reading of the Bible in the Vulgar Tongue was not permitted in the Diocese of *Paderborn*; answers thus: "If it be so, why were there any German Translations before *Luther*? Why was afterwards published the Translation of *Dietsenbergh*? Why is that of *Ulenbergh* in every bodies Hands? Why has the Archbishop of *Mentz* himself ordered Impressions to be made of the New German Translations of the Bible? After which he alledges in his behalf the Words of *Layman* and *Serarius*, who affirm, that it is generally permitted in Germany to read the Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue; and as to the Diocese of *Paderborn* he answers us, That the Catholics read the Bible with the same freedom as the Protestants. There is not then the least doubt to be made; but that there were German Translations commonly used before *Luther*, but it is very probable, that according to custom they were done from the Vulgar Latin.

*Luther*, soon after he had left the Church, undertook a New German Translation of the Bible, the Old Testament from the Hebrew, the New from the Greek Text; the Style is very neat, but the Translation not very literal nor exact. There have been a vast Number of Editions of it. This was no sooner published but *Jerom Emser* a Catholic published a German Translation of the New Testament with Notes, in which he criticises upon *Luther*; and not long after *John of Dietsenbergh* published a German Translation of the whole Bible from the Vulgar Latin, in opposition to that of *Luther*. The *Zuinglians* and *Calvinists* did likewise reform *Luther's* Edition, and published their New Editions at *Newstad* in 1588. and at *Herborn* in 1595. which was not pleasing to the Lutherans. *Paul Eber*, a Lutheran, made also a German Translation printed at *Wittenberg* in the Year 1564. and afterwards *Leon Juda* and *John Piscator* both Calvinists, did likewise make New German Translations of the Bible. But, without insisting any farther upon the Versions and Editions made in the German Tongue by the Lutherans and Calvinists, we will only add here, that *Jasper Ulenbergh* a Catholic, gave us a New Translation printed at *Cologne* in the Year 1630. which is now commonly used in Germany.

The Catholics in the Netherlands had several Flemish Translations of the Bible printed in the last Age. There is one printed in 1548. translated by *Nicholas van Winghe*, who says in his Preface, That he followed a certain Flemish Translation printed in Holland seventy Years before; and consequently before the Reformation. This Bible was revised by the Doctors of *Louvain*, and printed afterwards at *Antwerp* in the Year 1599. and several times since. The Protestants of the Low Countries had for a considerable Time no other Translations in their own Tongue, but one made after the German Bible of *Luther*, till pursuant to a Project and Order made at the Synod of *Dort* in the Year 1618. they had a New Translation printed in the Year 1637. which is exactly conformable to the Hebrew Text of the Old, and the Greek of the New Testament. The *Arminians*, who were not satisfied with this New Translation, made another Dutch Translation of the New Testament from the Greek, printed at *Amsterdam* in 1680.

The English Historians mention some Part of the Bible to have been translated in the beginning of the VIII. Century, into their Vulgar Tongue, which was the Saxon. *John de Trevisi* assures us, That *Bede* Translated the whole Bible into English. There are some who affirm, That *Adelm* Bishop of *Sherbon*, who lived in 705, translated the *Psalms* into the Saxon Tongue, which Translation is attributed by others to King *Alfred*, who lived near two hundred Years after. There is now extant, a Translation of the Evangelists in the English Saxon Tongue, done from the ancient Vulgar before it was revised by St. *Jerom*, for which we are beholding to *Parker*, it is printed at *London* in the Year 1571. and afterwards at *Dort* in 1665. and a Translation of the *Psalms* in the same Tongue by *Spelman* in 1640. *Wiclif* translated the Bible into English, which Translation is to be seen in some English Libraries. Under the Reign of King *Henry the VIII.* several Editions of the Old and New Testament were published in English; to wit: Those of *Willi-*

am Tindal and of Coverdal in 1526 and 1530. which being revised by *Matthews* was reprinted in 1537. There was an Impression of the *English Bible* made in *France* in the Year 1538, which was suppressed by King *Henry VIII.* who in the Year 1540. forbade the Sale of any *English Bibles* translated hitherto, and at the same time ordered *Cuthbert Tunstall* Bishop of *Durham*, and *Nicholas Heath* Bishop of *Rockester* to make a New Translation, which was published in the Year 1541. But King *Henry* being not satisfied with this Translation, forbade all the *English Vulgar Translations*, so that no Body was permitted to read the Bible in the *Vulgar Tongue* in *England* without permission, till the Reign of *Edward the VI.* Then it was, that the Editions of *Tindal* and *Tunstall* were revived, and the Translation of the *Psalms* in the *English Liturgy* is made after the last of these two. Under the Reign of Queen *Mary* some *English Calvinists* who had fled for shelter to *Geneva*, made a New *English Translation* of the Bible, after the *Geneva Translation*, which was printed in 1560. and afterwards by Permission from Queen *Elizabeth* at *London* in the Year 1598. The *Episcopal Party* did what in them lay to have this Translation suppressed, but could not bring it about. *Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, undertook a New Translation of the Bible in opposition to this, in which many Persons were employed, and went under the Name of the *Episcopal Bible*: This Version was made after the *Hebrew* in the Old, and after the *Greek* in the New Testament; but did recede in some Places from the *Hebrew Original* to come the nearer to the *Septuagint*. But this was the true Reason why King *James the I.* would not give his absolute Approbation to this Translation, and therefore ordered another to be made, which should be more conformable to the *Hebrew Text*, which being printed in the Year 1612. was generally received in the Church of *England*. Besides these Translations, *Booth* mentions another Translation of the Bible in the ancient Language of the Country printed at *London* in 1588. and an *Irish Translation* of the New Testament done by *Usher*, and an *Irish Version* of the Old Testament from the *Hebrew*, done by the Order of *William Bedel*, Bishop of *Kilmore* in *Ireland*, which is going to be printed in *England*. The *English Catholics* have besides these a Translation of their own for their proper Use. The New Testament was printed in *Irish* in the Year 1602.

The *Northern Nations* who embraced the Doctrin of *Luther*, have no other Translations of the Bible, but these done in the *Vulgar Tongue* after the *German Bible* of *Luther*. The *Swedish Translation* was made by *Laurence Petri*, Archbishop of *Upsal*, a Disciple of *Luther*, and printed at *Stockholm* in the Year 1646. The *Danes* have also one in their Language, published first in 1524. and since revised and reprinted in the Year 1633. There is also a Translation of the Bible in the *Island Tongue*, which some pretend to be the ancient Language of the *Norwegians* or *Goths*; and another *Finland Translation* printed in 1648. The *Laplanders* have also the *Psalms* and some other Books of the Bible translated into their Language.

I don't know of any ancient *Catholic Bible* in the *Polish Language*. The Edition printed in the Year 1563. was published by the *Socinians*, who likewise have printed a *Polish Bible* in *Lithuania* in the Year 1652. done from the *Greek* and *Hebrew* by *Simon Budni*. *Sands* makes likewise mention of a Translation of the New Testament done by *Martin Czechovinus* a *Socinian*, and printed with Notes, in 1577. the Jesuit *Vicki* was by order from Pope *Gregory the XIII.* employed to make a New Translation of the Bible in the *Polish Language*, which was printed at *Cracow* in the Year 1599. with the Approbation of *Clement VIII.*

The *Bohemians* have a Bible in their Language with Notes, printed in *Germany* from the Year 1579, till 1601.

The *Hungarians* have a Translation of their own, done by *George Caldi* a Jesuit, and printed at *Vienna* in *Austria* in the Year 1626: They have also another more Ancient printed at *Frankfort* in 1608. and at *Oppenheim* in 1612.

We may rest assured, That there is not any Nation or People that are enlightened by the Gospel, who have not the Bible among them, or at least the New Testament, with some Books of the Old, translated into the *Vulgar Tongue*.

Thus we have given you an Abridgement of the History of the Translations of the Bible into the *Vulgar Languages*. We will desist from saying any more upon this Subject. Those who are curious to be better instructed in this Point, may consult the Second Tome of the *Critical History* of the Versions of the New Testament, by Mr. *Simon*, to whom we stand in some measure indebted, for what we have said upon this Subject.



## S E C T. II.

*Whether the Holy Scripture was intended to be read by all the Faithful in general, or by the Priest's only, or Persons enlightened in Matters of Religion.*

**I**T is very hard to imagine, that so extravagant a Paradox as this could enter into the Thoughts of Men; that the Sacred Scripture of the Old and New Testament, was only intended to be read by the Priests, and other Persons enlightened in Matters of Religion; and that, according to the true Intention of God and Sacred Authors, the reading of the Bible was not permitted either to the *Jews* or *Christians* in general; but to be kept from them as an hidden Mystery; It is, I say, very hard to imagine that a Thought so little Consonant to right Reason as this, could enter into the Thoughts of any rational Man, if some modern Authors had not attempted to Patronize this Paradox, as unreasonable as it is: But it is no difficult Task to evince the contrary from the Holy Scripture it self, and the constant Practice both of the *Jews* and *Christians*.

For, First of all, it was not for the Priests alone that *Moses* writ the Law; but for the general Benefit of all the *Israelites*: 'Tis to them in General he gives his Commands and addresses his Prohibitions, Admonitions and Threats; he speaks to the whole People, when he publishes the Ordinances he had from God. In the 13th Chapter of *Exodus*, he promulges to them the Ceremonies of the Passover; *Dixit Moses ad Populum, meminisse oportet diei hujus, &c.* And afterwards he recommends to all the *Israelites*, that they shall instruct their Children and make known to them the Reason of this Institution: *Cumque interrogaverit te filius tuus cras, dicens, quid est hoc? respondebis ei: In manu forti eduxit nos Dominus de Terrâ Egypti, de domo servitutis.* And a little after he tells them, that it shall be for a Token upon their Hands, and Frontlets between their Eyes: *Erit igitur quasi signum in manu tua, & quasi appensum quid ob recordationem ante oculos tuos.* It is to all the People of *Israel* God gave his Commands, in the 20th Chapter of *Exodus*; and when afterwards he gave his Instructions to *Moses* concerning many other Laws, he orders him, to tell them to all the Children of *Israel*: *Hæc dices filiis Israël, &c. Hæc sunt judicia quæ propones eis.* And *Moses* pursuant to God's Commands, speaks to the whole People and makes his Laws known to them; the People answer him with one Voice, and he writes the Laws for all the People in general. *Venit ergo Moses & narravit Plebi omnia verba Domini atque judicia: Responditque omnis Populus unâ voce: Omnia verba Domini, quæ locutus es, faciemus. Et scripsit Moses universos sermones Domini.* It was not to the Priest or Elders he communicated the Law he had received from God, but to all the People; which he assembled on purpose when he was to tell them what concerned the Observation of the Sabbath, and the Construction of the Tabernacle: *Igitur congregatâ omni turbâ filiorum Israël dixit ad eos, &c. Et ait Moses ad omnem cæsum filiorum Israël; Hoc est verbum quod præcepit Dominus, dicens, &c.* Though *Leviticus* contains many Laws which have a more strict Relation to the Priests and Levites, than to the People in General; nevertheless unless it be in some Matters which have a peculiar Reference to *Aaron's* Person, *Moses* always speaks by God's order, to the whole People of *Israel*: *Vocavit autem Moses, & locutus est ei Dominus de Tabernaculo Testimonii, dicens: Loquere filiis Israël, & dices ad eos, &c. Levit. 1. Locutusque est Dominus ad Moses & Aaron, dicens: Dicite filiis Israël. Levit. 11. Et locutus est Dominus ad Moses, dicens: Loquere Aaron & filiis ejus, cunctis filiis Israël: Iste est sermo quem mandavit Dominus, dicens, &c. Levit. 17. Locutus est Dominus ad Moses, dicens: Loquere ad omnem cæsum filiorum Israël. Levit. 19. &c.* In the same Manner God speaks in the Book of *Numbers*: *Locutus est Dominus ad Moses, dicens: Præcipe filiis Israël, Num. 5. Locutusque est Dominus ad Moses dicens: Loquere ad filios Israël, & dices ad eos, &c. Num. 6. and in several other Places.* But the Book of *Deuteronomy* puts it beyond all question that it was the Intention both of God and *Moses*, that the whole Law should be read by the People. This is a short Repetition of the whole Law, made by *Moses* before his Death, which he first Read before all the People, and afterwards writes it down: *Hæc sunt verba quæ locutus est Moses ad omnem Israël trans Jordanem in solitudine campæstri, Deut. 1. Vocavitque Moses omnem Israël, & dixit ad eum: Audi Israël ceremonias atque judicia, quæ ego loquer in auribus vestris hodie, discite ea & opere complete. Deut. 5.* He repeats to them God's Commande-

ments;

ments ; he would have them not to be Ignorant of them , and not to Neglect them ; he recommends to them, to keep them in perpetual Remembrance , and to transmit them to their Children ; he tells them that these Commandments are not very difficult to be performed, that they should have them always in their Mouths and Hearts ; and last of all writes the Law to be read by them ; as may be seen in the 30th and 31st Chapter ; of the same Book : *Mandatum hoc quod præcipio tibi hodie, non supra te est, neque procul positum, nec in Cælo situm, ut possis dicere, quis nostrum valet ad Cælum ascendere ut deferat illud ad nos, &c. Sed juxta te est sermo valde in ore tuo & in corde tuo ut facias illum, &c. Scripsit itaque Moses Legem, hanc & tradidit eam Sacerdotibus filiis Levi, &c. Præcepitque eis, dicens ; post septem annos, anno remissionis in solemnitate Tabernaculorum convenientibus cunctis ex Israël, ut appareant in conspectu Domini Dei tui in loco quem elegerit Dominus, leges verba Legis hujus coram omni Israël, audientibus eis, & in unum omni populo congregato, tam viris quam mulieribus, parvulis & advenis qui sunt intra portas tuas.* Here we see all the Men, Women and Children admitted to the reading of the Scripture ; and Moses gives for a Reason, that they may understand and know the Law, that they may fear the Lord their God, and keep all the Ordinances of his Laws : *Ut audientes discant, & timeant Dominum Deum vestrum, & custodiant, impleantque omnes sermones Legis hujus.* And this was not alone intended for the Israelites then living, but also for their Posterity, who were to live on the other side of Jordan : *Filii quoque eorum qui nunc ignorant, ut audire possint & timeant Dominum Deum suum, cunctis diebus quibus versantur in Terra ad quam vos Jordane transmissio pergitis obtinendam.* Last of all, Moses does not only order them to have always in their Mouths and Hearts, what he lays before them by God's Command ; but also to instruct their Children, that they may observe God's Commandments ; for, says he, it is not in vain to you, it being your Life and the Word by which you shall prolong your Days : *Penite corda vestra in omnia verba quæ ego testificor vobis hodie, ut mandetis ea filiis vestris custodire & facere, & implere universa quæ scripta sunt Legis hujus : Quia non incassum præcepta sunt vobis, sed ut singuli in eis viverent, quæ facientes longo perseveretis tempore in Terrâ, ad quam Jordane transmissio ingredimini possidendam.* Was it possible for Moses to explain himself more clearly, that his Intention was, that the Law of God should be read and understood by all the Israelites in General, Priests, Levites, Laics, Men, Women and Children, &c.

Secondly, In respect of the Historical Books of the Bible. To what purpose were the Books of *Joshua*, of the *Kings*, of the *Judges*, &c. writ ? Unless it were to let the *Jews* understand, that God had fullfill'd his Promises made to their Ancestors, to instruct them in what had any relation to the Affairs of their Nation, and to give them to understand, that as often they had left God, they had also been abandon'd by him ; and when ever they had had recourse to his Mercy, and had repented, he had at all times secured and protected them. This it was, which not only the Priests and Levites, but also the whole People of *Israël*, were to be made sensible of, and therefore it was requisite that these Books should be in the Hands of all the *Jews*.

Thirdly, It is more evident still that the *Hymns* or *Psalms* which were composed either to pray, to, or else to praise and thank God for his Mercies, and which were Sung publicly by all the People, were not intended only for the Priests and Levites. How often are all the Saints, all the Just, and in short, all those that adore the True God, all Mankind and the whole Earth invited to praise the Lord ! Praise the Lord, says the 67th Psalm, in the Assemblies, all you that are of the race of *Israël*. Let the whole Earth sing the praise of the Lord. You Children of God praise the Lord ; The People shall praise his Name. You Servants of God bless the Lord. All that stand at the Entrance of the Tabernacle praise the Lord. Let his praise be published in the Congregations of the Just. Children and Old Men, Men and Women praise the Lord. These are the ordinary Expressions made use of by the Psalmist.

Fourthly, The Moral Books were writ to Instruct all People without exception in their Duty, for they contain such Precepts as are absolutely necessary as well for Women as Men, for the Ignorant as well as the Learned, for Young and Old, Rich and Poor. It is said in the very beginning of the *Proverbs* of Solomon, that they were writ to know Wisdom and Instruction, and perceive the Words of Understanding : To receive the Instruction of Wisdom, Justice and Judgment and Equity : To give Subtlety to the Simple, to the Young Man Knowledge and Discretion : To encrease the Wise Mans Learning, and for Men of Understanding to attain unto wise Councils. Was it possible for Solomon to express himself more plainly, that his Design was to write for the Instruction of the Simple and Ignorant People, though at the same time the Wi-  
fer



fer Sort might reap an Advantage by reading his Works? It is said in the Book of Ecclesiastes, *That the preacher sought to find out acceptable words, words upright, and words of truth: That the words of the wise are as goads and as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies to guide the people.*

*Fifthly.* Most of the Prophecies are either Admonitions, Instructions, Reproaches, or Threats, which the Prophets made to the Jewish People by God's Command; and they did not address themselves to the Priests only, but to all the People.

*Sixthly.* It was the constant Opinion of the Jews that the Sacred Writ ought to be read by all those of their Religion. *Moses* in his sixth Chapter of *Deuteronomy* recommends it to them: *These words, says he, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart. Thou shalt teach them unto thy children, and shalt talk of them in thine house, when thou walkest abroad, when thou liest down, and when thou risest up. Thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thine hand, and they shall be as frontlets between thine eyes. Thou shalt write them upon the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.* The same thing he recommends in the same words in the Eleventh Chapter: It cannot be supposed that he speaks in this place of one part of the *Mosaic Law* only, or of some peculiar Precepts, because he mentions expressly all the Commandments of God. But grant, that he meant only the principal and most essential parts of the Law, if they were to meditate upon them, the Jews must of necessity peruse these Books which were writ by God's express Command for their instruction. Pursuant to this Law given to the Jews, they always used to read the Scripture both in publick and private, which they could not forego without acting contrary to the express Command given them by *Moses* by God's order. It was for this reason that when *Josiah* found the Book of *Deuteronomy* in the Temple, which had lain neglected during the late Troubles, as well as some other Ceremonies prescribed in the *Mosaic Law*, he was extremely troubled, because they had neglected the reading of this Book, and calls together the Inhabitants of *Judah* and *Jerusalem*, not only the Priests and Levites, but the whole People, both small and great, and caused it to be read all over in their presence; That they might all hear it: *Ascendit in Domum Domini, unaque omnes viri Juda & habitatores Jerusalem, Sacerdotes & Levitæ, & cunctus populus à minimo ad maximum, quibus audientibus in Domo Domini legit Rex omnia verba Voluminis.* The Jews during their Captivity, tho in a foreign Country, yet were not forgetful of reading the Law. *Daniel*, as we have observed before, did both read and meditate upon it; and why should it be supposed that the other Jews who were Pious and Religious, should not have done the same thing. After their Return from the *Babylonian* Captivity, to render the Law more general and useful, *Ezrab* caused the same to be writ in *Chaldean* Characters, at that time better known to the Jews, than the ancient *Hebrew*; and to demonstrate that he intended it to be read and understood by every body, he ordered it to be read in the presence of all the People, both Men and Women, that were capable of understanding it. *Attulit ergo Esdras Sacerdos legem coram multitudine virorum & mulierum, cunctisque qui poterant intelligere. — & legerunt in Libro Legis Dei distinctè & aperte ad intelligendum, & intellexerunt cum legerunt.* 2 *Esd.* 8. Take these words in what sense you please, it is evident that *Ezrab* was absolutely of opinion, that the Scripture ought to be read and understood by the People. In our Saviour's time the Jews used to read the Old Testament in their Synagogues, in such a manner as to be understood by all, for it is said in the fourth Chapter of *St. Luke*, that when *Jesus* came into the Synagogue at *Nazareth*, the Book of the Prophet *Isaiab* was delivered unto him, and when he had opened it, and read several Lines, he closed the Book again; and the Eyes of all being fastened upon him, he told them, *This day is this Scripture fulfilled in your ears; and all, adds St. Luke, bare him witness:* Which evinces, that they had understood the Contents of that part of the Prophecy which *Jesus* read: If it was in *Hebrew*, it is a sign they had retained so much as yet of the *Hebrew* Tongue, as to understand what was read to them; tho perhaps they did not speak it: If it was a Translation, this was questionless done with an intention to make the Bible to be understood by the People. The Acts of the Apostles inform us that the Law and the Prophets used to be read in all the Synagogues of the Jews, it being said in the 15th. verse of the 13th. Chapter, that *St. Paul* and his Company being come to *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, and going into the Synagogue on a Sabbath-day, after the reading of the Law and the Prophets, they desired them to make an Exhortation to the People. And in the 15th. Chapter, *St. James* says, *That Moses of old time had in every Synagogue of every City they that preach him, being read every Sabbath-day. Ubi per omne Sabbatum legitur.* It is not improbable but that

that the *Hebrew Jews* used to read them in *Hebrew*; they knowing enough of the *Hebrew* to understand them, being educated and accustomed from their Infancy to the reading of the Sacred Writ, there being at this day few among them who don't bring up their Children to be capable of understanding the Scripture in *Hebrew*. They have a certain Ordinance, very famous in their *Gemara*, by virtue of which each *Jew* is obliged to Transcribe one Copy of the Law with his own hands. But for the better conveniency of such as did not readily understand *Hebrew*, the *Hebrew Jews* made use of the *Chaldean* Interpretations which were read from time to time, after the *Hebrew* Text. The *Jewish Hellenists*, who did neither understand *Hebrew* nor *Chaldee*, they used to read the Version of the *Septuagint* in their Synagogues; and afterwards, as was observed before, the Interpretation of *Aquila*. Neither was it in their publick Assemblies only; that the *Jews* read the Law in the time of our Saviour, but also in private, as is evident from several passages in the New Testament. Jesus Christ speaking to the *Jews* in the fifth Chapter of the Gospel of St. *John*, tells them, that they should search the Scriptures; *Scrutamini Scripturas*; that they testifie of him. They read therefore the Scripture. In the 16th. Chapter of St. *Luke*, *Abraham* tells the rich Man, who prayed him to send *Lazarus* to his Brethren: *They have Moses and the Prophets, let them hear them*; which is as much as to say, let them read the Law of *Moses*, and the Prophets; for nothing can be more ridiculous than to understand this passage, as a certain Modern Author does, of the Person of *Moses* and the Prophets. In the 11th. verse of the 17th. Chapter of the *Acts*, it is said, That the *Jews* of *Berea* received the Word with all affection and readiness, and that they searched the Scripture to see whether what was read to them, were true. St. *Peter* in his second Epistle to the *Jews* scattered through the Provinces of *Asia*, tells them, *That they have a more sure Word of Prophecy, whereunto they do well that they take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place*. St. *Paul* writing to *Timothy*, represents it to him as a peculiar Grace of God, that he had been Educated in the understanding of the Holy Scripture from his Infancy; *Et quia ab infantia sacras literas nosti*. For this he stood indebted to his Mother *Eunice*, (his Father being a Pagan) or else to *Lois* his Grand-mother, who in this Point followed the Custom of the *Jews*. It is related in the 8th. Chapter of the *Acts*, that the Eunuch of the Queen *Candace* being come to *Jerusalem* to Worship, did in his Return sitting in a Chariot read the Prophet *Isaiah*, and it is very apparent, that he understood the words, tho he did not understand the true sense of them. To be short, it is beyond all question, that the *Jews* always did, and do to this day, read frequently the Canonical Books; that they have always made the reading of the Scripture, and do to this day make it their chief business: That those who understand *Hebrew* read it in the Original Tongue, the rest in the *Syriac*, *Greek*, *Arabic*, or any other Tongue, according to what is enjoind in the *Jerusalem Talmud*; that those who cannot read it in *Hebrew*, ought therefore not to neglect the reading of it, but ought, according to their duty, to read the Holy Books in such a Tongue as they understand. This is the reason that both the Ancient and Modern *Jews*, have made many Translations of the Bible in the Vulgar Tongue, as we have mentioned before. There were only some few parts of the Bible which the *Jews* did forbid to be read by the younger sort; to wit, The beginning of *Genesis*: The beginning and latter part of *Ezekiel*, and the *Song of Solomon*; the rest being generally read by all, even by the Children. It is a custom among the *Hebrews*, says *Origen*, Hom. 1. in Cant. that their Doctors and Elders, let their Children read all the Books of the Holy Scripture, not excepting their Traditions; they only reserve for those of a Riper age, the beginning of *Genesis*, the beginning and end of *Ezekiel*, and the *Song of Solomon*. St. *Jerom* determines this Age to Thirty; but St. *Gregory* of *Nazianzen* to Twenty five. This exception is a convincing argument for our assertion, that it was Customary among the *Jews* to read the Scripture from their Infancy, unless those few places, which however they were also permitted to read, when they came to a greater maturity.

Seventhly. The Apostles, the Disciples of Christ, and the Primitive Christians, following in this the footsteps of the *Jews*, did as well as they read the Law of *Moses*, the Prophets, and the rest of the Books of the Old Testament. The Apostle St. *Paul* recommends this in the following words, *Rom. 15. That whatsoever thing were written for our instruction, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. Quaecunque Scripta sunt ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt; ut per patientiam & consolationem Scripturarum spem habeamus*. Add to this passage that before mentioned of St. *Peter*, in his address to the Converted *Jews*.



*Eighthly*, In what relates to the New Testament, it is unquestionable, that Jesus Christ is come to publish the Christian Religion to all the World. He did preach to all without the least difference of age, sex or condition of persons; if he selected any, they were such as were judged most ignorant in the eyes of the world; which shews his intention to have been, that his Doctrine should be manifested, as well to the simple and ignorant, as to the rest. The Evangelists writ for the general Benefit of all the Faithful: *These are written*, says St. John, *that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing you might have life through his Name.* The Gospels were from the first Infancy of the Church, in the hands of all the Christians, and read publicly in all the Churches of the Faithful. How can it then be said that it was against our Saviour's and his Apostles intention? St. Paul addresses himself in his Letters, not only to the Priests and Ministers, but in general to all the Faithful of those Churches, unto whom he writ; and whenever he writes to the Pastors alone, as to *Timothy* and *Titus*, they are directed to them alone; but when he writes to the Churches, he says to all the Faithful: Thus in his Epistle to the *Romans*, *To all that be in Rome, beloved of God, called to be Saints.* In his first to the *Corinthians*: *Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus, called to be Saints, with all that in every place call upon the Name of Jesus Christ, our Lord, both theirs and ours.* In his second to the *Corinthians*: *Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, with all the Saints which are in all Achaia.* In his Epistle to the *Ephesians*: *To the Saints which are at Ephesus.* In that to the *Philippians*: *To all the Saints in Christ Jesus, which are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons.* In that to the *Colossians*: *To the Saints and Faithful Brethren in Christ, which are at Colosse.* In his Epistle to the *Galatians* and *Thessalonians* he addresses himself only to the Churches; but under the word Church he comprehends all the Faithful that belong to it. His Admonitions and Reproofs are not directed to their Pastors only, but to all the Faithful, whom he also enjoins to admonish their Pastors of their Duty; as for instance, in his Epistle to the *Colossians*: *Say to Archippus, Take heed to the Ministry, which thou hast received in the Lord, that thou fulfill it.* He wills and commands them to read his Letters in the Assemblies of the Faithful: *When this Epistle*, says he to the *Colossians*, *is read among you, cause that it be read also in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that you likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea.* Towards the latter end of his Epistle to the *Thessalonians*, I charge you, says he, *by the Lord, that this Epistle be read unto all the Holy Brethren.* *Adjuvo vos per Dominum ut legatur hæc Epistola omnibus sanctis Fratribus.* He makes use, says *Theodore*, of an Oath to convince them of the benefit which would redound to them from the reading of the Sacred Writ, being afraid that those who first received his Letters might not communicate them to all the rest. Nothing therefore can be more absurd, than to affirm, the intention of St. Paul to have been, that his Letters should not be understood by the Vulgar, but only the Priests and Doctors of the Church, because he declares positively, nay conjures them, to have them read before all the Faithful.

*Ninthly*, We have shew'd before, that it was the constant practice of the Church from its first Infancy, to read the Sacred Writ publicly in those Languages best understood by the People, who likewise made use of it in private: That those who did understand neither *Greek* nor *Latin*, had immediately after they embraced Christianity, Translations of the Holy Scripture, in their respective Native Tongues, which they read both in publick and private: That when the *Greek* and *Latin* was no more generally spoken among the People, the Christians of all Nations took care to have Translations of the Bible into their Vulgar Languages; and that tho for some reasons they did think fit to retain the Ancient Language in their Church-Office, they were nevertheless very careful, that even the most ignorant of the Faithful might not be destitute of that comfort of being able to read and understand the Holy Scripture. All which sufficiently evinces that it was never intended by the Church, that the Holy Scripture was for the use only of the Clergy, and other persons, above the common capacity, and that the more ignorant sort should be excluded; and as it may be said, deprived from receiving the nourishment of the Word of God.

What Objections are made against this Assertion, are either founded upon false Suppositions, refuted by us already, or upon such mean Reasons, as scarce deserve any farther Answer, sufficiently discoursed in that learned Book of Mr. *Arnaud*, of the reading of the Holy Scripture, unto which we are beholding for the greatest Part we have, and are to say upon this Subject. The false Suppositions before

before refuted are : That the Books of the Old Testament were not writ Originally in the Language vulgarly used among the *Jews*, neither in such Characters as were known to all, these having been lost, during the time of their Captivity : That the reading of them was forbidden to the *Jews* : That the Books of the New Testament, were likewise not writ in the Vulgar Tongue, and that for several Ages, there were no Translations used in the Church : That *Greek* and *Latin*, was not generally spoken or understood in most of the Provinces of the Empire ; and that the common People, who had no Knowledge of these Tongues, had no Translations of the Holy Scripture in their own Languages ; but that, they read the Scripture, and performed the Church Offices in *Greek* and *Latin*. All these Suppositions, I say, having been refuted before, the Conclusion made from thence, that the Scripture was not intended to be read by all the Faithful ; but only by the Priests, does destroy it self. The Reasons alledged against the reading of the Scripture are so feeble, that to shew their absurdity, it is sufficient to mention them. They say, the *Pagan* Philosophers were always very careful, to hide their Maxims and Books from the Vulgar, and that consequently it would be a Prophanation to put the Holy Scripture into the Hands of the common People. An excellent Consequence indeed, supposing their first Proposition to be true ; which however they will scarce be able to prove, it being certain, that the Treatises of the ancient Philosophers were read by every Body, and that, whenever their Intention was to hide any of their Maxims or Points of Doctrine, it was not done by keeping them from the sight of the World, but by involving them in obscure Words. They likewise alledge in their behalf the Custom of the *Pagans*, who were very careful not to divulge the Mysteries of their Religion ; from whence they would conclude, that the Mysteries of the true Religion ought to be kept hidden from the *Jews* and *Christians* ; just, as if there was the same reason for the *Christians* to hide their Holy and Sacred Mysteries, as the *Pagans* had not to disclose the Infamies, Impieties and Superstitions of their prophane Mysteries, which indeed must turn to their own Shame and Confusion ; whereas the *Christian* Religion, the more it is known, the more respect it will inspire into all. Truth, as a certain ancient Author observes, fearing nothing more than to be hid. 'Tis true, there was a certain time in the Church, when the *Christians* would not speak too plainly before the *Pagans* and the *Catechumens* of the Sacraments ; but they never hid any of these Mysteries from those that were baptized, and the Secrecy enjoined in respect of the *Catechumens*, was not the forbidding of the reading of the Scripture, which was allowed them, but only in reference to the Doctrine of the *Eucharist*. The instance they give of God's Conduct with the *Jews*, unto whom he gave a *Figurative* Law, does not imply that God did not intend they should read this Law ; but rather to give them to understand, that even those, unto whom he thought not fit as yet to discover his Mysteries, might read the Scriptures without being able to apprehend them. *Moses* did not speak to the People without a Vail over his Face. This does not imply that he spoke to them in obscure Words ; the Vail being made use of for no other end, but, because the Children of *Israel* were not able to see his Face, by reason of the glorious Light that issued from thence ; and if any mystical Sense is to be taken from the Vail, it implies no more, than that the *Jews* had a certain Vail which covered their Hearts, and rendred them incapable of comprehending the *Mosaic* Figurative Law : But this Vail, according to *St. Paul*, is removed from the *Christians*. Another Objection they make, taken from the Ark of Testimony, where the Sacred Law was to be deposited, and to be read publickly by the Priests ; from whence they would draw this Consequence, that the Books containing the *Mosaic* Law, were known only to the Priests and Levites, that it was only they that kept Copies of them, which they communicated to the People only by their reading in Publick ; but these are very slender Arguments : For, because the *Mosaic* Law-Books were preserved in the Tabernacle, no consequence can be drawn, that the People had no Copies of them ; that in the Tabernacle was the Authentic Original, which with all the reason in the world was preserved there : And from thence that God order'd the Priests to read the Law in public every seventh Year, it follows indeed that his intention was, that the People should not be Ignorant of it, but not in the least that they should be debarr'd from reading it, upon any other Occasion ; on the contrary the Apostles tell us, that the Books of *Moses*, used to be read every *Sabbath-day* in the Synagogues of the *Jews*.

They



They alledge in reference to the New Testament, that *Jesus Christ* did not divulge his Doctrine in plain Expressions, but in Parables and Figures: But they might have observed also, that this was done only in respect of some of the incredulous *Jews*, whereas he explained his Mysteries to his Apostles and Disciples. *Unto you*, says he, *it is given to know the Mysteries of the Kingdom of God, but to others in Parables, that seeing they might not see, and hearing they might not understand.* It is to those who are converted, that it is given to understand the Mysteries of the Kingdom of God; and those, who neither are, nor never will be converted, it is not reveal'd by Parables. God hides his Mysteries from the Wise of the World, and reveals them to the Simple and Ignorant. According to this Maxim, which has a particular Relation to the reading of the Holy Scripture, the Simple and Ignorant, and of an humble Condition, are more adapted for the understanding of the Scripture, than the Wise and high-flown Doctors. But without insisting any farther upon the Refutation of such frivolous Arguments, we will consult the Authority of the Scripture it self, and of the Fathers, concerning the Benefit, which may accrue to all the Faithful by the reading of the Bible.

## S E C T. III.

Of the Benefit that Believers may receive by reading the Holy Scriptures.  
The Judgment of the Fathers upon that Subject.

IT looks too much like profaneness to doubt of the usefulness of reading the Holy Scriptures; for that is to doubt whether the Word of God be of use to us, and consequently to call in question his Wisdom and Goodness. It's possible the Holy Scriptures, tho' useful in themselves, may become not only useless, but prejudicial, thro' the ill disposition of those that read them; but to suppose them to be of no use in themselves, and that Believers who read them with a submissive and humble temper, cannot profit by them, is directly to affront the Oracles of the Holy Ghost, and the practice of the Church: it is to despise the Counsel so often given by *Moses* from God, to read and meditate continually on his Law; to have it always before our eyes, and in our memories: It is to give no credit to the Oracle of the Psalmist, which assures us, *Psal. 19. That the Law of the Lord is perfect, converting the Soul; that his Testimony is sure, making wise the simple; that the Statutes of the Lord are right, rejoicing the heart; that his Commandments are pure, enlightning the eyes.* It is to have no regard to the fervent Prayer, so often repeated in the 119th Psalm, wherein *David* entreats of God the Grace to meditate continually on his Law, and to understand it; and where he declares with so much zeal the great Excellencies and Advantages of it: *O how I love thy Law! it is my meditation all the day. I am become wiser than all my Teachers, by making thy Testimonies my Meditation. I understand more than the Antients, because I keep thy Commandments. I have refrained my feet from every evil way, &c. Through thy Precepts I get understanding, therefore I hate every false way. Thy Word is a Lamp to my feet, and a Light to my path.* I should be forced to transcribe the whole Psalm, to alledge every thing in it that respects the benefit that may be gain'd by reading and meditating on the Law of God. The New Testament is as express: "The words of *JESUS CHRIST* are words of Life; they were written that we might believe in him, and that believing we might have Eternal Life. Whatsoever things were written, were written for our learning, that we thro' patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. All Scripture divinely inspired, is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness; that the Man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished to all good Works. Thus *JESUS CHRIST*, the Evangelists and Apostles speak of the use which may be made of the Holy Scriptures. And who after this can doubt but that the reading them may be profitable to all Believers, if accompanied with a teachable and humble mind?

If we consult the Tradition of the Greek and Latin Church upon this Subject, we shall find that the Fathers have unanimously exhorted all Believers, with great earnestness, to read the Holy Scriptures, and shewn the usefulness of them in very significant Expressions, and by convincing Arguments.

*S. CLEMENT*, in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, the most antient and authorized Monument we have, next to the Holy Scriptures, speaks in this manner to the Christians of the Church of *Corinth*, to whom he writes about reading and meditating on the Holy Writings: "You have read, says he, my dear Brethren, the Holy Scriptures, and you are thoroughly instructed in them: you have carefully applied your selves to meditate on the Word of God; retain it therefore in your memories, and think upon it often. This Advice supposes that in his time all Christians read the Holy Scriptures.

*S. IRENEUS*, in the 46th Chapter of his second Book against Heresies, declares expressly, that all the Scriptures, both Prophetical and Evangelical, may be understood by all Persons: *Cum itaque universa scriptura, & Prophetica & Evangelica, in aperto, & sine ambiguitate, & similiter ab omnibus audiri possint.* He adds in the next Chapter, that the Scriptures are perfect, as being dictated by the Spirit of God, and by his Word: *Scripturae quidem perfectae sunt, quippe à Verbo Dei & Spiritu ejus dictae.* And then he lays down a Rule to be observed in reading them, which is to make a good use of what we understand, and to leave to God those things which are incomprehensible to us. In the 20th Chapter of the 5th Book he says, That it is the property of a Christian to feed upon the Scriptures, in the Bosom of the Church: *In ejus sinu educari, & Scrip-*



*turis Dominicis enutriti*: And that this was signified by God's commanding *Adam* to eat of all the Trees of *Paradise*, the Spirit thereby giving us to understand, that all the Divine Writings ought to be our Food: *Ab omni ergo ligno Paradisi escas manducabis, id est, ab omni Scriptura Dominica manducate.*

S. CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, after he had said, in the first Book of his *Pedagogue*, Chap. 11. "That the Word of God is the health of our Souls: That in former times it served us instead of a Pedagogue, by *Moses*, and then by the Prophets; but that last of all the Father had sent us his well-beloved Son, whom we ought to hear; tells us in the third Book of the same Treatise, Chap. 8. "That this Divine Pedagogue proposes to us all manner of Instructions, Examples and Parables, to take us off from Vice, and excite us to Virtue. And in Chap. 11. he frames to himself this Objection: "But we are not all capable, you will say, of this Divine Philosophy. To which he answers thus: Are not we all capable of attaining to the true Life? What will you then answer me? How did you believe? How do you love God and your Neighbour, if you are incapable of the Philosophy I speak of? How do you love your own selves, if you have no affection for the true Life? But, will you say again, I have not learn'd to read? If you cannot read, you have no excuse to make against hearing what shall be read to you. The same he teaches in the 7th Book of his *Stromata*, where he says: "That the Sacrifices of a Christian are Prayer, praising God, and reading his Word. And that we must expect to stumble, when we do not follow God as our Leader, who guides us by the inspired Writings.

It is known that ORIGEN studied the Holy Scriptures from his Childhood, and that this was one of the things which Antiquity most extol'd and admir'd in that great Man. For it was not then thought dangerous for Laymen and Children to read the Sacred Writings. And as he had been brought up in that reading, so he recommends it to others, and insists much upon the usefulness of it. In his 19th Homily on St. *Matthew*, he says, That the Vineyard whereof JESUS CHRIST speaks in his Parable, is the Holy Scripture, which the Householder let out to Husbandmen, that is, had committed to the Jews; not only to the Priests, but to the common People. He adds, that it is given also to us, "That the Scripture is our Vineyard, and that the Fruit God expects we should render to him out of this Vineyard, is to govern our selves so by its Divine Instructions, that our Lives may be blameless, and all our Actions edifying. And in his 8th Book on the Epistle to the *Romans*, Chap. 11. he says; "That the whole Scripture is that Table of which it is said in the Psalms, *Let their Table be made a Snare*, which the Apostle applies to the Jews: That this was the Table of the People of *Israel*, because the Oracles of God were committed to them, and all that is called the *Old Testament*. That every one of them might sit at this Table, and there feed upon the Word of God, set before them in the Books of the Law and the Prophets.

One of his best Pieces, is undoubtedly the Refutation of *Celsus* his Book against the Christian Religion. That Pagan Philosopher had expressed a contempt of the Sacred Writings, as being written in a plain Style, which had nothing in it comparable to the Beauty of that of the Philosophers. But it is upon this account that *Origen* extols the Holy Scriptures above the most eloquent Writings of the Greeks. He affirms in his 4th Book, "That the Reason why the Holy Scriptures are so valuable, is, "because they accommodate themselves to the capacity of the meanest: which, saith he, those Fable-mongers, so much esteem'd among the Greeks, could never do. And insisting more at large upon this Subject in his 7th Book, he refutes this Objection in the following terms: "If a Grecian, says he, had a mind to teach the Egyptians or Syrians a Doctrine that could heal the Distempers of their Souls, he would be careful to learn their Language, chusing rather to speak Barbarian, which the Greeks count a disgrace, than speaking in his own Tongue, to be useless to those People. So the Divine Wisdom intending to edify, not only the learned Grecians, as they are thought, but all sorts of People, condescended to the capacity of the meanest of that infinite multitude of Persons whom he designed to instruct: He resolved to attract by that means the most ignorant, and gain their attention, by speaking to them in their common Dialect. And he had the more reason to make use of this method, because after this first introduction into the Holy Scriptures, of which all Persons are capable, we are at liberty to search into their more sublime meaning. For all Persons that read them, acknowledg that when they carefully examine them, they find Truths concealed, much more lofty than appear to be at first sight; and the more they search, the more they find. It is certain therefore "that

“ that JESUS CHRIST has done more good to mankind, by the Language which  
“ *Celsus* calls *Rustical*, than *Plato* by all his eloquent Discourses. So that it is ingra-  
titude to God, according to this Father, and an ill requital of his kindness in conde-  
scending so far as to list with us, that he might teach all Men the Truths of Salva-  
tion in a way suitable to the capacity of the meanest, to pretend that none but  
the Wise and Learned, in the esteem of the World, may take the liberty to read the  
Holy Scriptures; and that Women and ignorant people are profane Persons, who  
should not be permitted to enter into this Sanctuary. This is what never came into the  
minds of any of the Fathers; and *Origen* plainly shews us how far he was from it,  
when addressing himself to all Believers without distinction, he exhorts them in  
these words, in his 9th Homily on *Leviticus*, to read continually the Sacred Writings.  
“ I beseech you not to content your selves with hearing the Word of God when it is  
“ read in the Church, but apply your selves to it also at home, and meditate there  
“ night and day on the Law of the Lord. For JESUS CHRIST is present in  
“ your Houses as well as in the Church, and they that seek him, find him in all places.  
“ And therefore we are commanded in the Law, to meditate on the Word of God,  
“ both when we walk, and when we sit in our houses, and when we lie down, and  
“ when we rise up. There comes an evil thought into your mind, you are tempted  
“ to comply with an unlawful desire. Know that this comes from your Enemy;  
“ banish it therefore immediately out of your hearts. But how is that to be done?  
“ you have need of some Power to assist you. Take the Holy Scriptures into your  
“ hands, and read them; set the Commandments of God before your eyes: thereby  
“ you will be disposed to reject all that your Enemy suggests to you. To which he  
adds: “ Would you know what it is that nourishes our Souls? It is reading the Holy  
“ Books, continual Prayer, and pious Instructions.

S. HILARY magnifies in several places the Advantages that may be gained by  
the Word of God, and particularly in his Commentary on *Psal.* 119. “ Let us re-  
member, says he, when we applied our selves to read the Holy Scriptures, to find  
“ there what God requires us to do in order to please him, what a fulness of Di-  
vine Knowledge we found our narrow minds capable of receiving, and how not-  
withstanding our unworthiness, we were filled with ardent desires of enjoying  
“ God. He says further, That the Soul which has a due taste of the Scripture, re-  
ceives from it that nourishment which is a Seed of Eternal Life. That the Holy  
“ Scripture is a Fountain of Life, and that we must read and meditate on it, that  
“ we may live thereby. *David*, says he, had reason to hope, because his chief employ-  
ment was to meditate on the Law of God. Let us therefore apply our selves also  
“ to read the Divine Books, and practise in our lives what the Law commands us.  
“ For it was the contemplation of the Divine Law, which made the Prophet hope,  
“ that being kept by the Mercy of God, he should partake of the true Life.

S. BASIL speaks of the Benefit that may be got by reading the *Psalms*, and in  
general all the Holy Scriptures, in these terms: “ All the Scriptures, divinely in-  
spired, were given us by the Holy Ghost, that being, as it were, a Magazine full  
“ of all sorts of Remedies for the cure of our Souls, EVERY ONE might find in  
“ them such as are proper for their particular Distempers. The Prophets in-  
struct us in some things; the Historical Books teach us others; and we have a third  
“ sort of Instructions in the Law. The Book of *Proverbs* gives also the Church o-  
ther Directions for regulating our practice: But that of the *Psalms* seems to  
“ comprehend every thing that is useful in the other, to edify all sorts of Persons.  
In his first Letter to S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, where he describes in an admirable man-  
ner, what ought to be the Employments of a Person who would give himself up  
wholly to God, he fails not to mention the reading and meditation of the Holy  
Scriptures as one of the principal; “ One of the greatest means, says he, of know-  
“ ing how to discharge our Duty, is the contemplation and study of the In-  
spired Writings. For they are all full of Grace; and the lives of many holy Per-  
“ sons which are written in them, are like lively Images proposed to us for our imi-  
tation, and do excite us to walk in the steps of those great Men who have signa-  
liz’d themselves in the Divine Commonwealth. Whoever therefore finds himself  
“ weak in any respect, if he makes this reading familiar to him, he will find in it  
“ Remedies fitted to all his Distempers and Infirmities. In his *Summary of Rules*,  
Quest. 95. he says, “ That it is profitable and necessary for every one to learn  
“ out of the Holy Scriptures, what is proper for his condition, and to confirm him  
“ in piety, that he may not be carried away by the Maxims of the World. He adds  
on the 235th Quest. “ That those who have the oversight of others (by whom he



he means not the Priests, but those that bore some Office among the Monks, who at that time were generally none but Laymen) "are obliged to be more than ordinarily versed in the Scriptures, because they ought to know what concerns Men in all states and conditions, that they may be able to teach all under their care the Will of God, and instruct every one severally in their Duty. But that private Persons ought in reading the Scripture, to learn carefully that which regards themselves, and to practise it. But can we read without some dread, what he says on the 37th Psalm? He would have us represent to our selves the Scripture delivered to JESUS CHRIST when he is set on his Tribunal to judg us, and says, that it is by these Divine Laws that we are to be tried. Ought we not therefore, continues he, to study with great diligence the Doctrine of the Scripture? In his Book of *Virginity*, he says, "That the Spouse of Wisdom ought not to be ignorant, but to perfect her self in Knowledge by a continual meditation on his Law: and to take her whole delight in reading the Old and New Testament, which will lead her; as it were, by the hand to her Spouse. In his 284th Letter written to a Lady, who desired his Advice about the manner of her behaviour; after he had told her, that by the warning he had received from God in a Dream, he seemed to exhort her to settle the state of her Soul, he adds: "If you seek your comfort in the Holy Scriptures, you will need neither me nor any other to advise you about the manner of your behaviour: For the Holy Spirit will give you all those Instructions that are necessary, he will make your way plain before you, and lead you in it by the hand. And in the next Letter to another Lady named *Eleuthera*: "I salute, says he, your noble Daughter, and desire you would exhort her to persevere in the meditation of the Word of God, that she may not lose the Advantages of so good an Education; and at the same time that her Body receives its natural growth, her Soul may improve in Vertue by that divine study.

S. GREGORY OF NYSSA speaks in the same manner as S. Basil, about reading the Holy Scripture. He says of the *Psalms*, what the other Fathers say of all the Books of Scripture, that they are composed so admirably, that all sorts of Persons may receive benefit by them. "For not only, says he, Men that are perfect, and have the eyes of their minds purified, are capable of the Instructions which the Holy Ghost there gives; but Women also may receive as much advantage by them, as if they were written for them alone. They yield as much pleasure to those that are yet Babes in Christianity, as Toys do to little Children. They serve instead of a Staff and a Couch to those who are broken with old Age: And they that are in their spiritual Prime, look upon them as the special Gift of Heaven. Let him therefore that is melancholy, or oppressed with any great affliction, consider them as a Letter of Consolation sent to him from God. Let those who travel by Land or by Sea; who are settled in any Employment at home; and in a word all Believers, Men as well as Women, in whatever state or condition they be, sick or in health, be persuaded that they deprive themselves of a great Privilege, by neglecting the use of these Divine Songs. Nay they ought, among true Christians, to make the best part of their Rejoycing at Feasts and Marriages.

S. AMBROSE declares in many places the Excellency of the H. Scripture, the need we have to read it, and the benefit that Christians may reap by it. To shew us that it is in reading the Divine Writings we obtain our Victory and our Joy, he says, That this is what was typified by those Sacerdotal Trumpets, which did not only animate the Jews to conquer their Enemies, but were the Instruments of their Joy upon festival days: *Non soli hostes harum tubarum sonitu vincuntur, sed & delectationes & dies Festi sine his esse non possunt*. He says, that the Oracles of the Prophets ought always to excite and press us to diligence in our pursuit after Heaven: *Semper te Prophetarum oracula excitent atque commoveant ut ad superiora festines*. That it is wisdom to take delight in this heavenly Food: *Sapientia delectatio alimenti cœlestis*. That the Word of God makes Men Princes, by setting them above the Temptations of the World: *Sermo ejus principes facit, qui non subjiciantur illecebris secularibus*. That the Holy Scripture fortifies the Soul, and gives it a spiritual Beauty: That it confirms the Purposes of Reason, and destroys the Power of Lust and Passion: *Sermo plurimus scripturarum animam confirmat, & quodam spiritualis gratiæ colorat vapore. Rationabilia quoque inventa corroborat, dissolvitque omnem vim irrationabilium potestatum*. That it is a Remedy against all Troubles, and our only Refuge from Temptations: *Remedium tædiorum omnium Scriptura divina, & in tentationibus unicum refugium*. And elsewhere; *Verbum Dei repulsorium est tædiorum, quo sopor animæ, somnus mentis excluditur*. That it is the Duty of a Christian to meditate continually on the Divine Oracles,

cles, and to be perfectly instructed in the Will of God, and practise according to it: *Divina intra se volvat oracula, atque ad ea quæ complacent Deo suum informet affectum. Sit meditatus in lege, & nulla eum Dei mandata prætereant.* That as the Earth is full of Medicines against the Distempers of the Body, so the Scripture is full of Remedies against the Diseases of the Soul: *Ita etiam præceptis salutaribus replevit seriem Scripturarum, quibus infirmitas animæ sanaretur.* That the Word of God is every thing to us: Our Physick, our Light, that which washes away our filthiness, and the Spring of all our Comforts: *Loquere, Domine Jesu. Verbum tuum Medicina est. Verbum tuum Lumen est. Verbum tuum Fons est. Tū loqueris & culpa lavatur. Omnia nobis factum est Dei Verbum.* That the Scripture is of use to all Persons: That the Sound may thence derive Wisdom; that the Captives may there find a Deliverer; that those who are at liberty may be there assured of a Recompence; and every one meet with something in it proper to heal his Wounds, or to confirm his Virtue: *Sanus sapientiam acquirit, captivus redemptorem, liber remuneratorem. Omnes ædificat Scriptura divina. In ea invenit unusquisque, quo aut vulnera sua curet aut merita confirmet.* That the contemplation of the Law of God is our great support in a time of distress, and enables us to bear up under the heaviest misfortunes: *Legis meditatio facit ut tempora tribulationis, tempora quibus humiliamur aliquibus adversis sustinere & tolerare possimus, ut neque humiliato nimis neque dejecto frangamur affectu.* That in reading the Holy Scriptures we may find anointing, strength, and nourishment. Which he explains by a comparison of the *Athletæ*, that anointed themselves with Oil, exercised themselves continually in wrestling, and fed upon strong meats, to make themselves the more vigorous. He pleads that the reading of the Holy Scriptures ought to do all this in us: *Ungamus oleo lectionis mentis nostræ lacertos. Sit nobis tota die & nocte exercitii usus, in quadam cælestium scripturarum palæstra, artusq; animorum nostrorum salubris ferculorum nostrorum esca confirmet.* That we ought always to guide our selves by the Light of the Scripture, to which all our Virtues owe their original and progress: *Arguit Christus eos qui utuntur lucerna, si non semper utantur. Numquid negligamus verbum Dei, ex quo nobis omnium origo virtutum est, universorumque operum quidam processus? Hæc lucerna accensa sit in omni verbo, in omni opere.* That the Books of the Scripture are as so much Spoil, which enriches those that find it, and should fill them with joy: *Merito exulto. Sine labore meo inveni spolia. Inveni Pentateuchum, inveni Regnorum libros, inveni Prophetarum scripta, inveni Christum, inveni Paulum.* That the Word of God should be a continual Feast to us: That it is furnished with a variety of Meats, some of which are stronger, as the Law and the Gospel; and others more delicious, as the *Psalms* and *Canticles*: *Bene eructat qui plurima & suavia Dei præcepta gustaverit. Habet verbum Dei epulas suas, alias fortiores, ut est Lex & Evangelium; alias suaviore, ut sunt Psalmi & Cantica Canticorum.* That the way to prevent hunger, is to feed every day upon the Holy Scriptures: *Ede Scripturarum cælestium cibos: ede quotidie ut non esurias.* That we ought not to read them cursorily, and without due consideration of what we read. But even when we have not the Book before us, we should, like those clean Animals that chew the Cud, fetch out of our Memories this spiritual Food, and ruminate upon it: *Non perfunctorie transeamus quæ legimus, sed etiam cum abest codex, tanquam animalia munda & ruminantia, de interioribus nostris ruminandum nobis pabulum spirituale promamus.* He says that the Gospel of S. Luke was written to be read by all those that love God, which should be the property of all true Christians, whether learned or unlearned, of all Ages, and of all Sexes. "This Gospel, says he, is addressed to *Theophilus*, that is, to HIM THAT LOVES GOD. If you love God, it is for you it was written. Receive the Present of an Evangelist, and what he gives you as your Friend, in token of his Affection, lay up carefully in the treasure of your Hearts. Keep this precious Trust; view it often, and read it continually and with great care. Those therefore who pretend that some Christians ought not to read the Gospel, must dispence with their loving God. For it is certainly very strange, and would have undoubtedly been very hard to persuade S. Ambrose, or any other of the Fathers, that being not a whit the less capable of loving God, for understanding only my own Mother-tongue, I should therefore be deprived of a Present made me by an Evangelist, and a Token he has given me of his Affection, according to the apprehension of this Father, by not being suffered to read what he wrote to be read by all that should love God. Would he have excepted Women and Children, as profane Persons, against whom this Sanctuary ought to be shut? That would be a foolish Imagination. He says further, That the words of the Holy Doctrine, that is, the Scripture, make up the Marriage of Virgins with their Divine Spouse: *Sacra Doctrina verbis Sponso innubit aeterno.* That such are to be silent



while the Word of God is read to them, that they may the better hearken to it and remember it: *Nulla divinarum sententia fugiet lectionum, si aurem admoveas, vocem premas.* And he exhorts them to seek JESUS CHRIST in the Scriptures, because that is the best place to find him: *Quarite illum in Scripturis, ibi melius invenitur.* Other Passages out of S. Ambrose might be alledged; but these are sufficient to shew what he thought of reading the Holy Scripture.

None of the Latin Fathers have more earnestly recommended the reading of the Holy Scriptures, even to Women and Maids, than S. JEROM, who in his Letter to *Leta*, telling her how she ought to educate her Daughter, expresses himself in this manner: "When she begins to grow up, let her apply her self to read the Holy Scriptures, and learn out of the Prophets and Apostles the nature of that spiritual Marriage that must unite her Soul to God. Make her, says he, give you an account every day of what she reads, and bring you, as it were, a Nosegay of it, gathered by her own hands. Let her get the *Psalms* by heart, and take off her mind from the thoughts of the World, by employing it upon these divine Songs: Let her learn to regulate her Life by the *Proverbs of Solomon*: Let her accustom her self by meditating on the Book of *Ecclesiastes*, to tread underfoot the Vanities of the World: Make her observe the Examples of Courage and Patience related in the Book of *Job*. From thence let her pass to the Gospels, and read them with constancy. Afterwards let her read the Prophets, and the other Books of the Old Testament. And last of all let her learn the *Song of Songs*, that she may do it without danger, lest if at her first entrance she read that holy Book, the purity of her heart be corrupted, and wounded by misunderstanding that *Epithalamium* of the Spiritual Marriage, because it is written in words that seem to describe a humane Passion.

The same Saint writing to one of his Friends named *Gaudentius*, among the Counsels he gives him about the Christian Education of a young Maid committed to his care, forgets not to advise him to make her read the Holy Scriptures, *Epist. 12.* "When she is seven Years old, says he, and sensible of shame, and begins to know what she ought to conceal, and to doubt about what she should speak, make her learn by heart the *Psalms*; and at twelve years of Age, let her read the Books of *Solomon*, the Gospels, the Epistles of the Apostles, and the Writings of the Prophets, being taught to value them as her greatest Treasure. In the same manner he speaks to the holy Virgin *Demetria*, who was more advanced in Age and Vertue: "Besides the time, says he, that you ought to spend in reciting the *Psalms*, and Prayer, according to the order prescribed you for the hours of *Tierce*, *Sext* and *None*, for the Evening, Midnight, and Morning, which you ought never to omit; fix how many hours more you ought to employ in studying the Holy Scripture, and how much time in reading it; looking upon this Exercise not as a painful labour, but as the delight of your Soul, and its choicest Food. One of the greatest Commendations he gives to those Saints whose Lives he has written, is upon the account of their eagerness in reading the Scripture. After he had describ'd the wonderful repentance of *S. Fabiola*, he says, that she went as far as *Jerusalem*, and stayed some time in the Monastery of *S. Paula*, whither this Saint conducted her. Upon which he speaks in this manner, about the conversation he had with her: "When I remember, says he, the conversation we had together, methinks I see her still; Good God, how great was her zeal and regard for the Holy Scriptures! She ran over the Prophets, the Gospels, and *Psalms*, as if she had been to feed her self in extreme hunger. She proposed to me Difficulties, and kept in her heart the Answers I made to them. She was never weary of learning, and her penitential Sorrow encreased as fast as her Knowledge: For just as if Oil had been cast into a Fire, she felt the Flames of her Zeal still more and more vehement. He says the same almost of *S. Paula*: "She had, says he, the Holy Scripture by heart; and tho she extremely loved the History, because, as she said, that was the Foundation of the Truth, yet she was much more intent upon the allegorical and spiritual sense, as that which was most edifying. She earnestly entreated me to let her and her Daughter read in my presence the Old and New Testament, that I might explain to them the most difficult places of it: And not being able to resist her constant Importunities, I promis'd to teach her what I had learn'd of them; not from my self, that is from the presumption of my own mind, which is the most dangerous of all Masters, but from the greatest Persons in the Church. I will say also one thing, which perhaps may seem incredible to those whom her admirable Qualities have given occasion to suspect her. She desired to learn the Hebrew Tongue, of which

“ which I had acquired some knowledg; and she compass’d her design, so that she  
 “ sung the Psalms in Hebrew, and spake that Language without mixing any thing of  
 “ Latin with it; as we see also done now by her holy Daughter *Eustochia*. He says  
 likewise in the same Life, that to moderate the Zeal of this holy Woman, who la-  
 mented the smallest Faults as great Crimes with abundance of Tears; he admonish-  
 ed her to spare her Eyes, and preserve them for reading the Gospel: *Ut parceret*  
*oculis & eos servaret Evangelicæ lectioni*. And at last he tells us, this was not peculiar  
 to her, but all the young Women she had gathered together into three Monasteries,  
 read the holy Books as well as she: “ For they were all, says he, obliged to get by  
 “ heart the whole Psalter, and to learn every day something out of the holy Scrip-  
 “ ture. He affirms yet more of *S. Marcella*: Her love, says he, for the Ho-  
 “ ly Scripture was incredible, and she sung every day, *I have hid thy Word in my*  
 “ *heart, that I might not sin against thee*; and that other Verse where *David*, speak-  
 “ ing of the perfect Man, says, *His delight is in the Law of the Lord, and on his Law*  
 “ *doth he meditate day and night*. Understanding by meditating on the Law, not re-  
 “ peating often the words of Scripture, as the Pharisees did, but practising them, ac-  
 “ cording to the Instructions of the Apostle, where he says, *Whether ye eat or drink,*  
 “ *or whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God*. In this manner she read the Scripture  
 before she knew *S. Jerom*. But hear what he says of her after she came acquainted  
 with him. “ Having heard as it were but by the by all the knowledg I had been  
 “ able to get of the Scripture by very long study, she learn’d and possess’d it so en-  
 “ tirely, that when after my departure there arose a Contest about any passages of  
 “ Scripture, she was made the Judg of it. But as she was extraordinary prudent,  
 “ and perfectly understood the Rules of what the Philosophers call *Decency*, she an-  
 “ swered with so much modesty the Questions propos’d to her, that she deliver’d  
 “ what came purely from her self, just as if she had learn’d it of me, or some other,  
 “ that she might be taken for a Scholar, even in those things wherein she was a very  
 “ great Mistress.

THE AUTHOR of the Letter to *Celancia*, among the Counsels he gives that  
 Lady, one of those he insists upon most, is to read carefully the Holy Scripture.  
 “ Your chief care, says he, should be to be well acquainted with the Law of God,  
 “ that you may see by his direction and light the Examples of the Saints, as if they  
 “ were present before you, and learn by the Instructions you will there find, what you  
 “ ought to do, and what to avoid: For it is a great help to progress in Virtue, for  
 “ a person to replenish his mind with the Word of God, and meditate continually  
 “ on what he intends to practise. Therefore the Lord heretofore commanded by  
 “ *Moses* a dull and obstinate People, to fasten to the Borders of their Garments,  
 “ little pieces of Parchment of a scarlet colour, upon which were written his  
 “ Commandments, that they might remember them as often as they cast their eyes  
 “ upon those Tokens. And with respect to these Borders it is that OUR LORD re-  
 “ proves the Pharisees, because they perverted the right use of them, and wore them  
 “ not as a means to put them in mind of the Commandments of God, but out of pride,  
 “ and to gain the reputation of an extraordinary Sanctity among the People, by be-  
 “ ing thought very strict and nice observers of the Law of God. But you who have  
 “ not the Commands of the Letter, but of the Spirit, should endeavour to remem-  
 “ ber them in a purely spiritual manner, and ought not to be so careful about re-  
 “ peating them by heart, as about thinking and meditating on them. Let the Holy  
 “ Scripture therefore be always in your hands; but in order to reflect upon it conti-  
 “ nually. And think it not sufficient to remember the divine Precepts, if you forget  
 “ them in your practice. You ought to know and retain them for no other end, than  
 “ to do them: *For the bare bearers of the Law are not just before God, but the doers of*  
 “ *the Law shall be justified*. The Divine Law is of a vast extent, and like a large  
 “ Field, containing in it a variety of heavenly Flowers and excellent Fruits, which  
 “ recreate and nourish the Soul of him that applies himself to read it, and yields  
 “ him a wonderful pleasure. And it is a great help to perseverance in Virtue, to be  
 “ well acquainted with this Law, and to meditate constantly upon it.

*S. Austin* has spoken so many things, and in so many places in praise of this  
 divine study, that it would be tedious to relate all that is said of it in his Works.  
 He has taken particular care to remark in several places, that as the Doctrine of the  
 Scripture is design’d for all Persons, so the manner in which it’s taught, is adapted  
 to all Capacities, even to Children and Country-men, to Men-servants and Maid-  
 servants.



Therefore he says, in the 6th Book of his *Confessions*, Chap. 5. "The Authority of the Holy Scripture seemed to me so much the more credible; more sacred, and awful, because on the one hand the Style of it is plain, and suited to the capacity of the most ignorant; and on the other it contains under the Letter of it, the most sublime and deep Mysteries: Expoling it self to be read by all mankind thro' the clearness and commonness of its Expressions, and yet at the same time exercising the utmost skill and sagacity of the most discerning and judicious Persons. So by its popular Language, as by a common and high Road, it receives all Men into its Bosom; and by its secret and obscure Truths, as by Ways difficult to find, and strait Paths, it brings to your Society some particular Persons. And tho' the number of those be but small, yet it would not be so great as it is, if the Scripture were not advanced to that high pitch of Authority it has gain'd over all People, and did not draw unto it all Nations by the easiness of its Language.

On the same ground he says, in the 5th Book of his Commentary on *Genesis*, Chap. 3. speaking to all Believers, and considering them under the greatest weakness possible; "I exhort you to go forward, and to make use of the assistance offer'd you in the Scripture, which never abandons the weak, but is like a tender Mother that walks softly to accommodate her self to her Child, and to make it go along with her. It speaks in such a manner according to the different conditions of Men, as to shame the proud through its loftiness, to which they cannot attain; as to dishearten by its mysteriousness those that attempt to penetrate into it; as to feed by the Truths it contains the most comprehensive minds; and to give Children that nourishment which is fit for them, by the familiarity of its Expressions.

This made him also say what I have already alledged in the 6th Chapter of the Second Book, writing to *Volusian*, and exhorting him to read the Holy Scripture, tho' he was not yet baptized: "That its manner of speaking is so admirable, that even whilst it lies open to all Mankind, there are hardly any that can dive into it. That where it is clear, it is like a familiar Friend that speaks without colour or artifice to the hearts of the Ignorant and Learned: and when it conceals its Truths under mysterious Expressions, it is not in high-flown Language, apt to discourage shallow minds, and deter them from approaching it, as poor Men are afraid to come near the Rich; but it invites all the World, by the plainness of its Style, to come and seek for those manifest Truths they may feed upon, and try to discover those which are conceal'd; while there is the same perfection of Light and Wisdom in both. By it disorderly Minds are reduced, humble Souls are nourished, and the greatest Spirits are entertain'd with unspeakable Delights.

This made this holy Man say, in his Book of the true Religion, Chap. 17. "Its way of teaching, partly by Reasons very easy to understand, partly by Similitudes and Figures made use of in its Discourses, Relations and Mysteries, is so accommodated to the capacity of all Men whom God intends to instruct and exercise, that it contains in it self a perfect Rule of true and reasonable Doctrine: For the Mysteries included in it, refer in the purpose of God to such things as are deliver'd with the greatest evidence. And if there were nothing in it but what was very easy, Men would not enquire into the Truth with that care and pains it deserves, nor have the satisfaction of discovering it. And in the 51st Chapter of the same Book, made presently after he was baptiz'd, so far is he from thinking that it belonged not to the People to read the Holy Scripture, that he exhorts all Believers in these terms to read it: "Forgetting, says he, and rejecting the Follies of Play-houses and Poets, let us feed our Souls with the meditation and study of the Divine Writings. And finding how they are tired and tormented with the hunger and thirst of a vain Curiosity, and how vainly they seek to satisfy and content themselves with deceitful Appearances, that are but like painted Food; let us allay their hunger and thirst by that heavenly Meat and Drink which the Holy Scripture sets before us. Let us learn in this School, so noble and becoming the Children of God.

This made him say, in his 5th Book of the *City of God*, Ch. 25. "That God intended the Scripture should be adapted to the understandings of all Men. For having observed, that the Anger of God is not a Passion in him which disturbs him, but a Judicial Purpose by which he punishes Sin, he adds: "But if the Scripture did not use such familiar Expressions, it would not be accommodated to the capacity of all Men, whose benefit and happiness it is designed to promote, by confounding the Proud with its Majesty, by awakening the Slothful with the Importance of its Doctrine, by exercising the Industrious with its Difficulties, and conducting the Wise by its  
"Light.

"Light. It would not, I say, be apt to do all this, if it did not stoop and condescend, if I may so speak, to those who lie grovelling upon the Earth.

It is also to reading the Holy Scripture that St. *Austin* attributes the beginning of his Conversion; and so far is he from accusing himself of being too bold for reading the Holy Scripture before he was baptized, that he complains in the 7th Book of his *Confessions*, Chap. 20. "That the Books of Philosophers having made him more learned, had also made him more vain; and on the contrary, the Holy Scriptures having humbled and softned his heart, he had observed what a difference there is between a vain confidence in a Man's own strength, and an humble acknowledgment of his weakness; between those who know whither they ought to go, but are uncertain which way to take, and those who are acquainted with the right way to our happy Country, which does not only conduct us to it, and give us a view of it, but also lets us into the actual possession and enjoyment of it. He describes in the next Chapter, the effect this reading had upon his Mind: "I began therefore, says he, to read the Holy Scripture with an extraordinary Zeal, and to reverence those awful Words which the Holy Ghost himself dictated. But nothing affected me so much as the *Epistles* of S. *Paul*, while I saw all those Difficulties, which made me think he contradicted himself in some places, and that his Words did not agree with those of the antient Law and Prophets, vanish away in a moment. I perceiv'd that these Writings which are so pure and simple, were animated by one and the same Spirit, and contained the same sense; and I learn'd to consider them with a mixture of joy, fear and respect.

In a word, this great Saint does not only advise all Believers indifferently to read the Holy Scripture, but tells them also, that it is not enough for them to read it now and then, but that they ought to apply themselves every day to this divine study. This is in his 56th *Sermon of Time*, where 'tis evident he speaks to all his Hearers, without distinction either of Age or Sex: "Take it, says he, for certain, my dear Brethren, that just as our Flesh is, when it receives Nourishment but once in many days, so are our Souls when they do not feed often upon the Word of God: For as hunger and want of nourishment makes our Bodies lean and infirm; so the Soul that neglects to strengthen it self by the Bread of the Word of God, becomes thereby weak and languishing, and unfit for any good Work. Consider then, whether it be fit that our Bodies, which are formed only of Earth, should sometimes make two Meals a day, and our Souls, which are the Image of God, should hardly partake of the Word of Life, after they have been depriv'd of it for several days, tho at the same time it had been reasonable to treat the Image of God in us better than our Flesh: For those that think only upon the Necessities and Conveniences of the Body, are like Beasts, and deface the Image of God which is in them. The Flesh therefore ought to be kept under as the Slave, and the Necessities of the Soul principally taken care of, as the lawful Mistress. For if we act otherwise, if we do not acknowledg we were made after the Image of God, and are more concern'd for our Flesh than for our Souls, I fear lest the Holy Spirit should cast this reproach upon us by his Prophet: Man being in Honour, understood it not, but imitated the Beasts which are void of Reason, and is become like unto them. Continue to hear, as you are wont, in the Church, the reading of the Holy Scripture, AND READ IT ALSO IN YOUR HOUSES. If any Man have so much Business that he cannot find time to read the Holy Scriptures before Meals, let him not neglect to read something of it at them; that so whilst his Body is nourished by material Food, his Soul may be nourished by the Word of God, and the whole Man, that is, the inward and outward, may rise from the Table, after having receiv'd a pure and wholsome Nourishment. For if we only feed the Body, and the Soul be not nourished by the Word of God, we pamper the Slave, and suffer the Mistress to pine away with hunger; and you cannot but be sensible how unjust that is.

And in the next Sermon; "Hear, says he, the Divine *Lessons* in the Church, and read them also at home.

And in the 38th concerning the Saints: "Endeavour as much as in you lies, by the help of God, to read the Divine *Lessons* frequently in your Houses, and hear them re'd in the Church, with affection and submission.

We see also that S. *Austin* supposes his People to have done what he recommended to them, that is, to have read the Holy Scripture; for thus he speaks to them in his 10th *Discourse* on S. *John*, and his words are inserted in the *Breviary* for Monday in the fourth Week of *Lent*: "What did those Sellers that JESUS CHRIST



"drove out of the Temple sell in it? Such things as the Jews wanted for the Sacrifices of those times. For you know that those People being carnal, God required of them such Oblations as were suitable to the hardness of their hearts, to keep them from the worship of Idols; so that at that time they offer'd unto God, Oxen, Sheep, and Pigeons. You know it, I say, because you have read it: *NOSTIS*

"*QUIA LEGISTIS.*

And in his first *Sermon* on the 36th *Psalms*, having said, that God warns us, that Repentance, which may be perform'd to good purpose in this World, will avail us nothing if we put it off till death; he adds, "That we should have some reason to complain we were not warn'd of it, if the Scripture was not read in all the Earth, or if there were not every where Copies of it to be bought. He supposes therefore that all Christians had the liberty to buy them, and that it was their own fault if they had them not, or if they did not read them. And he supposes it so, that in the 28th Chapter of his Book about the *Christian Combat*, which he says he wrote in a plain stile for the sake of the Ignorant, he accuses them of great negligence about their Salvation, if for want of reading the Holy Scripture, they suffer'd themselves to be deceiv'd by Hereticks in things that were clear in the Scriptures. "Let us not hear-ken, says he, to those who say that the Promise our Saviour made of sending the Holy Spirit, was fulfilled only in S. Paul, or Montanus, or Manes. They that think so, are either so blind as not to understand plain Scripture, or so careless of their Salvation as not at all to read it: *Tam cæci sunt illi, ut Scripturas manifestas non intelligent, aut tam negligentes salutis suæ ut omnino non legant.* And after he had refuted this Error out of the 2d Chapter of the *Acts*, he says, "That the Manichees and Montanists deceived none in this matter, but those who being in the Church, neglected to learn their Creed, which is plainly contained in the Scripture. And what is very deplorable, says he, being extremely careless about understanding the Catholick Faith (by reading the Holy Scripture, as he had before observed) they are very attentive to what Hereticks say to them: *Ipsam fidem Catholicam quæ in Scripturis manifesta est, nolunt discere, & quod est gravius & multum dolendum, cum in Catholica Fide negligenter versentur, hæreticis diligenter aures accommodant.*

But among all the Fathers, none has spoken more frequently, emphatically, or eloquently of the usefulness of reading the Holy Scripture to all Persons, than S. CHRYSOSTOM. The principal Passages are these. In his second *Homily* on S. Matthew he says: "Who among all you that now hear me, could repeat me a Psalm, or some other portion of Scripture by heart, if I desir'd it of him? Not one single person. And what is yet more deplorable, whilst you are thus indifferent about holy things, you have an extreme affection for things detestable, and becoming none but Devils: For if any one desired you on the contrary, to repeat him any of those infamous Songs, or devilish Verses that are sung upon the Stage, there would be found a great many who had learn'd them by heart, and could recite them with pleasure. But what excuse do Men make for these Enormities? I am no Monk or Solitary Person they tell me: I have a Wife and Children, and a Family to take care of. This is that which ruins all now a days, your imagining that none but Monks OUGHT TO READ THE HOLY SCRIPTURE; whereas you are under a much greater necessity of it than they. For those who are every day expos'd to so many Conflicts, and receive so many Wounds, have the greater need of Remedies. And therefore it is a worse fault for Men not to believe they stand in need of the Scripture, and to look upon it as superfluous, than not to read it at all. It is only the Devil that can inspire us with such thoughts. Does not S. Paul tell you, that *whatsoever things were written, were written for our instruction?* And yet you would not so much as touch the Word of God, much less are you willing to be at the pains of reading it so as thoroughly to understand it. This is the cause why all things are at present out of order. But if you would know how beneficial the reading of the holy Scripture would be to you, consider what a disposition you are in when you hear Psalms, or when you hear devilish Songs; when you are at Church, or when you are at a Play-house: and you will wonder to see how your Souls, when they are the same, are nevertheless so different from themselves upon these occasions. The Apostle admonishes us, that *evil communication corrupts good manners.* We have therefore continually need, that we may preserve our selves from this Infection, to be charm'd, if I may so speak, with the powerful Inchantments of the Spirit of God, which are the holy Scriptures. This is the Nourishment of our Souls, this their Ornament, this their Security. And on the contrary, not

“ to hear the Word of God, is their Famine and Death. *I will send, saith the Lord, a Famine upon the Earth: Not a famine of Bread, or a thirst of Water, but a famine and thirst of the Word of God.* Are not you therefore miserable Wretches, to draw wilfully upon your selves that very Evil which God denounces as a heavy Punishment upon those who provoke him; and to make your Souls endure a cruel and deadly Famine, which reduces them to the most deplorable state imaginable? For Words have a special efficacy to incline our Souls to Good or Evil. A Word inflames them with anger, and a Word appeases them. A filthy Word excites in them a brutal Passion, and a modest and serious Word disposes them to Chastity. And if common and ordinary Words have this power, why do you make so little account of the Words of Scripture? Are not you sensible that if an Admonition given us by a Man, can do much towards our Reformation, it must be quite another thing with those which God gives us by the Grace of his Holy Spirit? For the Word of God contained in the Scriptures, is like a Fire that inflames the heart of him that hears it, and prepares him for all manner of good Works. But what benefit, you will say, is a Man like to get by the Word of God, that hears it and does not practise it? Why, I say, he will nevertheless receive benefit by it: for his application to the Divine Word, will cause him often to check himself, fill him with inward remorse for his wickedness, and make him groan under it; and he may at last come to resolve on performing what he has learn’d out of it. But what hope is there that a Man will ever acknowledg or forsake his Sins, and endeavour to lead a new Life, when he is so ignorant of the Word of God, that he does not so much as know that he is a Sinner? Let us not neglect therefore to hear the holy Scriptures re’d; for ’tis the Devil that diverts Christians from so doing, because he can’t endure they should have any esteem for a Treasure that may enrich them. ’Tis this Enemy of our Salvation that perswades them they need not acquaint themselves with the Divine Laws written in the holy Books, for fear lest if they knew them, they should practise them. Being therefore aware of this malicious Artifice of the Devil, let us, on the contrary, take care that the Scriptures may be to us instead of a Bulwark against his Assaults; and being clothed with this spiritual Armour, we may be secured from his blows, and crush him under our feet.

He begins this again more particularly in his 10th Homily on S. John, and obviates all the Excuses that Laymen, and even Tradesmen can bring to be exempted from reading the *Holy Scripture*: “ Before, says he, I explain to you the words of the Gospel, I desire of you one thing, and pray don’t refuse me; it is no difficult task, and besides is more for your own advantage than for mine. What is it then I desire of you? That on some day of the Week, and at least on *Saturday*, you would be careful to read what I am to explain to you of the Gospel; that you would repeat it often in your houses, that you would enquire into the meaning of it; that you would mark what you find to be clear, what appears to be obscure, and what seems to be inconsistent. This will be a great advantage both to you and me: For as I shall be at less pains to make you apprehend the meaning of the Gospel, when you at your own houses have render’d it familiar to your selves, at least as to the words: so on your part, you will not only find it more easy to understand the Evangelical Doctrine, but will also become capable of instructing others. For want of this there are some that endeavour to retain the words of Scripture, and the explication I give of them, without getting any great benefit by it, tho’ they were to hear me for whole Years together. And why? Because they are careless, and it is not a sufficient application of our selves to this saving Knowledge, to allow it only the time we are at Church. I know very well a great many pretend they can do no more, by reason of the publick and private Affairs that take them up. But this is the very thing which condemns them, to be so intent upon the Concernments of this World, that they cannot find time for those that are more necessary for them. And besides this excuse is vain, seeing they can spare a great deal of time from their other Occupations, to divert themselves with their Friends, to go to a Play, or to see Horse-races, where they often spend whole days together. What! when you have a mind to pass away the time in these Follies, you do not excuse your selves by the great burden of your Affairs; and are you not ashamed to alledg this as an Excuse, when you are urged to apply your selves to things of the greatest Importance? Persons of this temper, do they deserve to live, or to see the Light? There are others of this slothful number, who pretend that for want of Books they cannot read the Scripture. I need not say how ridiculous



“culous it would be for rich Men to alledg this Reason : But because I find a great  
 “many poor People make use of it, I would fain ask them, whether their Poverty  
 “hinders them from getting all the Instruments belonging to their Trade? How  
 “comes it then that they are so careful, notwithstanding their Poverty, to furnish  
 “themselves with every thing necessary to their Art, and never alledg their being  
 “poor, but when the question is about buying Books, which would be so useful to  
 “them in the business of their Salvation? But after all, if there be any so poor that  
 “they cannot by any means procure Books of the Scripture, they may learn it by  
 “attending diligently to it when it is read in the Church, and minding the Explica-  
 “tions which are there given of it.

There is also another *Homily* on the same Gospel of S. John, which is the 31<sup>st</sup>,  
 where he treats of the same matter with the like zeal: “Who is it among us, I pray  
 “you, that when he is returned to his house, employs himself there like a Christi-  
 “an? Who is it that takes the pains to read the Books he possesses, and sets  
 “himself to discover the meaning of the holy Scripture? I am confident none  
 “would dare to say he does. We shall rather find Draught-boards and Dice in  
 “most houses: We shall no where meet with any good Books, or at least with very  
 “few People; and those that have any, have them as if they had none, keeping  
 “them always shut up: Their whole care is to have those that are written upon  
 “fine Parchment, and in a curious Letter, and not to read them: so that it is not  
 “to get any benefit by them that they procure them, but to make a shew of their  
 “Riches; so extravagant is vain Glory! I don’t know any one whatsoever of  
 “these vain worldly Persons, that understands the Books he has. The *Holy*  
 “*Scripture* was not given us to keep it only in Books, but to engrave it deeply on our  
 “Hearts. This fondness for an useless possession of Books, would agree better  
 “with the vain Fancy of the Jews, who contented themselves with having the *Holy*  
 “*Scripture* upon Tables of Stone, as it was deliver’d to them, than with us Christi-  
 “ans who ought to have it *written upon the fleshy Tables of our Hearts*, as the Disci-  
 “ples of our LORD receiv’d it from the Holy Ghost in the Infancy of the  
 “Church. I speak not this to discourage you from having Books, but on the con-  
 “trary I exhort you rather, and entreat you earnestly to procure them: But with  
 “this design, that you would reflect often upon the Words and Truths you meet  
 “with in the Holy Scripture, that so your Souls may be purified, as being full of those  
 “Dispositions with which the Divine Word is apt to inspire us. For if the Gospel be  
 “but in any house, the Devil will not dare to come into it: And how much rather  
 “will the Devil and Sin keep at a distance from a Soul that has render’d the *Scripture*  
 “familiar to it? Sanctify therefore your Souls; sanctify your Bodies. This will be  
 “your happiness, if you have the Gospel always in your Hearts and Mouths: For  
 “if immodest words are capable of defiling the Soul, and inviting the Devil to  
 “it, ’tis evident that a holy and spiritual study must sanctify the Soul, and infuse into  
 “it the Grace of the Holy Spirit. The Holy Scripture is as a Voice that should come  
 “to us out of Heaven: Let us therefore prepare our Souls to receive from it those  
 “Remedies they stand in need of for the cure of their Passions. If we attentively  
 “consider what kind of things we there read, we shall apply our selves to it with  
 “great affection. I ALWAYS SPEAK TO YOU UPON THIS SUBJECT, AND  
 “WILL NEVER FORBEAR SPEAKING TO YOU UPON IT.

In his first *Sermon* on the *Epistle* to the *Romans*, which the Church has chosen for  
 the Lessons of its Office for the second Sunday after *Epiphany*; “I cannot, says he,  
 “but tell you, my Brethren, that I am overjoyed to hear the *Epistles* of S. Paul al-  
 “most continually read in this place. But my grief in the midst of this joy, is to  
 “see that so many Persons are not acquainted with the Writings of that holy Man  
 “so well as they ought. They are so very ignorant in this matter, that they do not  
 “so much as know the number of his *Epistles*: And the reason is not because they  
 “want Understanding or Light, but because they will not always have in their hands  
 “the writings of that blessed *Apostle*. For as for me that speak to you, if I un-  
 “derstand any thing of these Divine Lessons, it is not because I am more capable  
 “than another, but because I apply my self to them more, and have perhaps a  
 “greater affection for that holy *Apostle*. And therefore I am perswaded, my dear  
 “Brethren, that if you applied your selves also to this study, you would never  
 “need any one to discover to you the depth of it. For the saying of JESUS  
 “CHRIST is true; *Seek, and you shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.*  
 “But because most of those who are here present, have a Wife, and Children, and  
 “Family to take care of, which makes it impossible for them to devote themselves  
 “wholly

“ wholly to this Divine Employment, make use at least of the labour of others, and  
 “ shew as much readiness to receive what they have extracted out of the Writings  
 “ of this Apostle, as you shew in heaping up Riches. Tho it looks a little too  
 “ mean to desire but this of you, I should however be content with it. Grant it  
 “ me then, and have the same affection for the Writings of S. Paul, as you have  
 “ for Wealth. For I must tell you that Mens ignorance of the Scriptures, has been  
 “ the unhappy Spring of innumerable Evils. From hence came that swarm of Here-  
 “ lies, that depravation of Manners, that multitude of unprofitable Labours, and  
 “ fruitless Employments in which Christians engage themselves. A blind Man who  
 “ sees no Light, cannot but wander out of his way; and so those who have not  
 “ their eyes fixed upon the Light of the Scripture, but walk as it were in Darkness,  
 “ must needs fall into a great many Errors.

He delivers his mind yet more fully concerning the Obligation that lies upon Lay-  
 men to read at least the *New Testament*, in his 9th Homily on the *Epistle to the Colo-  
 ssians*, in explaining these words of the 3d Chapter, *Let the Word of God dwell in you  
 richly*. “ Hearken, you who are of the World, and have a Wife and Children, how  
 “ the Apostle enjoins you to read the Holy Scripture, not slightly or carelessly; but  
 “ with a mighty care and affection. For as he that has great Possessions may easily  
 “ endure Losses and Injuries; so he that is rich in the Doctrins of the Divine Philo-  
 “ sophy, may bear not only Poverty, but all other Calamities, and that with more  
 “ ease than those that are rich in this World can endure the Misfortunes that befall  
 “ them. Consider the words of this great Apostle. He does not say only, *Let the  
 “ Word of God be in you*; but, *let it dwell in you richly; teaching and exhorting one ano-  
 “ ther in all Wisdom*. He calls Virtue by the name of *Wisdom*; and with great rea-  
 “ son: for Humility, and Charity whereby we give Alms, and such like Virtues are  
 “ true Wisdom; as the contrary Vices are perfect Folly. Look for no other Master  
 “ than the Word of God, which you have in your hands. No Man is able to teach  
 “ you so well as this Divine Word. For he to whom we address our selves for In-  
 “ struction, often conceals many things, out of Vain-glory or Envy. I conjure  
 “ those who are engaged in worldly Business, to hearken to this Divine Word,  
 “ and seek in the Books whereof it is composed, for Remedies against the Diseases of  
 “ their Souls. But yet if you will not read them all, have at least the New Testa-  
 “ ment, and take for your constant Teachers the *Gospels*, and the *Acts of the Apo-  
 “ stles*. If any Affliction befalls you, have recourse to these Divine Books, which  
 “ contain the most powerful Remedies desirable against the manifold Evils of this  
 “ Life. Go take there the Consolation you need, under any accident that may  
 “ befall you, whether it be a hurt, or the death of any Person, or the loss of one of  
 “ your Family. And you need not trouble your selves to distinguish the Remedies  
 “ contain’d in these Divine Books; your only business is to take all they present to  
 “ you, and lay them up carefully in your minds. THE IGNORANCE OF THE  
 “ HOLY SCRIPTURE, IS THE CAUSE OF ALL OUR MISERIES. We go  
 “ to War without Arms; how should we escape from perishing there? It is a great  
 “ help to a safe retreat out of the Battel to be well armed: But if we are not, we  
 “ shall not be able to defend our selves. Do not put upon us the whole care of your  
 “ Preservation, without resolving to do any thing on your part. It’s true, we are  
 “ your Pastors; and you our Sheep: But you are not like those Animals that are void  
 “ of Reason, and have no power to defend themselves; for you are rational Sheep,  
 “ and ought to exercise your Reason in your own defence.

But this Saint has no where treated of this important Point of Christian Morality,  
 more carefully and largely than in the third of his four Sermons concerning the poor  
 Man *Lazarus* who lay at the Gate of wicked *Dives*: “ I tell you, says he, some days  
 “ before-hand the Subject I intend to treat of, that you may turn to it in your  
 “ Books; and knowing in general what the *Scripture* says of it, may be the more  
 “ capable of understanding what I am to say concerning it. For I exhort you al-  
 “ ways, and will never cease exhorting you, not to content your selves with hearing  
 “ the Instructions given in this place, but to read also the *Holy Scripture* constantly at  
 “ home. I have always endeavour’d to beget this resolution in those whom I have  
 “ conversed with particularly. And let none put me off with these Excuses, so ridicu-  
 “ lous, shameful, and blame-worthy: I am engag’d in Law-suits; I am taken up with  
 “ Publick Affairs; I am a Mechanick, and must work to get my living; I have a  
 “ Wife, and a charge of Children, and must employ my self in providing for my  
 “ Family; I am a Layman, and therefore it is none of my business to read the Holy  
 “ Scripture, but theirs who have renounced the World, who are retired into Deserts,



and to the tops of Mountains, and live a Life futable to their Condition. Poor  
 Mah, what say you? Is it your being distracted and divided between a multitude  
 of cares, that makes it to be none of your business to read the holy Scripture? On  
 the contrary, it is your being under so many Engagements which makes it the more  
 proper for you to read it, and even more necessary than it is for those who are re-  
 tired from the World, to give up themselves wholly to God. For such Persons  
 do not so much need the assistance of the Holy Scripture, as those who are encum-  
 bred and disquieted with a multitude of Affairs. They who live retired, being  
 free from the Cares and Employments of a civil Life, having taken up their abode  
 in a Desert, having no Commerce at all with other People, but applying them-  
 selves wholly to the study of the Christian Philosophy, and with all calmness and  
 composure of mind; being as it were out of danger upon the Coast, enjoy great  
 Security: But we that live in the midst of the Storms and Troubles of this Life, and  
 are under a kind of necessity of committing innumerable Faults, have the greatest  
 need in the World to be continually assisted and supported by the Exhortations and  
 Comforts given us in the Holy Scriptures. Those who have withdrawn them-  
 selves from the World, have no Enemies to encounter, and consequently are se-  
 cured from receiving divers Wounds. But you who are always in the heat of the  
 Battel; have not you much more need than they of Remedies, considering you  
 are frequently wounded? For your Wives vex and disquiet you, and your Chil-  
 dren make you sorrowful; your Servants provoke you, and your Enemies lay wait  
 for you; your Friends suspect you, and your Neighbours affront you; your Equals  
 undermine you, and frequently the Magistrate threatens you; Poverty afflicts you,  
 and the loss of your Relations grieves you; Prosperity puffs you up, and Adver-  
 sity casts you down. In a word, we are encompass'd on all sides with a multitude  
 of Cares, Necessities, Provocations, Troubles, Afflictions, Incitements to Vain-  
 glory and foolish Presumption, and are like Men surrounded on all sides with Darts  
 ready to fall upon them and pierce them. This ought to convince us of the ne-  
 cessity we are always under of taking out of the Scripture the whole Armour with  
 which it furnishes us for our Defence. Consider, as the wise Man says, *that you*  
*walk in a way full of Snares, and tread upon the tops of Houses.* For fleshly Lusts rise  
 up with the greatest violence against those that live in the World, because the  
 beauty, dress and fineness of Women, which Men there meet with, and which  
 fixes their Eyes, and the infecting Discourses Men there hear, disturb their Reason.  
 Nay, frequently soft and effeminate Songs put the Soul out of order, when it is  
 most calm and compos'd. But what do I say? Men are so weak as to the Objects  
 that gratify the Sense, that a danger in appearance much less than those I just now  
 mention'd, may in case of a surprize make them Captives. This is sometimes  
 the effect of the exquisite Perfumes of worldly and dissolute Women. Thus our  
 Souls are beset with manifold Dangers, in which we stand in need of supernatural  
 and divine Remedies, to heal us of the Wounds we have already receiv'd, and  
 secure us from those we have reason to fear. Let us therefore repel far from us  
 the fiery Darts of Satan, extinguishing them, and breaking their Force by a con-  
 tinual reading of the Word of God. For it is not possible, I say, it is not possible  
 that any Man whatsoever should attain Salvation but by reading constantly the holy  
 Books. (Which words must be understood according to common use, of a moral  
 Impossibility, that is, of the great difficulty of being saved without reading the ho-  
 ly Scripture.) But surely it is a favour we can never sufficiently value, to be able  
 one day to obtain Salvation by the continual use of a Remedy so sacred and desira-  
 ble as the Word of God. If we are wounded every day, and make use of no  
 Remedy, what hopes can we have of Salvation? Afterwards he tells his Hearers,  
 that if Artificers rather suffer themselves to be reduc'd to extreme Poverty, than  
 sell the Tools by which they get their living; Christians ought to be the same with  
 respect to the Books of Scripture: that they ought to get them at any rate, and ne-  
 ver part with them, because the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles are to a  
 Christian, what an Anvil and Hammer are to a Smith, viz. that whereby we reform  
 and renew our Souls. He adds; "That the bare sight of these holy Books preserves  
 those that look upon them with respect from sinning: that as soon as any Man  
 touches the Gospel, he regulates his thoughts and desires: and if to that be joined  
 a careful reading it, the Soul being as in a Divine Sanctuary, becomes more  
 pure and perfect, by the Communion it has with God in reading his holy Word.  
 But how, Men will say, can we receive that benefit by the holy Scripture we are  
 encourag'd to hope from it, if we do not understand it? This is the Objection, and  
 hear

hear what Answer this Saint makes to it: "I reply, says he, that Men may nevertheless receive benefit by it, tho they do not understand its hidden sense, and that the bare reading of it may contribute much to our Sanctification. Besides, it is impossible that Men should be equally ignorant of every thing they read in it. For the Holy Spirit who caus'd it to be written, provided that it should be done in such a manner, that Publicans, Sinners, Tent-makers, Shepherds, and other illiterate People might attain Salvation by these Books. That therefore the most simple might not make the difficulty of understanding them an excuse for not reading them, the things therein deliver'd are accommodated to the Capacity of all Persons; so that a Mechanick, a Servant, a poor Woman, and the most ignorant Men in the World may receive benefit by reading them. For those whom God vouchsafed to inspire, by the Grace of his holy Spirit, to write these Books, did not make them, like the Heathen, to acquire Glory by them, but for the Salvation of those that should read them, or hear them re'd. And therefore, whereas the Philosophers, Orators and other Writers, that knew not JESUS CHRIST, considering less what might be useful to others, than what might make themselves famous, have left under obscurity as to the Ignorant, what good things they were able to say; the Apostles took a quite contrary method: God having constituted them the Teachers of all Nations, they endeavour'd to represent clearly to all Men what they had to teach them, that every one might understand their Doctrine upon a bare reading of it.

It appears by what follows, that S. Chrysostom had chiefly a respect, in speaking after this manner, to what concerns the manners of Men, and does not pretend that the Holy Scripture is so clear in every thing that ordinary Believers do not often need some or other to explain it to them: "For who, says he, when he reads in the Gospel: *Blessed are the meek: Blessed are the merciful: Blessed are the pure in heart,* and such other things, thinks he has need of a Master to make him understand them? Any one likewise easily may understand the Prodigies, Miracles and Histories of it. It is therefore a vain pretence Men make to justify their negligence and slothfulness, in not reading the Scripture, that it is intricate and obscure. You complain you do not understand these holy Books. And how should you understand them, when you will not so much as be at the pains to cast your eyes upon them? Take therefore the Bible, read all its Histories, and being careful to remember what you understand of it, go over often what you find in it obscure. And if after you have read it carefully, you cannot discover the meaning of it, have recourse to one more skilful than your selves; look for a Master who may instruct you: confer with him about that which you desire to understand, and let him know how very fond you are of his Instructions. And if God sees you thus zealous to understand his Word, he will not overlook your diligence and care. Nay if it happen'd that you could not find any one to explain to you the meaning of what you enquire into, he will reveal it to you himself. Call to mind the Eunuch of the Queen of Ethiopia: He was a Barbarian, and a Man overwhelmed with Cares and Business, and did not understand what he re'd. Nevertheless he did not forbear to read in his Chariot. Judge by that how constant he might be in reading the Holy Scripture at home, being so diligent at it upon a Journey. And if he did not give over reading, tho he understood not what he re'd, much less undoubtedly did he leave it off, after the Instructions he receiv'd. But that he understood not what he re'd, appears from Philip the Deacon's Question to him; *Understandest thou what thou readeest?* and the Eunuch's own Answer, who was not ashamed to confess his Ignorance, in saying, *How should I, except some Man guide me?* He was willing to read, tho he had no body with him to instruct him; but his Zeal moved God to send him a Teacher: And tho you cannot promise your selves to have a Guide sent you miraculously as he had, are you not assured of the presence and assistance of the same Spirit that excited this holy Deacon to go to him? I beseech you then, my dear Brethren, not to neglect the means of your Salvation. Whatsoever was written, was written for our Instruction, who live in this last Age. Reading the holy Scripture is a mighty Fence against Sin. And it is to stand upon a steep Precipice over a bottomless Gulf, to be ignorant of the Scriptures. 'Tis to renounce Salvation, to refuse to know any thing of the Divine Laws. This is that which has brought in Heresies; that has occasion'd a corruption of Manners; that has confounded and disordered all things. For it is impossible, I assure you it is impossible for a Man that reads the Scripture CONSTANTLY and DILIGENTLY not to receive great benefit by it.



THEODORET, the Disciple of S. Chrysostom, follow'd in this as in other things the Judgment of his Master. In his *Commentary on Isaiah*, explaining these words: *Let us draw Waters with Joy out of the Fountains of our Saviour*; he says, they are the Divine Writings which the Prophet calls *the Fountains of our Saviour*, because from thence those who sincerely believe do joyfully draw. And in his 14th Letter, written to comfort a Lady upon the loss of her Husband, he assures her that she would find her Consolation in reading the holy Scripture. "For therefore, says he, it is from our Infancy as a Divine Breast to us, upon which we ought to fasten, by reading and meditating on it, that if our Souls happen to be under any Distemper, they may be cured by the wholesom Instructions we shall draw from thence.

CASSIAN treating, in his 14th Conference, of Spiritual Knowledg, makes it to consist wholly in the Knowledg of the Scriptures. He speaks of it in this manner in Chap. 10. "If you desire to get a true knowledg of the Scripture, you must endeavour in the first place to bring your self to a stated humility of Heart, which may lead you gradually by a perfect Charity, not to that knowledg which puffs up, but which affects and enlightens. For it is impossible an unclean Spirit should be the Subject of the Gift of Spiritual Knowledg. And therefore, my dear Son, be very cautious lest your study and reading should not be to attain that enlightning Knowledg, and future Glory, which the Scripture promises to the wise and knowing; but the occasion of your eternal ruin, through vanity and presumption. He shews in the same Chapter, that Men ought to read the Scripture, and learn also a great many things out of it by heart, even while as yet they have but little insight into them; because in time as they advance in Piety, they will discover those Truths which they did not presently understand. "And therefore, says he, we should always read and get the holy Scripture by heart, and never be tired with repeating or reading it. This continual Meditation on it, will be a double advantage to us. First, While we apply our selves in this manner to read and remember the Scripture, our Souls will not in the mean time be troubled with any evil thoughts. And, secondly, after we have taken a great deal of pains to remember it, and could not understand any thing of what we re'd, as long as our minds were taken up with that labour; when, being free from external Business and the sight of sensible Objects, we reflect upon it in the Night, in our silent Meditations and Prayers, we shall discover much of the meaning of it we could not before discern; and God will reveal to us in this calmness, and as it were sleep of our Minds, those Mysteries which were before perfectly hidden and unknown to us. This he proves in the 11th Chapter, and brings an Instance of it, which shews that the dullest Persons, who are only capable of the plainest sense of Scripture, do nevertheless profit by it; but that those who are more ingenious and quick-sighted, do find in it a more sublime and spiritual meaning. "When, says he, our hearts begin to be renewed by this divine Study, the whole face of the Scripture will in a manner become also new to them. It will appear more beautiful to them, as they become more and more pure, and will grow in them just as they increase themselves. For the holy Scripture is apprehended by every Man according to his capacity and disposition. It appears earthly to the Carnal, and heavenly to the Spiritual. So that those who before thought it to be totally wrapt up in darkness and clouds, see it, when they are become more pure, so full of light, that they cannot bear the luster of it. But to clear up this by an Example, I need only mention one Commandment in the Law, to shew there is no Precept in the Scripture which does not extend it self to all sorts of Persons, and is not taken differently according to the diversity of Mens Tempers and Understandings. It is said in the Law: *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*. A carnal Man who is addicted to shameful Lusts, may obey this precept to good purpose, by practising it according to the Letter, and the plain meaning of the words. But then, says he, others who are more spiritual, will interpret them of abstaining from Idolatry or Jewish Superstitions, or avoiding Heresies: And in a word, a perfect Man looks upon every thing that hinders him from the sight and presence of God, as filthy Fornication, tho it be secret and spiritual.

Pope GREGORY, in his Letter to Leander Archbishop of Sevil, shews that the Scripture is fit to be re'd by the most ignorant and illiterate, as well as by the most learned and judicious Persons: because as it includes Mysteries capable of exercising the most discerning Minds, so it contains plain Truths, fit to nourish the most simple and ignorant: That it carries in its Superficies wherewithal to suckle its Children,

dren, and keeps in its secret Recesses, that which may wrap up in admiration the most exalted minds: being like a River whose Water is so shallow in some places, that a Lamb may wade in it, and in others so deep that an Elephant may swim in it. He observes the same thing, as has been seen in that place, in the Preface of the 20th Book of his *Morals*. And that Treatise is full in many other places of earnest Exhortations to read the H. Scripture. But nothing should more affect truly pious Souls, than what he says of it in his 5th Homily on *Ezekiel*, because they placing all their happiness in loving God, have reason to fear nothing more than the abatement of their Love. And that is one of the Effects this holy Pope attributes to reading the holy Scripture, to keep the Love of a Christian from growing cold. "Be very careful, I beseech you my dear Brethren, to meditate on the Word of God. Do not neglect the Divine Writings, which are as Letters sent to us from our Creatour. We receive a very great advantage by them: for by reading these Writings our hearts are warmed, and our Love is kept from being quench'd or growing cold through Iniquity. This holy Pope could not declare his mind more fully upon this Head, than he has done in his 40th Letter of the 4th Book, writing to a Layman of great Worth named *Theodorus*. For thus he speaks to him upon this Subject of reading the holy Scripture: "The greater any Man's Friendship is, the more free and bold he is in declaring his thoughts to his Friend. I have a Complaint to make to the sweet and amiable Heart of my excellent Son *Theodorus*, that having receiv'd of God the Talent of Ingenuity, the Talent of Prudence, the Talent of Mercy and Charity towards the poor, yet he is so taken up with the Affairs of this World, and satisfying those that come continually to him, that he neglects to read every day some of the words of his Redeemer. For what is the holy Scripture but a Letter which Almighty God has vouchsaf'd to send to his Creatures? And surely whatever place you were in, if you receiv'd a Letter from an Emperor, at any time whatsoever, you would not defer the reading of it, you would give your self no rest, or sleep, before you knew what was his Imperial Majesty's pleasure. And yet the King of Heaven, the Lord of Men and Angels has sent you Letters concerning your own happiness, and you neglect, my dear and excellent Son, to read these divine Letters, when you ought rather to be impatient to know what they contain. I beseech you therefore to apply your self to them hereafter with a particular affection, and meditate every day on the words of your Creator. LEARN OUT OF THE WORD OF GOD, THE GREATNESS OF HIS LOVE TOWARDS YOU, that you may be excited to long more earnestly for eternal Happiness, and your heart inflamed with more ardent desires after Heaven.

In fine, so far was this Pope from thinking it an abuse or profanation of the Scripture for ignorant People to read it, that he allows even those who cannot read, which seems to be the highest degree of Ignorance, to borrow the eyes of others and get it re'd to them. For he tells us this story of *S. Servulus*, in his 15th Homily on the Gospels: "Under the Porch by which people pass to the Church of *S. Clement*, there was a poor Man named *Servulus*, whom many of you knew as well as I; who in his Poverty was rich in good Works, and whom a long Distemper had made impotent; for he continued sick of the Palsy from his youth to his dying day, and was so far from being able to stand, that he could not so much as sit up in his Bed. He had not power to put his hand to his mouth, or turn himself from one side to another. He had only his Mother and Brother to assist him, and all the charitable Gifts he received, he distributed by their hands to the Poor. He could not read: but having bought the holy Scripture, he caus'd it to be re'd to him continually by pious Persons to whom he exercis'd Hospitality. So that he had perfectly learn'd as much of it as he was capable, tho, as I said before, he could not read.

I think it requisite to join to the other Fathers, *S. BERNARD*, who is called the last of the Fathers. Nothing can be more edifying than what he says of the Benefit men may get by reading the Word of God, whatever condition they are in, in his 24th Sermon *de Diversis*: "Let a Sinner, says he, hearken to this Word, and his heart will be troubled, that is, it will put his carnal Mind into a saving fear. Tho you were dead in Sin, yet if you hear the Voice of the Son of God, you will live: For his Word is Spirit and Life. If your hearts are hard, remember that which is said in the Scripture: *He has sent his Word, and the Ice shall melt away*. If you are luke-warm, and afraid of being spew'd out of God's Mouth,



“ apply your selves to the Word of the Lord, and that will inflame you : For his  
 “ Word is all Fire. If you complain you are in the darknes of Ignorance, hear  
 “ what the Lord says to you, and his Word will be a Lamp inlightning your Path,  
 “ and a Light shining on the way wherein you walk. You will say, it may be, it will  
 “ but encrease your sorrow, to be more inlightned, because you will then discern  
 “ more clearly your least Faults. But the Father will sanctify you by his Truth,  
 “ which is his Word, and that shall be said to you which was said to the Apostles ;  
 “ *Ye are clean through the Word which I have imparted unto you.* After you have washed  
 “ your hands, he will prepare you a noble Feast, where you shall not be fed by Bread  
 “ alone, but by every Word that proceeds out of the Mouth of God ; and by virtue of  
 “ this Nourishment you shall be enabled to run in the Ways of his Commandments.  
 “ Tho you should be besieged by an Army of Enemies, encamping round about you  
 “ and fiercely engaging you, yet take the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word  
 “ of God, and it will make you triumph over your Enemies. And if, as it some-  
 “ times happens, you are wounded in the Battel, he will send his Word, and it shall  
 “ heal you and deliver you from your Weakness. And if you find your selves stag-  
 “ gering, call upon him, and cry unto him : My feet did slip so, that they were al-  
 “ most turned out of the way ; and he will confirm you by his Word. Go on there-  
 “ fore to feed upon the Word of God, exercising your selves continually in it, till  
 “ the Spirit calls you to cease from your Labours, that is, till you die.

Thus we see the Judgment of the Greek and Latin Fathers about the usefulness of reading the holy Scripture, out of whom I have alledged those Passages that are collected in the Book of *Reading the Holy Scripture*, as likewise most of the Reflections of the Author of that Treatise. I might add several other places, but these are sufficient to shew it has been a constant Tradition of both Churches, that reading the holy Scripture is very profitable, and that all Believers have not only always been allowed to read it, but advis'd and earnestly exhorted to do so. Let us see what Objections can be made against so universal a Doctrin.

It is not fit, say some, that ignorant People, Women, and Children should read the holy Scripture, because it contains in it Mysteries and Heights that are above them. Such are Persons of shallow understandings who may pervert the Sense of Scripture, and so run into Error. They that make this Objection, seem to me to be great strangers to the Spirit of God, who teaches us by the Royal Prophet and his Son Solomon, that the Law of God was made *to give Wisdom to the simple and ignorant* : They are great strangers to the Spirit of our Blessed Saviour, who says, *that the holy Spirit anointed him to preach the Gospel to the Poor* ; and thanks his Father *that he had bid the Truths he preach'd from the Wise and Prudent, and revealed them to Babes*. They are great strangers to the Maxims of the Apostles, who assure us that JESUS CHRIST had not called into his Primitive Church, *many wise Men according to the Flesh, but chosen the most foolish in the esteem of the World to confound the Wise*. In a word, they directly oppose the Judgment of the Saints, who have always advis'd the most ignorant, the most simple, Mechanicks, Women, and Children, to read the holy Scripture ; and the practice of the Church which has caus'd it to be re'd to them for so many Ages. But if we consider the Objection only in it self, nothing can be more weak or unreasonable. The holy Scripture, as the Fathers observe, contains in it a great many plain things ; and the clearest things in it are those which concern Morality and the most essential Duties of Religion. It is written in a plain stile, accommodated to the capacity of all mankind. Its evident Truths are proper to nourish and instruct the simple and ignorant, as its Depths are capable of exercising the most Learned and Judicious. If there be any obscure and difficult places in it, it is not the simple ordinarily that abuse them, but the proud and conceited. For it's plain it is not the common sort of People who have been the Authors of Heresies by perverting the Word of God, but they have been generally Bishops, Priests, and Men of great Knowledg and Abilities. So that Experience is so far from shewing us that reading the Scripture is dangerous to the simple and ignorant, that on the contrary it convinces us they are for the most part learned Men whom it has led into Error, and that the Ignorant have commonly been instructed and edified by it.

Another Objection is, That it's a profanation of the holy Scripture to put it into the hands of Persons unworthy of it, that is, of impure Sinners. Were this true, we must say that JESUS CHRIST likewise profaned his Word, by addressing it to Sinners

Sinners and lewd Women; but he himself has answer'd this Objection, in saying, *That they were not the whole, but the sick that had need of a Physician.* The Word of God, contain'd in the holy Scripture, is a sovereign Remedy for the cure of Sinners. And why should they be denied the use of this Remedy?

But some, it is pretended, will unquestionably abuse it, as *S. Peter* assures us, saying, *that the unlearned and unstable in the Faith wrest the Scriptures to their own destruction.* Well! But were there not some too that abused the preaching of *JESUS CHRIST*? Was not that to many an occasion of becoming more wicked, as it was foretold of him, *that he should be for the fall and rising again of many in Israel*? This is also the fate of the Gospel, written and preach'd, re'd and heard. It is, as the Apostle says, *to some the savour of death unto death, and to others the savour of life unto life.* The Word of the Cross is foolishness to them that are lost, a stumbling-block to the Jews, and folly to the Gentiles. But did this hinder *S. Paul* and the rest of the Apostles from preaching the Gospel indifferently to all, Jews and Gentiles, Believers and Unbelievers, Righteous and Sinners? No more ought the ill use that some may make of reading the holy Scripture through their own perverseness, to hinder us from advising all Men to read it, except such us we foresee will despise it, and are resolved not to understand it. And those are properly the Persons of whom *JESUS CHRIST* speaks, when he says, *Give not that which is holy unto Dogs, nor cast Pearls before Swine.*

There are objected likewise some Passages of the Fathers, but few in number and misapplied. It is said that *Theodoret* relates that *S. Basil* reprov'd a Cook of the Emperor *Valens*, for taking upon him to discourse of Religion. What relation has this Story to reading the holy Scripture? *S. Basil* speaking of the Mysteries of the Faith before the Emperor *Valens*, was interrupted and contradicted in his Discourse by this Cook, whose Name was *Demosthenes*. To whom *S. Basil* smiling said, See here's a second *Demosthenes*, but not so learned as the first. With which Jest the Cook being incensed, threatned the Father; who thereupon bid him mind his Sauces, and not think that one of his uncircumcis'd Ears, was fit to hear spiritual Doctrines. *S. Basil* therefore did not reprove him for reading the holy Scripture, but only for presuming to dogmatize.

It is said also that the same *S. Basil* in his Epistle to *Chilon*, forbids the reading of the Old Testament; and that *Origen*, *S. Gregory of Nazianzen* and *S. Jerom*, forbid the reading of some Books of the holy Scripture to young People. To this it's easy to answer that *S. Basil* does not in his Letter to *Chilon* condemn reading the holy Scripture, but on the contrary recommends it, and especially that of the *New Testament*; and that he does not forbid the reading of the *Old*, but only admonishes his Scholar, that it often proved hurtful; not because there was any thing bad in it, but because the Minds of those that were prejudic'd by it were weak. His words are these: *Neque lectiones negligas, maxime Novi Testamenti; propterea quod ex Veteri Testamento sepe detrimentum accidat, non quod scripta sint nociva, sed quia eorum qui laeduntur mens infirma est:* Which cannot be understood of all the Books of the *Old Testament*, because he recommends in that very place the recital of the *Psalms*; but only of some Books, as that of the *Canticles*. Now no body says that young People and weak Minds may not sometimes be dissuaded from reading some places of the *Old Testament*, which they cannot truly understand, and consequently would be useless or dangerous to them. And therefore the Jews, as I have observ'd, would not have Men read the *Canticles*, the beginning of *Genesis*, the beginning and end of the Prophet *Ezekiel*, before they came to twenty five or thirty years of Age. As for the beginning of *Genesis*, I see no reason; but for the *Canticles*, it is not without cause that the reading of it is deferr'd. And therefore *S. Jerom* after he had advis'd *Lata* to make her Daughter read all the Books of the holy Scripture, and told her the order in which she ought to read them, adds: "And last of all let her learn the *Song of Songs*, that she may do it without danger, lest if at first she read that holy Book, the purity of her heart be corrupted and wounded by misunderstanding that *Epithalamium* of the spiritual Marriage; because it is written in words which seem to describe a humane Passion. This is good advice; but does it thence follow that Believers ought to be forbidden to read the Bible, or all the *Old Testament*? The quite contrary.

Some cite also the Author of the imperfect Work on *S. Matthew* attributed to *S. Chrysostom*, but rather *Pelagius*'s; who blaming the Doctors of the Law for discovering to *Herod* the place where the *Messias* was to be born, says that we may learn,



learn from their Imprudence, that the Mysteries of the Scripture ought not to be manifested to the ungodly, but only to Believers. This Passage also has no relation to reading the holy Scripture. The whole design of it is to shew that the Christian Mysteries ought not to be discover'd to Infidels, who in all appearance will make an ill use of them.

I need not insist on a Passage of *Bede*, alledged also by some, who says that our LORD after he had entred into the Jewish Synagogue, opened the Book of the Law and re'd in it; but afterwards shut it, and deliver'd it to the Officer, to teach us that we ought not to tell every thing to all the World, and to shew that he left it to the prudence of him that teaches, to dispence the Word according to the capacities of his Hearers. But neither is this said of reading the holy Scripture, but of preaching the Gospel, and by way of advice to Ministers, to accommodate themselves to the understanding of their Auditors.

Lastly, Some alledge a Passage of *S. Jerom*, in his Epistle to *S. Paulinus*, where he complains that all sorts of People meddled with the holy Scripture, that silly Women, old Men, and Sophisters, presuming they understood it very well, mangled it, and took upon them to teach it before they had learn'd it: *Sola Scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes vindicant; hanc garrula anus, hanc delirus senex, hanc sophista verbosus, hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent antequam discant.* But it is a manifest abuse of these words of *S. Jerom*, to understand them barely of reading the holy Scripture. *S. Jerom* does not complain in this place of the Ignorant that re'd the Scripture for Information; but that all People would take upon them to explain and teach it, and boast of their skill in this Knowledg before they had studied it. This he calls the *Art of the holy Scripture*, and applys the following Verse to this sort of People, who pretend to write or teach what they do not understand.

*Scribimus indocti, doctique Poemata passim.*

To conclude, These words, *Hanc universi præsumunt, lacerant, docent antequam discant*, plainly shew that his design is only to speak of those that take upon them to make Commentaries and Expositions on the holy Scripture, without having learn'd the Arts necessary to a right understanding of it.

## S E C T. IV.

*Whether it be true, that the Church has prohibited the Translation of the Bible into Vulgar Tongues, and forbidden the common People to read the Holy Scripture, and what might be the ground of such a Prohibition. Whether it be still in force. Rules for the Translation of the Holy Scripture into Vulgar Languages, and Directions how to read it with profit.*

I HAVE shewn hitherto from a general Tradition of the Greek and Latin Churches, that reading the holy Scripture has been always thought very useful to all Christians, and that the Church has not only permitted all Believers, without distinction of Age or Sex, to read it; but always exhorted them to do so (till these last Ages) by the Mouths of its Pastors, without excluding any. It has exhorted Children to it, that according to the Example of *Timothy* they might be nourished and brought up in the knowledge of the holy Scripture. It has exhorted *Catechumens* to it, and admitted them to hear the Word of God, tho it excluded them from its Mysteries, that they might conceive a veneration and respect for the Religion which they embrac'd. It has exhorted Women, Maids, and young Widows to it, that they might learn from it their several Duties, and by a continual meditation on it, arrive to a greater perfection of spiritual Life. It has exhorted to it the Ignorant, and Men of low degree, being perswaded that *JESUS CHRIST* had chosen such even before the Great and Wise; and that the holy Scripture, tho it contains Mysteries and very sublime things in it, is nevertheless suted to the capacity of all Persons, and accommodated to the understanding of the meanest Readers; so that a Mechanick, a Servant, a poor Woman, and the most ignorant of Men, may profit by reading it. It has exhorted to it, not only Monks, Anchorets, Nuns, and such as profess to lead a spiritual Life; but those who live in the World, who have a Family and Employment, that they might find there a support for their weakness in the midst of the Dangers to which the Occupations of this World expose them, and assistance against the Temptations to which they are continually liable. It has exhorted to it Sinners, and persons engag'd in a vicious course, that they might there seek a Remedy for their spiritual Distempers; and hearkning to the Voice of God, and being inlightned by his Word, might be sensible of their Errors, and embrace the means of breaking the Chains of their wicked Customs. So that neither Age, nor Sex, nor Ingenuity, nor want of Capacity, nor a Man's Profession, nor the Condition he is in, have been ever look'd upon as sufficient Reasons to forbid Christians to read the holy Scripture. In a word, the Church has not only exhorted all Believers to read it; but told them by the Mouths of the Holy Fathers, that 'tis the Devil who diverts Christians from so doing: it has reprov'd and blamed those who neglected it, and declared that the Ignorance of the holy Scripture, is one of the chief causes of all our Miseries, that from thence, as from an unhappy Spring, had proceeded innumerable Disorders; that thence came such a swarm of Heresies, such depravation of Manners, such a multitude of useles Labours and vain Employments, in which Christians engaged themselves: I do but repeat the words of *S. Chrysostom*.

It will be said perhaps, that all these Maxims were good and true in the Times of the Fathers, when all Persons might read the Scripture without danger, because Believers had a Spirit of Faith, Piety, Teachableness, and Submission to the Pastors of the Church; whereas in these last Ages there has crept in among Men a Spirit of Novelty, Rashness and Pride, which has made the greatest part of the Ignorant that have re'd it, run into Errors and dangerous Novelties, and refuse any longer to hearken to the Voice of their Pastors; and that this has obliged the Church to forbid Laymen to read the holy Scripture, and prohibit the translation of it into a known Tongue. This is that which I am at present to examine.

First, Whereas it is supposed that the Fathers permitted ordinary Believers to read the holy Scripture only, because they were at that time of a teachable and submissive disposition; and if it might have been hurtful to any of them to whom they preached, they would have forbidden them to read it: This Supposition, I say, is not true; for the Church has always been made up of good and bad Men; there have



always been Christians that have profited by reading the holy Scripture, and others who have abus'd it: Yet the Fathers did not therefore forbear to exhort all Believers to read it. They knew that the Word of God was a *savour of Life to some, and a savour of Death to others*, to use the words of the Apostle: but they knew also that this did not hinder JESUS CHRIST or the Apostles from preaching it to both: And therefore they did not think fit to forbid the reading of it generally to all Christians, because some might abuse it: They ought first to have been morally certain that all those to whom they preached, would make an ill use of it; which is almost impossible. When they knew by experience that reading any particular Book of the holy Scripture, would be useless, or prejudicial to some private Men, or a certain sort of Persons, they might very well exhort and command them not to read those Books; but to forbid therefore Believers generally to read the holy Scripture, this is what the Fathers never did, nor thought they ought to do.

Secondly, It is likewise a false and groundless Supposition, that the simple and ignorant are more apt than the knowing and learned to make an ill use of the H. Scripture: On the contrary, it is generally these latter, who, being puff'd up with knowledge, have run into Errors, by explaining the holy Scripture in their own way; whereas the simple and ignorant, being humble and teachable, without enquiring any further, are contented to understand what is clearly proposed in it, for their instruction and edification.

The third Supposition; That in these last Ages there has crept in among Men a Spirit of Novelty, Rashness, and Pride, which has made most of the Ignorant that have re'd the holy Scripture fall into Errors, and refuse any longer to hearken to the Voice of their Pastors, seems to have more ground. The truth is this; When the *Vaudois*, or poor People of *Lyons*, appear'd in the end of the twelfth Century, *Peter Valdo*, a Merchant of *Lyons*, who was their Leader, having set up for a Preacher, took upon him to explain the holy Scripture in the Vulgar Tongue, and to preach the Word of God. Those of his Sect, who were all Laymen, followed his Example; and being reproved by the Clergy for preaching without Orders, stood up against their Pastors, and made a Division in the Church. The Pope commanded them to be silent, and forbid them to preach the Word of God publicly; but we don't read he prohibited them to read the holy Scripture in private, or to have Translations of it. *Innocent III.* forbids also Laymen in his Decretal, *Cum ex injuncto*, to hold private Meetings and preach there the Word of God; but commends the desire they had to understand the holy Scripture. I shall not trouble my self about the Prohibition made in a pretended Council of *Toulouse*, in the Year 1229. C. 14. of having any Books of the Old and New Testament, except the *Psalms*, and the *Breviaries* or *Offices of the Virgin*, and that upon condition that those Books should not be translated into the Vulgar Language: For it is notorious that this Prohibition is contrary to the Practice of the Church in all Ages, and injurious. Besides, this Order which is not of a Council, but only of the Cardinal of *S. Ange*, was made purely for the Diocess of *Toulouse*, and the neighbouring Countries, where the continual Abuse which the *Albigenses* and *Vaudois* made of the holy Scripture, moved this Cardinal to proceed so rigorously. But to alledg this as a general Decree or Prohibition, is a manifest Fallacy. In short, whoever would maintain that Christians have been forbidden to have any Books of the Old and New Testament in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and that they may not have any Translations of the *Breviary* and *Virgin's Primer*, it must be from the Decree of this Cardinal, and consequently it cannot be maintain'd.

*Wickliff*, *John Huf* and his Disciples, were guilty of the same abuse of the Ministry; and one of the chief Points of their Doctrin examin'd in the Councils of *Constance* and *Basle*, was the liberty of preaching the Word of God publicly, which they would have allowed to Laymen. These Councils opposed it, but did not forbid them to read the holy Scripture in private: For we don't find any Prohibition in these Councils against reading or translating the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, nor any Opinion, permitting such Reading or Translations, censur'd. But these Sectaries grounding their Doctrin upon some passages of Scripture misunderstood, made unfaithful Translations of it into the Vulgar Language, and without Allowance or Authority; and using them to support their Errors, this gave occasion to some Catholick Writers, not to condemn absolutely all Translations of the holy Scripture, or forbid entirely the reading of it; but to think of a Method to stop the course of Heretical Versions, and hinder Believers from making an ill use of reading the holy Scripture, by understanding it in the sense which the Heretics put upon it. This made *Gerson* disapprove those Versions of the whole Bible into

into the Vulgar Tongue, which were ill done, and misunderstood. For it is such only he condemns, acknowledging that those which are good and faithful may be useful, being well understood. *Quemadmodum*, says he, *de Biblia bene & verè in Gallicum translata bonum aliquod, si sobriè intelligatur, potest emanare; sic per oppositum innumeri errores evenire possunt, si malè fuerit traducta, aut præsumptuose intellecta, refutando sensus & Sanctorum Doctorum expositiones. Satiùs esset hujusmodi rem ignorare, quemadmodum in Medicinis & in aliis Scientiis, quas melius esset prorsus ignorare, quam parum aut male scire, sese Magistrum reputando in iis.* These are the words of that Author in his 50th Consideration to Flatterers of Princes. So that tho he speaks more harshly in other places against Versions of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, yet he does not condemn them all absolutely, but on the contrary owns they may be useful, if true and faithful: He does not forbid all Laymen to read them, but only presumptuous Persons, who will interpret them in their own way, contrary to the sense which the holy Fathers have given them, and imagin they may explain them according to their own fancy. In another place where he says more generally, that the Translation of the Scripture into Vulgar Tongues ought to be prohibited, he excepts the Moral and Historical parts of it; which include almost all the New Testament, and the greatest part of the Old: *Rursum*, says he, *sequetur ex præmissis, prohibendam esse Vulgarem Translationem Librorum Sacrorum nostræ Bibliæ, præsertim extra moralitates & historias.*

But whatever the Opinion of *Gerson* was in this matter, it's certain the Inconveniences he alledged, did not induce the Church in his time to make such a Prohibition as he desired. And Translations of the holy Scripture into known Tongues were so far from being proscribed and forbidden among Catholicks, that they never made so many, as I have shewn, into all manner of Languages, to be re'd by all Believers, as from the time of *Gerson*, till that when the Heresy of *Luther* and *Calvin* arose.

These Hereticks following the same Method with the *Vaudois*, the *Wickliffites* and *Hussites*, and attempting to establish their Errors upon passages of Scripture misunderstood and ill interpreted, and having published several Versions of the Bible into the Vulgar Tongue, wherein they insinuated their own Explications; there were some Catholick Divines who seeing that a great many Believers were led into Error, whether by reading those Versions and Heretical Interpretations, or the ill Sense their Ministers put upon the words of Scripture and suggested to their Followers; thought fit to forbid Laymen to read the holy Scripture, without special permission: and some went so high, as to blame universally all Versions of it into a known Tongue. But there were always a great many Catholick Divines of another mind, and who maintained that the holy Scripture might be put into the hands of all Christians, and translated into known Languages. Even those who thought it not fit for all Persons to read it indifferently, have given several Exceptions and Modifications to that Rule. *Esprit Rothier* a Dominican Friar of *Toulouse*, and the first that ever publish'd a Treatise in defence of this Opinion, owns in his Letter to King *Henry II.* at the beginning of that Treatise, that he had a great many Adversaries, and expected to be charg'd with Insolence, for being the only Person that dared to disapprove what nobody else condemned, and most commended: *Me insolentem videri, qui solus id reprobem quod nemo damnavit, laudavere plerique.* *Peter Soto* of the same Order, whose Treatise against the *Prolegomena* of *Brenius*, where he maintains the same Opinion, came out in 1552. acknowledges that among Catholick and pious Persons, there were some who thought it fit that the H. Scripture should be translated into all Languages, that all Persons might read it, and that this was a thing worthy to be debated and regulated by a General Council: *Ceterum quod ad Translationes Scripturæ in diversas & omnes Linguas, ut scilicet ab omnibus legi possit, attinet, DIVERSE SUNT CATHOLICORUM ET PIORUM SENTENTIÆ; & nos dignam credimus hanc rem quæ Generalis Concilii auctoritate tractetur.* In fine, he could not but own that it was unjust to deprive the People entirely of reading the holy Scripture. It's true, he would not have it all put into their hands, as being perswaded it was too strong Meat for them; but he grants there were many things in it proper to nourish Piety, convey Knowledge, and encrease the Faith of Believers, which might be given to all Persons; and translated into all Languages, especially what related to Manners and the principal Mysteries of Faith, as the Life of *JESUS CHRIST*, the Epistles and Gospels, &c. *Quod si quis, says he, causetur non esse æquum omni lætione Scripturæ privare populum, hinc etiam respondemus, non hoc nos agere ut nihil legant, nihil habeant simplices Scripturæ Sacre. Integram quidem illam cibum dicimus solidiorem quàm captivi*



populi conveniat, sed sunt in ea quam plurima quæ sufficient ad pietatem & scientiam Christianam & servandam & augendam in Fidelium animis. Hac Doctorem diligentia excerpta saluberrimè credimus omnibus tradi posse, & in omnium Linguas transferri, præcipue quæ ad mores pertinent, & quæ ad prima mysteria Fidei: lectiones illæ quæ per annum in Ecclesia leguntur, Miracula Christi, &c. Alphonsus à Castro, who comes near the same Opinion, in his *Treatise of the Punishment of Hereticks*, published in 1555. owns that there are many Christians and Catholicks who think it proper the holy Scripture should be translated into a known Tongue: *Non desunt tamen*, says he, *ETIAM CHRISTIANI ET CATHOLICI VIRI, qui hoc bonum esse contendunt*; and tho he is not of their Opinion, he favours it in what follows, and makes these Restrictions as to his own Judgment. He thinks it fit the Gospels for Sundays, and the Feasts of the Year, should be translated into the Vulgar Tongue, and put into the hands of the People, provided they are translated by skilful Men and Catholicks, and their Translations are carefully examin'd and free from suspicion of Error. He desires only that some Explications be added to the difficult places. He seems also to allow afterwards the Translation and reading of all the New Testament, except the difficult Passages of the Epistles of S. Paul, and the Revelation, and to forbid only the Old Testament. *Ambrosius Catharinus* who was not far from being of the same Mind, yet concludes his Dispute with saying, that he would not have the Versions, already publish'd, prohibited, if they were not faulty, deceitful and scandalous, because of the Notes added to them by Hereticks: He is only for having Explications annexed to those places which the Hereticks abus'd, to declare the Catholick Sense, or the Reader admonish'd in a Preface, to have a care of being deceiv'd, and taught that it is safest to submit to the Traditions and Customs of the Fathers. And as to the New Versions, he does not absolutely reject them; but would have none suffer'd that did not bear the Names of their Authors, and had not the approbation of learned and true Catholicks: *Siquis enim*, says he, *me consulere, quæ jam sunt editæ non prohiberem, nisi forte mendosæ invenirentur ac dolosæ translationes, aut per adjecta Hæreticorum Scholia scandalosæ. Idque eo consilio facerem, ne daretur causam malignis garriendi in nos, quasi velimus suppressere Evangelicas veritates. Sed illud diligenter curari vellem, ut in eis Scripturæ locis quibus adversum nos abutuntur Hæretici, declararetur sensus Catholicus, aut in Prefatione admoneretur Lector de offendiculis, & instrueretur in cunctis tutissimum esse ritus & observantias Patrum ac traditiones obedienter sectari. Novas autem Versiones nollem permitti, nisi & nomen Auctoris, & diligenter probatæ à doctis & verè Catholicis testimonium secum ferrent.* It's true, he adds, that he gives this permission out of Indulgence, and because of the hardness of Mens hearts; but what he calls *hardness of heart*, was always look'd upon by the Church as a pious and religious Disposition, very much becoming a Christian. For what Son does not desire to read the Will of his Father? What Christian should not ardently desire to read those Books which contain the Life and Doctrin of his Master? What religious Man and observer of the Law, does not take delight in reading and meditating on it? Cardinal Bellarmine charges *Cbennitius* with telling an impudent Lie, when he says that the Catholick Church absolutely forbids the Translation of the Bible into a known Tongue; as appears, says he, by the 4th Canon of the *Index* of prohibited Books, where the Pope permits the reading of the holy Scripture translated into the Vulgar Tongue, to those who are capable of reading it with profit, that is, who should be allowed to do so by their Ordinary. He adds, that it only forbids permitting all Men indifferently to read it, and to make use of a known Tongue in the Publick Service. *At Catholica*, says he, *Christi Ecclesia non quidem prohibet omnino vulgares translationes, ut Cbennitius impudenter mentitur; nam in Indice Librorum prohibitorum à Pio IV. edito, Regulâ quartâ videmus concedi lectionem ejusmodi Librorum iis qui utiliter & cum fructu eâ uti possunt; id est, iis qui facultatem ab Ordinario obtinuerint. Prohibet tamen ne passim omnibus sine discrimine concedatur hujusmodi lectio, & ne in publico & communi usu Ecclesiæ Scripturæ canantur vel legantur Vulgaribus Linguis.* In fine, Cardinal Perron in his Reply maintains, "That it was not the design of the Church to take away from the People the knowledg of what was said in the Publick Service, and that the Church of Rome could not be accused of having purposely introduced an unknown Tongue into the Christian Worship; but for good Reasons had judg'd it proper to retain the Language in which it was at first instituted, tho in process of time it ceased to be Vulgar."

These Passages of the Authors I have now cited, sufficiently shew that if on the one hand they were no great Friends to the Translation of the Scripture into known Tongues, for particular Reasons which I shall afterwards examin; on the other they acknow-

acknowledg'd that all such Versions could not absolutely be condemn'd, nor Believers entirely forbidden to read the holy Scripture; that they allowed some parts of it to be put into the hands of all Christians, which they might read without permission; and that those who should obtain leave for it, might read the whole, translated by Catholicks: And lastly, that many Catholicks were not of their mind, but thought it fit that the holy Scripture should be translated into all Languages, to be re'd by all Christians who had the liberty to do it. This these Authors acknowledg, and their Concession alone is enough to shew that the Church had not as yet prohibited the Translation, or reading of the holy Scripture in a known Tongue: For had there been any Prohibition concerning it, these Authors would certainly have made the best of it, and given those who were not of their mind the Name of Hereticks and Rebels against the Orders of the Church, instead of calling them, as they do, Pious and Catholick Men. *Peter Soto* was so firmly perswaded there was no Prohibition about this matter, that, he says, it was a thing to be examin'd and regulated by the Council; he means that of *Trent*, at which he was present. There had not therefore been till the Council of *Trent* any Prohibition against translating and reading the holy Scripture in a known Tongue. We shall see by what follows that this Council made none also, but left things in the same state they were before, and Catholicks to the same liberty of reading and translating the holy Scripture.

The Faculty of Divinity at *Paris* made in the last Age the same Exceptions and Limitations as the Authors I have already cited, to the Decree they passed; "That considering the wickedness of the Times, and the ill use which was made of Versions of the holy Scripture, they were dangerous and unfit to be put into the hands of all Persons. This is in their Censure of *Erasmus*, who had said it was to be wish'd that the holy Scripture were translated into all Languages, that all sorts of People indifferently might read it, and that no Man ought to be kept from reading any of the Sacred Books, no not that of the *Canticles*. The Doctors of the Theological Faculty of *Paris*, who drew up the Censure of *Erasmus's* Propositions, took care to shew that they did not absolutely condemn all Versions of the Scripture into a known Tongue, or their being re'd by pious Laymen. For first, lest their Censure should be misinterpreted as a Declaration that Versions of the holy Scripture were pernicious in themselves, they begin with observing that the Scripture is in its own nature good and holy, whatsoever Language it is turn'd into: *Quamvis in quamcunque Linguam vertantur Sacre Littere, suapte natura sanctae sint & bonae*. Secondly, They alledg the Example of the *Vaudois*, *Albigenses*, and *Turlupines*, to shew it may be dangerous to suffer them to be re'd, without an explication, by the ignorant and simple, who make an ill use of them, and do not read them with Devotion and Humility: *Absque ulla explicatione, idiotis & simplicibus eis abutentibus, nec eas pie & humiliter legentibus*. Thirdly, They do not say the Translation of the whole Bible was mischievous in it self, and at all times; but only when they wrote this Censure, (*hac tempestate*) and considering the wickedness of Men, and shameless boldness of many: *Perspecta hominum malitia, & recte perpensa multorum hujus temporis impudenti temeritate*. Fourthly, They do not speak of a Translation of those Books which concern Morality, as the Gospels, and Epistles of the Apostles; but only of a Translation of all the Bible in general: *Loquendo de omnibus Scripturae Libris indifferenter*. Fifthly, They acknowledg it may be useful to some, but say it ought not therefore to be put rashly into the hands of all Men. Sixthly, They declare expressely, they do not forbid the most ignorant to read some of the Sacred Books, which with a futable Explication may tend to confirm them in Virtue, if they read them soberly and devoutly, without pride and arrogance, and do not take occasion from thence to despise Sermons, or neglect to hear the Word of God preach'd: *Neque eis obiter interdicat usum quorundam Sacrorum Librorum, qui cum explicatione convenienti aedificationi morum sint accommodi; si sic tamen tales Libri ab ipsis legantur pie ac sobrie, citra supercilium & arrogantiam, ut non inde contemnunt Praedicationes, nec a crebra Verbi Dei auditione retrahantur*. And therefore the Censure of the following Proposition falls only upon this, that *Erasmus* permitted all Persons to read *Ezekiel*, and the *Canticles*, which the Jews themselves had forbidden to Persons under 30 years of Age.

All these Precautions taken by those who drew up the Censure of *Erasmus*, shew that they did not think, there was in their time any general prohibition of the Church, against reading or translating the holy Scripture into a known Tongue; but only that they judg'd it better, considering the impiety and rashness of Men in their Time, not to allow all Persons indifferently to read the whole Bible. And therefore when any Versions of it into a known Tongue were brought before the Faculty of *Paris* in



the same Age, they did not reject them because they thought them bad in themselves, but because they judg'd them unfaithful or faulty. For this reason they rejected in 1553. a Translation of the Bible into *French*, in which some Canonical Books were placed among the Apocryphal, and which contained some scandalous, suspicious, and heretical Assertions. And upon the same ground in 1567. they condemned the Version of *Benedictus Rhenanus*, because he had followed that of *Geneva*, and left a great many Errors, both in his Translation, and the Arguments and Prefaces of the Books, and the Marginal Notes: *Quod sint Biblia Genuensem paucis immutatis, tum in Textu, tum in Argumentis & Praefationibus Librorum, tum in Annotationibus Marginum, tum in Additionibus ad Textum.* They likewise blam'd the Conduct of *Benedictus Rhenanus*, because he was not contented to propose the Bible indifferently to all Persons, but maintain'd that it was necessary to Salvation for every one to read it: *Non tantum enim multis indifferenter ausus fuit Biblia Gallica proponere proprio judicio, sed etiam defendere utiliter & quasi ex necessitate ad salutem ab omnibus esse legendam.* In a word, the Doctors of *Paris* find a great many Faults with this Translation, and do not condemn it merely because it was a Version of the Bible into a known Tongue. *Gregory XIII.* condemned it also upon the bare Presentment of the *Faculty*, as containing in it dangerous and erroneous Explications, Heresies and Blasphemies, both in the Text and in the Notes.

The Faculty of *Paris* seems to have gone further in the beginning of this Age, and absolutely rejected all Versions of the Bible into a known Tongue. For in 1607. some Bookfellers having ask'd their leave to print the Bible in *French*; they answer'd, as is pretended, by their Deputies, that they had never approv'd, nor did approve of such Translations: But there is no express Register of this Answer; it was not the Answer of the Faculty as a Body, but only of some particular Doctors, who perhaps had Reason to act in that manner, because the Author of those Versions was not named, and none but Bookfellers were concern'd in them; which might give occasion for suspicion. It's true, the same Faculty in 1640. were offended that some of its Members had approved of the Version of *Frizonius*, and declar'd its dislike of all Translations of the Bible; and in 1641. it oppos'd the Version of *Corvinus*, and wrote against it to Cardinal *Richlieu*; but perhaps they had then particular Reasons for such a proceeding, because they did not look upon those Versions as sufficiently perfect. But however that be, it is some time ago since that Faculty has alter'd its Measures, since it has receiv'd and receives continually the Petitions of Doctors, to approve of Translations of the Bible into a known Tongue, both of the whole and of part, and freely permits them to be made. This is notorious, and evidently shews that they do not think Translations of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue to be unlawful, or pernicious and dangerous to Believers. The Faculty of *Divinity* at *Louvain* has always been more favourable to Versions of the Bible into a known Tongue, because they have not only ever approved of them; but were the first, as we have seen, in translating the Bible into *French* and *Dutch*, and publishing those Translations.

To return now to the main Point, which I left to examine the Opinion of the Theological Faculties of *Paris* and *Louvain*, about the Translation of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, and reading them: I have shewn by the confession of *Soto* himself, that there was not till the Council of *Trent* any prohibition of the Church against translating or reading the holy Scripture in a known Tongue. Let us see what passed in that Council about this Matter. If the Version of the Bible into a known Tongue had been an unsufferable Grievance, if it had been convenient to forbid the simple and ignorant to read it, if it had been impossible by any other means to stop the progress of Heresy and prevent Mens falling into Error, it's certain the Council of *Trent*, whose design was to suppress every thing that might give scope or credit to Heresy, should have made a Decree, expressly prohibiting upon very severe Penalties the Translation of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, and the Common People to make use of such Translations, or to read the Bible. But it did nothing at all of this. It will be said perhaps that the Council did not consider of it; but on the contrary, the History of the Council shews us that the Question was proposed and debated in it, and that the Council did not think it proper to do any thing in that matter. For Cardinal *Palavacino*, in the first part of his History, Chap. 12. relates, That as the Council was deliberating on the 17th of March 1546. about Abuses relating to the Sacred Writings, *Peter Paccio* Bishop of *Gienne*, and since nominated Cardinal, represented as a pernicious Abuse, the custom of translating the Scriptures into a known Tongue, and so exposing them to be read by

ignorant People: to which Cardinal *Madrucci* civilly answer'd, but with abundance of Life and Zeal, That *Germany* would be very much displeas'd, if it apprehended the Fathers of the Council had a design to deprive the People of the Divine Oracles, which the Apostle tells us ought to be always in the mouths of Believers. *Pa- ceco* objected that they had been forbidden in *Spain*, with the approbation of *Paul II.* *Madrucci* answer'd him, that *Paul II.* or any other Pope might be deceiv'd in judging of the usefulness or mischievousness of a Law; but that *S. Paul* who ordained the contrary to what was attributed to *Paul II.* could not be deceiv'd. The thing stopt here, and the Assembly broke up without determining any thing about this matter. The Council order'd in its 18th Session, that an *Index* should be made of bad and pernicious Books: It was drawn up during the Council, and consider'd in the 25th Session, which was the last day of the Council's sitting; but the Fathers not having time to judg of it, ordained that the whole should be referred to the Judgment of the Pope, to be publish'd by his Authority. This *Index* contained as yet no Rules. Those Rules were added and publish'd sometime after with the *Index* by *Pius IV.* in 1564. *Sixtus V.* made afterwards some other Additions, which were published again with the *Index* and Rules by *Clement VIII.*

The 4th of these Rules about translating and reading the holy Scripture is this: "It being therefore evident from Experience, that if the Bible translated into the "Vulgar Tongue was allowed to all Persons indifferently, the rashness of Men "would cause it to do more harm than good: We decree upon this consideration, "that the Matter be referred to the Judgment of a Bishop or Inquisitor, who "with the advice of a Curate or Confessor, may give those leave to read the Bible in "a known Tongue, translated by Catholick Authors, to whom they judg such read- "ing will not be prejudicial, but rather promote their Faith and Piety; and such are "to have this Permission in Writing. The 6th Rule of the same *Index* forbids that Books of Controversy between the Catholicks and Hereticks of those times, written in a known Tongue, should be re'd indifferently by all persons, and ordains that what was said concerning the Bible translated into the Vulgar Tongue should be observed as to them also. *Sixtus V.* remarks in his Addition, that by the 4th Rule there is no Power given to Bishops, Inquisitors, or superior Monks to grant leave to buy, read, or keep Bibles translated into a known Tongue. I have several Reflections to make upon these Rules.

First, That they ought not to be look'd upon as the Council of *Trent's*, or made by their Authority, because they were formed since the Council; and tho' the Council had order'd an *Index* to be made of pernicious Books, yet they had not said any thing about these Rules, or a Prohibition against reading the holy Scripture in a known Tongue. Their design was only to have an *Index* drawn up of *suspected and pernicious Books which contain'd an unsound Doctrin*; which cannot without impiety be understood of Catholick Versions of the Bible. Secondly, That these Rules came from the Tribunal of the *Inquisition*, which is not owned in *France*. Thirdly, That they were never receiv'd or publish'd, either in *France*, *Germany*, or the *Low Countries*. Fourthly, That they were never put in execution, neither in *France* nor other Catholick Kingdoms; seeing as to Controversial Books written by Catholicks, people have always had the liberty in all places to read them; and as for the Scripture, tho' the Prohibition against reading it be general, yet it was never thought necessary to have a Licence to read some parts of the New Testament, as the *Epistles* and *Gospels*, the *Passion of our Lord*, &c. And herein also that Decree has been manifestly derogated from, that whereas it obliges Men to have this permission to read the Bible in Writing, the same was never observ'd in any Country. Fifthly, That the Remark of *Sixtus V.* confirmed by *Clement VIII.* viz. That Bishops have no Power to give leave to read the holy Scripture in a known Tongue, is injurious to Bishops, and an entrenchment of the Court of the *Inquisition* upon their Priviledges. Sixthly, That this Rule does not forbid Translations of the Bible into Vulgar Tongues, but only the reading them: Nay, instead of forbidding them, it supposes that there must be some such Versions; because it declares that those may be permitted to read them, who, it's thought, will receive benefit thereby. Seventhly, That this Rule supposes an Event about which the Pope might be mistaken, namely, that reading the holy Scripture in a known Tongue would do more harm than good. Cardinal *Madrucci* has observed as to this, that any Pope might be deceiv'd in judging of the usefulness or mischievousness of a Law: *Quemcumque Pontificem in judicanda Lege conducibili vel non conducibili, potuisse falli*. Eighthly, That the Prohibition against reading the Scripture being ground'd upon this Supposition, That the rashness



*raffness of Men would cause it to do more harm than good*, whenever that Supposition becomes groundless, the Prohibition ought to cease. But it is universally known, that among a thousand Catholics who read the holy Scripture in a known Tongue at present, there is hardly one to whom it does more harm than good. And so according to the Rule it self, the prohibition of reading the Bible in a known Tongue without a special Licence, ought not any longer to take place. The Law ceases when the Design and End of the Law cease: *Cessat Lex cessante fine*.

There never was in the Church any other Statute about translating and reading the Sacred Books, than this Rule of the *Index*, which was never receiv'd, or publish'd, and much less executed, in most Catholick Kingdoms. It was, I confess, inserted in the third Council of *Milan*, and in a Council of *Avignon*, thirty years after. But those Councils could at the most but make Laws for their own Province. We do not find that the Provincial Councils of any other Countries receiv'd or approv'd of this Rule. On the contrary, the Council of *Bourges* in the Year 1584. *Tit. 4. Chap. 2.* and the Council of *Narbon* in 1609. restrain'd the Prohibition of reading and keeping Bibles turned into *French* to those which were not approved by the Ordinary.

I have shewn hitherto, first, that Catholics were not in the last Age forbidden to translate the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, and that faithful Catholick Versions, approved by the Church, have been always permitted. Secondly, That the reading of them was not absolutely forbidden, as a thing mischievous and dangerous to all Believers; but only by reason of the ill use that many made of it, some thought it not fit to advise all Persons indifferently to read them; but to examine first of all the dispositions of those into whose hands they should put them. Thirdly, That even those who were of this Judgment, made several Exceptions and Limitations to their Opinion, either by declaring that they allowed all Persons to read some parts of the Bible, as the New Testament, the Epistles, and Gospels, &c. with Annotations; or restraining the Prohibition against reading Translations of the Bible to such as were not approved by the Ordinary; or signifying expressly that those ought to be permitted and advis'd to read the holy Scripture, who, it was suppos'd, would make no ill use of it; or, lastly, acknowledging that this Prohibition could not take place in Countries where the contrary practice had prevail'd, and where there were Hereticks, who would be offended that Men were forbidden to read it, as *Serarius* observes particularly of *Germany*. Fourthly, That tho some Catholick Divines were of Opinion that all Persons indifferently ought not to be allowed to read Versions of the whole Bible, yet there were a great many others of a contrary mind, and even those that maintain'd the former Opinion, acknowledg'd that a great many pious Men were not of their Judgment. Fifthly, That there never was any Prohibition as to this matter, made by the Authority of the Church, or a General Council, nor establish'd by a prevailing Custom; but only a Rule of the *Index*, approved in some Provincial Synods, which has no where been executed in its whole Latitude, nor receiv'd in *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, and other places.

It is remarkable as to *Poland*, that the Popes have been so far from attempting to execute the Rule of the *Index* in that Country, that on the contrary *Gregory XIII.* to hinder the spreading of Bibles translated into the *Polish* Language by the *Unitarians*, order'd *James Vicki* a Jesuit to translate the Bible into *Polish*; whose Version was approved by *Clement VIII.* and after the Translator's Death, printed by the Command and at the Expence of the Archbishop of *Gnesna* Primate of *Poland*. *Possevinus* observes, that this new *Polish* Bible came very seasonably to suppress the Errors of the new *Arians*, which began to spread in the Kingdom: *Et ea quidem Versio fuit perutilis & necessaria restringendis eorum erroribus qui ex falsa novorum Arianorum & aliorum Hereticorum Versione passim serpebant.*

*George Kaldi* an Hungarian Jesuit, caused a Translation he had made of the Bible into *Hungarian*, to be printed at *Vienna* in 1626. And three Years after he procured likewise the Gospels and Masses for all the Year to be printed in the same Language, without setting his Name to them. Some Catholics made, as I have observed, new Versions of the Bible into *German*, *Low-Dutch* and *English*, which are common in those Countries, and that, since they have been filled with Hereticks, to oppose to their Translations, and detect the Cheat they put upon the People, by endeavouring to persuade them that the holy Scripture is on their side: which shews that the ill use which Hereticks make of reading the holy Scripture, is so far from being a Reason to forbid Catholics to read it, that on the contrary it is one for allowing, and not only so, but exhorting them to read it, that they may not be deceiv'd by the Pretences of those

those Men; and that the Hereticks themselves may not, as they do, reproach the Catholicks, that they forbid Christians to read the holy Scripture, and keep them from the knowledg of it, only because it is manifestly contrary to their Doctrines.

There is no Kingdom, in which there have been made, in this Age, more Versions of the holy Scripture into the Vulgar Tongue, and where they have been more common and more universally spread than in *France*. They have been put there into the hands of all Persons; re'd with profit by Christians of all conditions; approved, and the reading of them recommended by Bishops and Doctors, without the custom of giving or asking leave in Writing to read them being ever put in practice; and it may be said, that if there be a place where the Law of the *Index* has been justly counteracted, it is certainly in that Kingdom. In the beginning of this Age the Version of the Doctors of *Louvain* was dispersed in *France*, and generally re'd by Catholicks; but because it was not thought so exact as it might be, and the Language grew old every day, some persons undertook to review and correct it.

*Peter Bessus*, Doctor of Divinity, of the Faculty of *Paris*, and Chaplain to the King, was the first that set about it, and publish'd his Version, dedicated to King *Henry IV.* in the Year 1608. He says in his Preface, "That his Translation had the Allowance of Princes, the Verification of Parliaments, the Testimony of Doctors; and the Approbation of Universities. Sometime after *Peter Frisón* Penitentiary and Canon of the Church of *Rheims*, made another French Edition of the Bible, which came out in 1620. with the Approbation of a great many Doctors. He observes in his Preface, that Versions of the Bible into a known Tongue were not prohibited, and asserts, "That the reason why *Benedictus Rhenanus* was troubled, was not for having translated the Bible, but for causing to be printed the *Geneva* Translation, in which, supposing he had sufficiently corrected it, he had left a world of Faults, which were discover'd and condemn'd by the Bishop of *Paris* and the *Sorbonne*. He adds at the end a Treatise about the way of distinguishing Catholick French Bibles from those of the *Hugonots*. But notwithstanding all the Cautions he could use, the Theological Faculty of *Paris* would not approve of his Translation; tho it took in the Kingdom, and was used by Catholicks. The same Faculty refused also in 1641. to approve the Version of *Corvinus*, Councillor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and opposed the publication of it, by ordering their *Syndic* to write to Cardinal *Richlieu*, to hinder its coming out. But their Attempts proved vain; that Version was published with the Approbation of two Doctors of *Poitiers*; and Cardinal *Richlieu* being perswaded that the principal Reason why the Faculty of *Paris* opposed the publication of *Corvinus's* Translation, was the Quality of its Author, whose business it was not to meddle with things Sacred, resolv'd to have one made by Persons of that Profession, and to that end pitch'd upon four Doctors of the Theological Faculty of *Paris*, who understood *Hebrew*, *Greek* and *Latin*, for whom he procur'd a Pension from the King, to set themselves about it: but his Design was not executed.

Father *Veron's* Translation of the *New Testament* did not meet with the same opposition as the former. He dedicated it to the General Assembly of the French Clergy, to whom he declares in his Preface, "That he could not but be heartily grieved to see, that when the People had the Lives of Saints so well written in the French Tongue, faithfully and purely, which were but as ἀντιτύποι of the great προτότυπων, they had not that of the Saint of Saints, the New Testament of our Father, the Holy Bible, the Book of Life, but with a great many considerable Faults, that had continued in it since the first Version of *Olivetanus*. He has also made a whole Preface to shew that *None were forbidden to read the Bible in French*. Some of his words are these: "My design in all I have hitherto said is, that every one may with more freedom apply himself to read the Book of Life. But here I must briefly resolve this Question: Whether there be need of a Licence, Permission, or special Dispensation, at least to Mechanics, Women, or other ordinary Believers to read the Bible? Or whether the common People, not excepting Women, may read it without having a Licence from the Bishop, or so much as his Curat or Confessor? And he resolves it thus.

"The Protestant Ministers have drawn, and still keep in their Party, in *France*, many thousands of the common People, by no pretence more specious, than telling them over and over, in their Sermons and Books, with great Aggravations, that the Bible is a Book prohibited among Catholicks, that the Council of *Trent* and a certain *Index* expurgatory forbid Men to read it: that is, say they, they



"conceal from Children the Will of their Father; that it is to take away the Light  
 "which directs us in our Actions, to deprive us of the Book of Life; in short, that  
 "this is an evident sign the Bible is contrary to the Papists, and that the Church  
 "of Rome and its Doctors are very sensible of it, because they will not suffer Men  
 "to read it. I hear these Reproaches continually in the Sermons of the Protestants  
 "at Charenton; and if our Doctors were but there, or re'd the Books of our Adver-  
 "saries, they would endeavour to take away this stumbling-block from the poor  
 "People: at least they would not confirm and magnify it in their Books, and some-  
 "times in their Sermons, that they might not be an occasion of the loss of so many Souls,  
 "and do so much prejudice to the Church, whilst they think they serve it by their  
 "scrupulous Opinions, that are contrary to sound Divinity. But I admire at these  
 "Men; and being moved with a just Zeal for the Catholick Religion, and the con-  
 "version of so many thousand poor deceived People, I say (1.) That 'tis certain  
 "the Council of Trent never prohibited the Bible, or requir'd any such Licence to  
 "read it, nor gave any Commission for making such a Prohibition, or treating  
 "concerning it, I say (2.) That no Doctor, without opposing all the Prin-  
 "ciples of Divinity, can maintain there is any Prohibition in France against read-  
 "ing the Scripture, or any necessity of having Permission to read it, by any Law,  
 "Statute or Rule obligatory. I prove it beyond all denial: It is a certain Maxim in  
 "our Schools of Divinity, of *Driedo*, *Medina*, and in short of all our Divines, both  
 "Scholastical and Moral, that a Law, tho it were that of a Pope or a Council, and  
 "much more a Rule made by Delegates, which was never promulgated or receiv'd  
 "in the Provinces, but has been rejected by a contrary practice and custom, and  
 "that for a great many Years, is not obligatory. This is a certain Maxim, and no  
 "Divine dares say the contrary: otherwise a thousand Inconveniences would follow,  
 "and they themselves would be Transgressors of a thousand Laws. But the 4th  
 "Law or Rule of the *Index* was never promulgated or received in France, and has  
 "always been, and is still rejected by a contrary practice and custom, and this for a  
 "great many Years past. Therefore, &c. The 6th Rule of the *Index* is, *That the*  
 "*same thing which is ordained concerning Bibles in a known Tongue, shall be observed as to*  
 "*Controversial Books in a known Tongue.* But it is certain there is no Permission re-  
 "quisite in France to read the Controversies of *du Perron*, *Cotton* and others, in  
 "French, nor any Prohibition against reading them. Therefore it is certain also  
 "that there is no Permission requisite to read the Bible in French, nor any Pro-  
 "hibition against it. The 4th Rule is, *That those Booksellers who shall sell such*  
 "*Books to Persons who have not the foresaid Licence to read them, shall lose the price of*  
 "*their Books, and be punished.* Is this observ'd or receiv'd in France? (3.) The ob-  
 "servation made upon this Rule is: *By this 4th Rule there is no Power given to*  
 "*Bishops or Superior Monks, to grant a Licence to buy, read, or keep Bibles printed in*  
 "*a known Tongue.* Is this receiv'd, or practis'd in France, even by the most scrupu-  
 "lous Doctors? This Rule, as well as many others of Direction, is like a Medal with  
 "two Faces, good and useful in some places. But the Offence our Separatists take  
 "at it, and the Separation it partly occasions of so many thousand of the common  
 "People, seduced by Protestant Ministers, ought to be more regarded; and, as *Vas-*  
 "*quez* very well says, Custom may even abrogate a Law. It is easy to prevent the  
 "Danger which may arise from reading the Scripture, by some short Notes upon the  
 "obscure Passages of it, or warning the ignorant Reader, not to stop at any thing  
 "but what is easy, and as to what is obscure, to refer himself to Doctors, or  
 "ask their Judgment about difficult Texts. But the End of the Law generally  
 "ceasing, the Law becomes of no force. I conclude therefore again from what has  
 "been said: *That any Frenchman in his own Country may read a Catholick Version of the*  
 "*Bible in French, without being oblig'd to ask any Permission for it, by any Ecclesiastical*  
 "*Law or Rule.* I say, by any Ecclesiastical Law; For the saying of *S. Peter* stands  
 "firm; In the *Epistles* of my Brother Paul there are some things hard to be understood,  
 "which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do also the other Scriptures, to their  
 "own destruction. These unlearned and unstable in the Faith, ought indeed to take  
 "heed to themselves, and follow the direction of their Superiors.—But except-  
 "ing this case of danger, ignorance or weakness in the Faith, which is not general,  
 "and in which the Scriptures and natural Reason teach us, we ought to govern our-  
 "selves by the foremention'd direction, there is no obligation to ask a Licence, Permif-  
 "sion or Direction to read a Catholick Version of the Holy Bible, such as, for Example,  
 "that of the Doctors of Lovain, Besse, Frison, or the present; to read which all Chris-  
 "tians are exhorted, even from their very Childhood. Thus this Author speaks  
 in

in a Book dedicated to the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1646. one who by his Profession knew how necessary it was to the Conversion of Hereticks, and the Instruction and Edification of Catholicks, to suffer all persons to read the holy Scripture.

The *Sieur de Marolles*, Abbot of *Villeloin*, dedicated also a third Edition of a Version of the New Testament to the French Clergy, and opposed, in his Epistle Dedicatory, a Treatise written to prove that the common People ought to be forbidden to read the Sacred Books, entitled: *The Sanctuary shut against the Profane*. "Blessed be God, says the Abbot *Marolles*, that the Lamp is not hid under a Bushel, and that, the Vail being rent, it has pleas'd the Father of Lights, that what was before mysterious should be revealed to us. I am overjoy'd that at length the Bread of Life being left in the possession of Strangers, is no longer snatch'd out of the hands of the natural Children. They that give them the name of PROFANE, do not know them. They cannot be Children and Profane at the same time. The Profane are, properly, the Irreligious and Heathens, who deride our Mysteries, and are offended with the Cross of JESUS CHRIST, as foolishness. To give your People so reviving a Consolation as this, is not to give holy things to Dogs; if it were, you ought by the same reason to deny them the use of the Sacraments, because they may abuse them. He insists more at large upon this matter in his Preface, and proposes expressly this Question; *Whether it be necessary or convenient that all sorts of Persons should have the liberty to hear and read the Scriptures in their Mother Tongue*; And he undertakes to prove, by the Authority and Example of the Holy Fathers, and from all sorts of Writers, Antient and Modern, that they ought not to be denied this liberty.

The Assembly of the Clergy in 1655, or at least some Prelats of that Assembly, and among others *Mr. de Marca*, judging it convenient to translate the New Testament into better French, pitch'd upon Father *Amelot*, Priest of the Oratory, for that purpose, and made him go about it: He perform'd it, and the first part of his Work came out in 1666. dedicated to *Mr. de Peresfixe* Archbishop of *Paris*, and approved by several Prelats, who recommended the reading of it, without mentioning the necessity of a Licence. That Father shews in his Preface, "That the Church which behaved it self differently, according to diversity of Time and Place, in its distribution of this heavenly Food to her Children, had sometimes put a distinction between Laymen and Priests, when the Contagion of any Heresies raged; but now that the Glory of JESUS CHRIST on our Altars has dispell'd the darkness, and dazzles the eyes of the *Sacramentaries*, the Church gave him liberty to translate the Bible, for the comfort of pious Persons, who do not understand the Languages consecrated by the sign of the Cross, and to be of use also sometimes to the Learned, by the Light which all Languages give to one another.

What was done in the Assembly of the Clergy in 1660. and the Theological Faculty of *Paris* about the Mass-Book of the *Sieur Voisin*, does not concern particularly the Translation of the holy Scripture, but of the Service of the Mass: And besides, that Mass-Book was condemned by the Clergy and Faculty, only because they found several Passages in it ill translated, which the Faculty censur'd as Errors, and because they suppos'd the design of the Translator was to introduce the Custom of saying Mass in a known Tongue. This the Assembly themselves intimate, in their Circular Letter of Jan. 11. 1661. wherein they declare, "That it was the Sense of the Church, that Believers should be instructed in the Truth and Majesty of the Divine Mysteries by Curats and Preachers, judging that their Knowledge and Piety would be more promoted and confirm'd by such Instruction, than if the Divine Sacrifice were celebrated in a known Tongue, which Hereticks would persuade Men to be necessary for the People's Instruction. To which also what is in a Decree of that Assembly on January 24. 1661. must necessarily relate, where it is said, "That the Order of the Assembly on December 7. for suppressing the Mass-book of *Mr. Voisin*, was made to preserve the general practice of the Church, confirmed by the Council of *Trent*, which some had attempted to alter, to the great scandal of the Publick, by translating the Mass-book into a known Tongue. The Council of *Trent* had no thoughts of prohibiting the Translation of the Mass-book into a known Tongue, to be read in private: but only maintain'd the antient Custom of celebrating the Mass, in the Western Church, in Latin. And therefore seeing the Assembly supposes, that some design'd to introduce a Novelty, contrary to the Order of the Council of *Trent*, they must have been persuaded that it was intended

by



by this Translation of the Mass-book, to bring in that Custom, and this must have been the reason of their Prohibition. And indeed before that time the late Archbishop of Rouen, *Francis de Harlay*, had caused to be printed, with the Approbation of the Assembly of the Clergy in 1650. a Translation and Explication of the Canon of the Mass in French. Father *Veron*, the *Sieur d'Hilaire*, the *Sieurs de la Milletiere* and *Catalan*, had also caused to be printed the Mass and Canon in French, with the Approbation of some Doctors. And to go further back, in the time of King *Charles V.* the Mass-book had been translated by the Order of that Prince. In fine, since the Assembly in 1660. the Office and Canon of the Mass has been printed several times, with the Approbation of Bishops and Doctors, and has also been put, at the King's Order and Charges, into the hands of the New Converts. But to stay no longer upon this Question, which does not directly concern what I am speaking to, I shall only observe that the Act of the Assembly of the Clergy in 1660 and 1661. does not at all relate to Translations of the holy Scripture.

When the Version of the New Testament of *Mons* came out, it was not opposed by its Adversaries, because it was a Version of the New Testament into a known Tongue; but other Reasons were alledged for condemning it, as appears by the Order of Mr. *de Perefixe* Archbishop of *Paris* on April 20. 1668. and by those of some other Bishops, and the Remarks of Father *Annat* upon the printing and publication of that Work. Nor did any oppose the Version of Mr. *Godeau* Bishop of *Vence*, or the following Exhortation he gives in his Preface to all Christians to read the Scripture. "This is, says he, the Will of the Son of God your Father and Judge which I offer you. I cannot doubt but you will take delight in reading it. You will see he there leaves you a most glorious Inheritance, I mean his Truth, and that he divides it after an admirable manner. For tho it be one, yet he accommodates it to the Condition and Duty of all, that every one by practising these Precepts, may live at peace, and arrive to the possession of his future Inheritance, which is Eternal Life. The Son of God has taken care therein to teach us clearly and distinctly our whole Duty to him, as well as our Neighbour and our selves. This is the scope of the Gospels. The Apostolical Epistles are a larger and more particular Commentary and Explication of them, which leaves nothing in the Christian Life we are to live in this World, difficult or undetermin'd. This is therefore the Book you ought to STUDY NIGHT AND DAY; this is the Book you ought, not to write on your hands, or have continually before your eyes, but to imprint on your hearts——Receive therefore with that new heart this New Testament I present to you. READ IT WITH SUCH A HEART. You will soon see that other Books, in comparison of this, entertain you with nothing but Fables. It will convey a true Light into your minds, which will not dazzle you by a false lustre, but enlighten you in a real and infallible manner. It will not flatter you, but shew you plainly what you are, and what you ought to be.

What passed in 1688. as to the Mass-book translated by the *Sieur de Tournoux*, whereof the publication was prohibited by a Decree of the Official of *Paris*, has also no relation to Versions of the holy Scripture. The Proctor alledged some particular Reasons for prohibiting it; to wit, that it was not approved by the Ordinary, that it had not the Author's Name, and that the Translation was unfaithful in some places. Speaking about Versions of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, as well as of those of the Works of the Fathers, and the Divine Offices, which were rejected, he says plainly, they were only those which were not approved by Bishops. Its true, having afterwards alledged Reasons that seemed to militate against all Versions in general, the late Archbishop of *Paris*, to take away their impression out of the minds of the People, made a new Decree, in which the Proctor declared, that the Church condemned no Versions of the Holy Scripture, or the Fathers of the Church, but such as had not the Names of their Authors, and were not authorized by the permission of Archbishops, when complaints of them were brought to them, and they had discover'd on an examination of them, that they contained a pernicious Doctrine. He adds afterwards, that his Request had never been so general, but it was limited to Translations not authorized in the Diocess.

To conclude, it is past all dispute in the Church of *France*, that it is lawful for Doctors, Clergymen, Friars, and other pious persons, duly qualified, to translate the holy Scripture, Works of the Fathers, or any Controversial Treatises into a known Tongue; and as certain, that all Christians may read those Versions when they are approved by Bishops and Doctors, without any special Licence. *France* every where abounds with such Translations, and they are in the hands of all Persons,

Persons, and all Christians of whatsoever Condition or Profession they be, read them with profit and edification. The Theological Faculty of *Paris* are continually giving leave to Doctors to approve them in their Name, the most holy Prelats authorize them by their Mandates, and exhort the People to read them, without distinction of Age, Sex, or Condition. An infinite number of Copies of them have been distributed by the King's Order to the new Converts, and instead of it's being thought that their reading them would be apt to confirm them in their Errors, it has on the contrary been judg'd the most effectual means perfectly to reclaim them: This is a thing publickly known. And can it be doubted after this but that the Law, if ever there was any that prohibited Men to read such Translations is now quite abrogated, and that all Christians enjoy that liberty they formerly had of reading the holy Scripture, and other godly Books, for their instruction and edification?

And indeed the Reasons which might have induced some to think that Translations of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue ought to be suppressed, and ordinary Believers forbidden to read them, and for which the Rule of the *Index* was made, are no longer in force, and consequently the Law ought to cease. Those Reasons may be reduced to two principal: First, The great number of Heretical Translations of the Bible, which were unfaithful, corrupted in many places, and almost always accompanied with Arguments and Notes containing Errors, with which Hereticks had fill'd the World; and the difficulty of distinguishing them from Catholick Versions of the Scripture; so that Believers were in danger of taking the false Opinions of Men for the Word of God, and an erroneous Gospel for the true. In this case some Bishops thought fit to prohibit all Translations of the Bible in general, and forbid ordinary Christians to read them, only permitting the publication and reading of such as they approv'd. But this Reason cannot now be alledged; because Heretical Bibles are no longer in use among Catholicks, who have several Translations of the holy Scripture, and especially of the New Testament, approved and owned by true Catholicks. The second Reason, expressed in the 4<sup>th</sup> Rule of the *Index*, and alledged by the Theological Faculty of *Paris*, is the experience Men had that reading the Bible was more hurtful than beneficial to the common People; not in it self, but through the rashness of those that re'd it, who would make themselves Judges of the Doctrin, interpret the holy Scripture in their own Sense, despise Tradition, believe nothing but what they thought to be contained in the holy Scripture, and take it for the only Rule of their Faith. This Spirit of unteachableness and presumption, accompanied with great ignorance, which is supposed to have been predominant at that time, might occasion abundance of disorder, make the reading of the holy Scripture more hurtful than profitable, and lead the common People into Error. It's true, Men should have endeavour'd to root out of the Hearts of Christians that evil Disposition, and teach them to read the Scripture with a better temper; but it being suppos'd that this Vice was general, and not presently to be reformed, it was esteem'd necessary to forbid the common People to read the holy Scripture for a time, till they gave assurance of their teachableness and submission. But, blessed be God, the state of things is now very much alter'd; those unhappy times are over, and Catholicks are of another disposition: Being well instructed in the Truths of Religion, they seek for nothing in the Scripture but to confirm themselves in the Doctrin of the Church, read it only to know their Duty, and are edified by it; it is an occasion of offence and stumbling to very few, and a Fountain of life and happiness to multitudes. This, present Experience, contrary to what is alledged in the Rule of the *Index*, sufficiently shews; and consequently the Law of the *Index*, whatever force it might formerly have, ceases now to be a Law, seeing the reason upon which it was founded, and which is plainly expressed in the Law, is of no longer continuance, and the contrary takes place. For if there was some ground for prohibiting Men to read the holy Scripture in a known Tongue, from a persuasion that it did more harm than good; how much more ought the reading of it to be permitted, when 'tis evident it does no harm to any, and is useful to vast numbers of Christians? In a word, whereas it was thought, a hundred and twenty Years ago, that Catholicks were in danger of being seduc'd, if the Scripture was put into the hands of all Persons; it is certain, long since, that on the one hand that danger is past, and on the other, it would be a great hindrance to the Conversion of Hereticks, and edification of the New Catholicks, to forbid the reading of it: "For, as Father *Veron* has observed, the most specious pretence the Protestant Ministers have always, and do still make use of, to keep a great many of the common People in their Party, is to tell them that the Bible is a prohibited Book among the Catho-



“tholicks; that they conceal from Children the Will of their Father; that this is to take away the Light which directs us in our Actions, and deprive us of the Book of Life; in a word, that this is an evident proof the Bible is contrary to the Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*; and that their Doctors are very sensible of it, because they will not suffer Men to read it. The New Converts having been accustomed to read the Bible, and always receiv'd profitable Instructions from it, and perhaps that Light also which has made them sensible of their Error, upon their return to the Church, have still continued to read it; they have been assured, that they should not be deprived of the priviledg of reading the Word of God; they have had Catholick Versions of the Bible, and particularly of the *New Testament* and *Psalms*, put into their hands, whilst their *Hugonot* Bibles have been taken away from them: What an Offence now would it be to them; what an occasion of stumbling, if they should be told that reading the Sacred Books in a known Tongue is forbidden in the Church, and that they may not read them any more without a Licence?

The last reason for advising People to read the holy Scripture, is that great number of Books of pretended Spiritualists, which contain nothing but imaginary Notions, often dangerous, and absolutely useless, and unfit to nourish the Soul or affect the heart. What injustice would it be to deprive Christians of the solid nourishment of the Word of God, to feed them with nothing but *Chimeras*? What more speedy and effectual Remedy can be used to cure them of the Delusion they are under, than to put the holy Scripture into their hands, and counsel them to read it? Thence they will learn to fear God, to trust in his Promises, to watch continually over themselves, *to work out their Salvation with fear and trembling*, to desire earnestly to be with *JESUS CHRIST*, and to attain Eternal Life; Principles which these Mystical Men destroy or at least weaken by their peculiar Fancies: There they will find Instructions, Precepts, and Examples of solid Virtue and Piety, deliver'd in a plain and natural Style, instead of Metaphysical Contemplations, Airy Notions, and Dark Conceptions, expressed in mysterious Terms, which make the Subject of the Books of those pretended Spiritualists. All these Reasons shew, that the Motives which may have formerly induced some Persons not to approve of Translations of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, and forbid ordinary Christians to read them, are not only ceased; but that very urgent Motives have succeeded in their room, which oblige them to approve, as they do, of such Versions, and advise all Believers to read them.

To complete what I have to say about Translations of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, all that remains is to remark in a few words, what Qualifications such Versions ought to have, to be good and useful; and in what Dispositions those that read them ought to be, that they may profit by them.

The first and most essential Qualification of a Version of the Bible, is that it be faithful, that is, do exactly express the sense of the Original. This is a general Rule for all Versions, but ought to be so much the more carefully observed in Translations of the holy Scripture, as it is more dangerous and criminal to deviate from it; because that would be to propose our own Conceptions for the Word of God, and so to deceive Men in a matter of the highest importance. For which reason we ought not to take so great a liberty in translating the holy Scripture, as in translating any other Book, but must keep more close to the Letter, and make use as much as possible of the same Expressions. But yet it is not necessary to confine our selves so servilely to the Letter, or to retain particular words, as to make the Translation unintelligible and barbarous. For the design of Translations is only to make the Original plain to those that do not understand the Language in which it is written: so that if they are obscure or intricate, and do not clearly express the Sense, they will be useless: And therefore we must, as much as possible, make use of Terms and Phrases commonly used in the Language we translate into, answering the words of the Original, and clearly expressing its sense: And when we cannot find a proper word equivalent to that in the Original, we may make use of several Terms signifying the same thing. In this case we cannot be thought to add any thing to the Text, because we do but express the whole force of the words of the Original. The case is otherwise, when the Text being obscure, we endeavour to clear it, by inserting words of our own; or the sense being ambiguous, we determine it in the Translation; or being capable of different Explications, we adhere to one rather than another. When the sense of the Original in its utmost latitude, can be handsomely preserved, it is proper to do it, and put the Explications and Differences in the Margin. But because that

that cannot always be done, and to make sense, we must necessarily either add to the Text, or resolve to follow one sense rather than another, it is usual in such cases to put the inserted words in a different Letter, to insert in the Text the sense which seems to be the most natural, and place in the Margin the other Interpretations of which the passage is capable.

As for the Style of Translations of the Scripture, we must endeavour to preserve, as much as possible, that noble Simplicity of the Sacred Authors, and that true Eloquence, suited to Persons and Things. We ought therefore to avoid carefully such Terms and Phrases as savour of humane Eloquence, and especially the affectation of studied and modish Terms, unbecoming the gravity and simplicity of the Word of God. We must always make use of plain and natural Expressions; but such as have nothing mean or trivial in them: for that would be another extreme, and make the Word of God contemptible, if we did not preserve in the Translation of it, the majesty and loftiness of the Original. We must also for the same reason make use of none but proper and common words, and retain as much as may be the purity and politeness of the Language, that it may be re'd with pleasure. But we must at the same time take care, as *S. Austin* says, that, while we endeavour to set off the Scripture by adding to the proportion and number of its Sentences, we do not diminish the weight of them: *Sed cavendum, ne divinis gravibusq; sententiis dum additur numerus, pondus detrabatur.* These are some of the Qualifications requisite in Translations of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue to make them useful and complete.

There arises here a Question; to wit, Whether we ought in such Translations to follow intirely the *Vulgar* Latin, or have recourse to the Original Greek and Hebrew? Those who are for keeping to the *Vulgar*, alledg, that it having been declared authentical by the Council of *Trent*, it seems unlawful to depart from it, or, at least, best to conform to it entirely. Those on the contrary who maintain that the Original Texts ought to be followed, alledg, that it is always more proper, when we make a Translation, to betake our selves to the Fountain, than keep to a Version; because in translating from the Original a Man is less subject to depart from the true sense, than when he translates from another Version, which may already have its Faults. The decision of this Question depends upon what I have said of the Authority of the *Vulgar*, and the purity of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, as well as on what I shall say hereafter of the Greek of the New. As the Council of *Trent* in declaring the *Vulgar* authentical, did not prefer it to the Original Texts, or pretend that it was faultless, so it did not forbid Mens having recourse, in Versions into a known Tongue, to the Original Texts; and as the *Hebrew* Text of the Old Testament, and *Greek* of the New, are not always corrupt in those places where they differ from the *Vulgar*; and yet have some Faults occasion'd by the negligence of Transcribers; and the differences between them are sometimes founded only upon different Pointings, Readings, or significations of a word; it is not true that we are obliged either to follow always the Original Texts or the *Vulgar* Translation, and it is on the contrary reasonable to make use on these occasions, of the Rules I shall hereafter give, to discern whether we ought to follow the Greek Text of the New Testament, or the *Vulgar*. So that it is no defect in a Translation of the Bible into a known Tongue, to be conformable in some places to the Original Texts, and in others to the *Vulgar*; as it is none in Interpreters to follow sometimes the sense of the Original Texts, and sometimes that of the *Vulgar* in their Commentaries. This way most of our Modern Translators have gone, even those that have translated from the *Vulgar* Text, who have made no difficulty of departing from it in many places, to follow the sense of the Originals; and there is none of them but has sometimes preferred the *Greek* before the *Vulgar*: Nay, it seems to be more convenient to translate into a known Tongue from the Original Texts, only reserving a liberty to depart from them, where there is reason to think them corrupted. But what method soever we take, it is certain a good Translator of the holy Scripture ought not to stick entirely to the *Vulgar*, but consult also the Originals, and that otherwise he will be liable to commit a great many Mistakes in his Version.

I have but one word more to add, concerning the Dispositions wherein ignorant Persons ought to be, in order to read the holy Scripture with profit. The first and principal is, that they read it with a perfect simplicity of heart, designing to be informed in the Truths of Religion, and the Precepts of Morality, that they may believe and practise them. He that seeks only his Salvation in the Scripture, will find it there, and that Knowledg too which he did not seek in it. And he that seeks in it

only



only to satisfy a vain desire of knowing, is in danger of becoming more ignorant and blind, by growing more presumptuous.

The second Disposition requisite in one that desires to read the holy Scripture with profit, is to make the best use of those things which are clear; and as to the Difficulties he meets with in it, not to be surpris'd at them, or strive to penetrate them, but only admire their depth. For as the Fathers observe, out of whom I cited some passages in the last *Section*; the holy Scripture has a simplicity which condescends to the meanest Capacities, and a height that exercises and raises the loftiest Wits. There are a great many clear and evident Truths in it, and there are also some things in it obscure. But that which ought to comfort the Simple in the midst of this obscurity, is that, according to *S. Austin* \*, those things which are most necessary to Salvation are propos'd in it so clearly, that all Persons may find them without any difficulty; and there is also this advantage, that what is deliver'd obscurely in some places, is explained clearly in others.

The third Disposition, is Teachableness and Humility, whereby a Person that reads the Holy Scripture, distrusts his own understanding, and being perswaded of the Truths taught him by the Church, instead of turning Dogmatist, and abusing the holy Scripture to authorize Novelties, inviolably adheres to the Faith of his Fathers and Pastors, and reads the Scripture only to be confirmed in the antient Doctrine of the Catholick Church.

The fourth Disposition, is to have an upright Mind and pure Heart, that we may not through malice corrupt the purity of the Holy Spirit, or abuse, by a manifest Depravation, what is most holy, to patronize irregular Courses. There are some Persons to whom the most wholesom nourishment becomes Poison through an ill habit of Body; and there are also Minds that give an ill turn to the most holy and excellent things.

The fifth Disposition, is to have a great Respect and profound Veneration for the holy Scripture, by considering it not as a common Book, but the Word of God himself. This Disposition is so much the more necessary, as the ill use which is made of the holy Scripture, proceeds ordinarily from the little respect Men have for it. And indeed what benefit should a Person get by the holy Scripture, that has no veneration for it, and reads it as a profane Book? As on the contrary, How can a Christian that reverences and admires it, be offended by it, or make use of it to scandalize others?

When Christians are in the Dispositions I have here mention'd, there is no danger that reading the holy Scripture will be prejudicial to them; it is on the contrary impossible it should not be very useful, or that they should not receive great advantage by it for their Salvation. Yea they may in these Dispositions safely read all the Books of the Bible. Nevertheless some, as I have already observ'd, are less useful, and others are more so, and almost necessary, to the simple: The New Testament, excepting the *Revelations*, and especially the Gospels are of this last number. It is a sin for a Christian to be ignorant of them. The *Psalms* are also of the same nature in the Old Testament: I may add the *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Ecclesiasticus*, and some of the Historical Books, without which the Oeconomy of Religion cannot well be understood. The Books of the Prophets are more obscure, but they contain a great many Truths, Instructions, Exhortations, Admonitions, and Reproofs, that may be very useful. There is only the *Canticles* in the Old Testament, and the *Revelation* in the New, the reading of which may not be so profitable, and may also be forbidden to weak Minds, liable to be offended by them.

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\* *Epist. 137. ad Voluf. de Doctr. Christ. l. 2. c. 9. n. 14.*

# C H A P. X.

Of the Style, Sense, and different ways of interpreting the Holy Scripture.

## S E C T. I.

Of the Eloquence of the Holy Scripture.

THEY are not only the Heathens, who, not finding in the sacred Writings that Politeness and Elegancy which is in Greek and Latin Authors, have accounted them barbarous and contemptible Books; there have been also Christians, and there are perhaps some still, who attending only to the terms and phrases of the Latin Version, and not finding them so elegant as those of profane Authors, or the Style so full of Figures, have been or are induced to think, that there is no Eloquence in the holy Scripture, and that the style of it is low and mean. But all that know how to judge rightly of things, and understand wherein true Eloquence lies, will easily be persuaded that no Book has more of it, than the Books of the Old and New Testament. In order to be convinced of this, and to take away all possible Doubts about this matter, we must examine wherein Eloquence consists. Now, that is the art of speaking in such a manner, as to instruct, delight, and move; *docere, delectare, movere*. To discourse to any purpose, it is necessary to speak intelligibly, agreeably, and affectingly. The first is performed by a plain and natural representation of things; the second by Rhetorical Ornaments, and by giving a pleasant turn to what we say; the third by significant Figures, and vehement Expressions, which excite suitable Passions in the Reader or Hearer's Mind. Common things also are to be deliver'd in a plain style, those of a middle sort in a higher, and great things in a lofty and sublime strain. In this consists true Eloquence, not in elegant Terms, variety of Expression, cadency of Words, and artificial Flourishes: For those things change with time, and are very different in different Languages; whereas true Eloquence is always and every where the same. It is therefore no Argument of want of Eloquence in the Books of the holy Scripture, that their Translation is full of barbarous Terms, and its Language neglected and unpolished: For, first, we ought not to attribute to the sacred Authors, the Defects of a Translation of their Books which they wrote in another Tongue, wherein they have made use of very proper terms, as *Origen* observes in his 7th Book against *Celsus*: "Thô, says he, the Greeks speak more gracefully, it must not presently be thought that they speak better than our Writers, who express themselves with a modest plainness; because the Prophets have left us Books written in Hebrew, with all the Ornaments proper to their Language." "You ought not, says *S. Jerom* in his Letter to *Paulinus*, to be offended with the simplicity, and, if I may so speak, meanness of the terms you meet with in the holy Scripture, which are owing to its Interpreters. Secondly, This seeming meanness has sometimes been reckoned necessary to make the holy Scripture more intelligible and familiar to the common People, as *S. Jerom* also observes in the same place, and *Chap. 40. on Ezekiel*, where he says, "That he was obliged to set *Cubitus* in the Masculine Gender, and not *Cubitum* in the Neuter, that it might be the more easily understood, and according to the custom of the People; because he was not so careful to avoid defects in Language, as to explain what might be obscure in the holy Scripture. *S. Austin* makes the same observation in his third Book of the *Christian Doctrin*, where he says, that the common way of speaking is often more significant than a more accurate form of expression: *Plerumque loquendi consuetudo vulgaris utilior est significandis rebus, quam integritas literata*. He carries this so far, that he thinks it better to leave in the Text the barbarous word *Ossum*, than change it for *Os*, in that passage; *Non est absconditum Os meum, Psal. 138*. But *S. Jerom* was not in this altogether of his mind, and thought that as long as there was no change made in the sense, Men ought to use proper terms, and retain



retain the purity and elegancy of the Language into which they translated: *Et nos hoc sequimur, ut ubi nulla est de sensu mutatio, Latini sermonis elegantiam conservemus*——  
*Eadem igitur interpretandi sequenda est regula, quam sepe diximus, ut ubi non sit damnum in sensu, Linguae in quam transferimus, idiomata & proprietates conserventur.* Epist. 135.  
 Thirdly, This Father proceeding upon that Principle, has made his Version more pure and elegant than the former Latin Translations, and cut off the grossest solecisms and barbarisms in them; but he has retain'd the Hebraisms, as also some common and old words; upon which account those that should attend only to the turn and purity of the Latin, might think it less elegant. But it must be confessed, (and that is a fourth Reflection) that in many places such a way of translating is much more noble, than a fordid affectation of elegant Latin; and that S. Jerom has more fortunately and emphatically expressed the sense, than if he had taken another turn. To be satisfied of this, we need only compare his Translation with other Versions, where the purity of the Latin is most studiously observed. Compare, for example, the translation of this passage at the beginning of *Isaiah*: *Audite Caeli, & auribus percipe Terra, quoniam Dominus locutus est: Filios enutrivit & exaltavit; ipsi autem spreverunt me. Cognovit bos possessorem suum, & asinus praesepe Domini sui; Israel autem me non cognovit, & populus meus non intellexit. Vae genti peccatrici, populo gravi iniquitate, semini nequam, filiis sceleratis; dereliquerunt Dominum, blasphemaverunt sanctum Israel, abalienati sunt retrorsum.* Compare, I say, this Translation with that of *Lion Juda*: *Audite Caeli, ausculta Tellus, quoniam Dominus loquitur: Filios educavi & evexi; ipsi autem perfide desciverunt a me. Agnoscit bos Dominum suum, & asinus praesepe Heri sui; at Israel non agnoscit, populus meus sese non intelligit. Heu gentem scelestam, populum iniquitate onustum, semen malitiosum, filios perditissimos! Deseruerunt ipsum Dominum, ipsum sanctum Israelis irritaverunt, & a tergo defecerunt.* This latter Version is, I confess, the purest Latin, but not near so emphatical or elegant as the former. The same comparison we may make as to many other places of the *Prophets* and *Psalms*; and we shall see almost every where, that the Vulgar Translation has something greater and more noble in it than any other Version, tho, it may be, it is not so exact as to Grammar. Fifthly, The Greek of the New Testament is indeed mixed with a great many Hebraisms; but that does not eclipse the beauty of its plain and natural representation of things, so becoming the Subject whereof it treats.

Without insisting any longer upon what relates to the words of the holy Scripture, let us examine whether it has all the parts of true Eloquence, which I distinguished after *Cicero*. The first is to instruct by a plain and clear representation of things. Now who can doubt but that the Sacred Writers are excellent in this kind? Is there any Relation written more simply and naturally, and at the same time more nobly and loftily than that of the Creation of the World? Where shall we find a History compos'd with more exactness and simplicity, than that of *Genesis* and *Exodus*? And tho the other Historical Books are not so lofty, nevertheless the same simplicity, without meanness, is observed in them. What Historians are comparable for representing the Life of any Person, to the four Evangelists? The second part of Eloquence, which is to please, may be either good or bad; for a Discourse may please, either by its real Beauty or by false Charms. A Discourse pleases by its true Beauty, when every thing in it is suitable to persons and things, when there is nothing in it superfluous; when the Expression is high and noble, and the Design just and great. It pleases by false Charms, when accompanied with vain Flourishes, a borrowed Lustre, affected Metaphors, and false Notions improved. The holy Scripture has not, I confess, these painted Ornaments; nor is it any defect of Eloquence not to have what may please in that kind: but it has enough to recommend it self from its own native Beauty. Its History pleases by its exactness; its Instructions are delightful through the lively and excellent manner in which they are propos'd; it has nothing in it poor, mean, or superfluous; and every thing in it is suitable to Persons, and the Subject: Things are there explain'd by Descriptions and Comparisons, which I confess are bold, according to the manner of the Eastern Nations, but exact and noble. In a word, the Style is adorn'd with necessary, easy, and natural Metaphors: on all which accounts the Scripture is capable of gaining upon those that understand the nature of true Eloquence. Thirdly, Nothing can be more fitted to move and affect, than the Expressions of the holy Scripture; it raises admiration by the sublime manner wherein it speaks of divine things; it strikes terror by the vehemence and force of its Expressions; it excites to a love of Virtue, and hatred of Vice, by the lively description it gives of both; it astonishes by the severity of its threatenings; it animates and encourages by the sweetness of its Promises; it inspires with

Zeal

Zeal through a divine Fire, of which it is full. In a word, it may be said there is no Book more proper to work upon the mind, or affect the heart, than the greatest part of the Books of the holy Scripture. But that which is most admirable in the Eloquence of the holy Scripture, is, that it is always accommodated to Persons and Things: Common matters are deliver'd in a plain Style; those of a middle nature in one more lofty, and great things in a sublime strain; and every thing in it is expressed in a grave, serious, majestick manner, suitable to the dignity of the Persons and Subject spoken of.

Nothing can be more judicious, than what *S. Austin* says of the Sacred Writers, in his fourth Book of the *Christian Doctrin*, Chap. 6. "Some will ask perhaps, says he, whether our Authors, whose inspired Writings make up the Canon of Scripture, ought not only to be esteemed wise, but eloquent. This Question seems to be easily answer'd; for when I understand them, I meet with nothing that appears to me not only more wise, but also more eloquent; and I dare say, that all who thoroughly understand what these Writers say, do also think they ought not to have spoken otherwise than they have done. For as there is a sort of Eloquence peculiar to young People, and another proper to aged Persons, and we ought not to call that Eloquence which does not become the speaker; so there is an Eloquence that suits with Men inspired and challenging respect: And this sort of Eloquence the sacred Writers have used. Any other kind of Eloquence would not have become them, and such Eloquence would not become others: *Nec ipsos decet alia, nec alios ipsa*: It suits with them; and the meaner it appears to others, the more it excels all other Eloquence, not in vain Pomp, but in real Grandure. I could, continues he, if I had leisure, shew that all the Charms and Ornaments of Eloquence, which those who prefer the Language of their own Writers to that of ours so much boast of, are to be found also in the holy Scripture. But that which pleases me in the Eloquence of the Sacred Authors, is not what is common to them with Heathen Poets and Orators; I admire a great deal more that they should make use of humane Eloquence, with another sort of Eloquence proper to themselves; so that as that is not wanting in them, it is not their greatest Excellency; because it was neither fit they should condemn it, nor make a shew of it. The former might have been suppos'd, if they had declined it; and the latter might have been imagin'd, if that sort of Eloquence had been too visible in their Writings. Even in those places where the Learned take notice of it, things are delivered in such a manner, that the words used to express them do not seem to be chosen by the Speaker, but to arise naturally from things themselves. This is a sort of Wisdom which proceeds out of the Heart of a wise Man, as being of his Household; and Eloquence, his constant Attendant, follows him without a call. He alledges afterwards several Examples of the Eloquence of *S. Paul*, and I shall mention some of the Eloquence of most of the Sacred Writers.

In the beginning of *Genesis* there is a touch of sublime Eloquence, which the Learned Critick *Longinus* admired, and cites for an Example of that way of writing: *And God said, Let there be Light, and there was Light*. This Expression, as the same Critick observes, is the most sublime and eloquent that can be imagin'd, to signify the Almighty Power and absolute Authority of God in the creation of Light, and the rest of the Creatures. That Expression also, *And God said, Let us make Man in our own Image*, is another stroke of Eloquence to shew the excellency of the Work that God was about to make. What can be more affecting, more natural, and at the same time more noble, than the Relation of *Abraham's* sacrificing his Son *Isaac*? It is not set off with idle Reflections, and rhetorical Flourishes; but it represents the natural Passions of the Mind in an admirable manner, capable of affecting the hardest Hearts: God says to *Abraham*, *Take thy Son, thy only Son Isaac, whom thou lovest: Tolle filium tuum unigenitum Isaac quem diligis*. Every word in this Command expresses how deeply *Abraham* must needs have been affected with it. But can there be a greater Instance of Wisdom, and at the same time more moving, than the answer which this Father made to his Son when he said to him, *Behold the Fire and the Wood, but where is the Lamb for a Burnt-offering?* *My Son*, says he, *God will provide himself a Lamb for a Burnt-offering*. Here it may be said, that Wisdom and an extraordinary Eloquence are join'd together. Let the plain Relation of *Moses* in this place be compared with that of the Historian *Josephus*, and we shall see what a difference there is between true and painted Eloquence. I shall add but one touch more of Eloquence in *Genesis*, tho it be every where full of it; and it is that where *Joseph* makes himself known to his Brethren: *Joseph*, says the Sacred Historian, *could no longer refrain himself—and lifting*



lifting up his voice with Tears—said, *I am Joseph; Doth my Father yet live? And his Brethren could not answer him, for they were troubled at his presence. And Joseph said to his Brethren, Come near me, I pray you; and they came near: and he said, I am Joseph your Brother whom ye sold into Egypt.* Can there be a more natural, lively, or affecting description of the tender respect of Joseph for his Father, and love to his Brethren? He makes them thoroughly sensible of the wrong and injury they had done him, and shews them at the same time that he stifled the Resentments he might have of it. No Orator in the World could have expressed these Passions more naturally and in fewer words.

The Relation of the Book of *Exodus* is plain in things purely Historical, but even and always the same. The Song of *Moses*, after having passed through the Sea, is wonderfully lofty. The Commandments and Laws of God are delivered in grave and grave and serious Terms; and if they be compar'd with any other Laws, it will soon appear, they as much excel them in loftiness of Expression, as in Wisdom and Contrivance. The same may be said of *Leviticus*, *Numbers*, and *Deuteronomy*; which last has this advantage in point of Eloquence, that it contains a Song in the divine Praises, to which there is nothing comparable in the most excellent Orators or Poets, either for loftiness or variety of Figures. I shall set down the beginning of it, by which we may judge of the rest: *Give ear, O ye Heavens, while I speak; and hear, O Earth, the words of my Mouth. My Doctrine shall drop as the Rain: my Speech shall distil as the Dew, as the small Rain upon the tender Herb, and as the Showers upon the Grass, &c.* All the rest is of the same strain, full of rich Comparisons, and noble Descriptions, and has a Majesty answerable to the grandure of the Subject, and which commands respect and admiration.

I say nothing of the other Historical Books, but only that there is no History more free from vain Flourishes, or written in a plainer Style, and yet none more pleasant to read: Yea, there are now and then such strokes of sublime Eloquence in them, as surprize and affect the Reader. A Man must have no taste of Eloquence, not to acknowledg there is a world of it in the Books of *Job* and the *Psalms*, and that a sublime strain of writing runs through all the parts of it. I alledg no Instance, because it is hard to determin which are the most eloquent Passages, the whole being equally lofty. It is sufficient to say that there is no such Grandure, or Variety of Figures, Descriptions, and Comparisons, in any profane Author, as in those Books.

The *Proverbs* and *Ecclesiastes* are, in the Rank of Maxims and Sentences, the most pure and eloquent; nothing comes near them in the Books of Philosophers. If we look for tenderness or softness, we shall find more of it in the *Canticles*, than in the Books of profane Writers.

If the principal business of an Orator is to affect and move, as the Antients have observed, it may be affirmed, that no People or Nation has had more excellent Orators than the Jews: for there are no Pieces so affecting as those of the Hebrew Prophets. The *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah* alone are an evident proof of it. Where shall we find a Writer that has described in so pathological a manner the desolation of his City? I shall take notice but of one touch, in which the whole art of Eloquence seems to be compriz'd: *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite & videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus: O all ye that pass by, behold and see if there be any sorrow like to my sorrow.* Here is excessive grief expressed in the most emphatical manner imaginable: He that complains is so miserable, that he has no body to address himself to; he is forced to implore the pity of Passengers; and his distress is so great, that he has no need of declaring it to them to excite their compassion; he only desires them to look upon him, and see whether there was any affliction parallel to his.

In the New Testament, the Gospels abound with noble Expressions, and the History is written in an even and uniform Style. The Songs of the Virgin *Mary*, and Prophet *Zechariah*, recorded by *St. Luke*, are very eloquent and suitable to the Subject. Nothing can be more lofty than the beginning of *S. John's* Gospel. The *Acts of the Apostles* are full, not only of perswasive but artificial Discourses. What can be more artificial than that of *S. Paul* in the *Arcopagus*, where the Apostle, taking an occasion from the Inscription of an Altar erected to the unknown God, tells them, to gain their benevolence, that he declared to them that God whom they ignorantly worshipped? He shews them at first what Reason could discover of him to Mankind, and what their Poets, whose Authority he alledges, had said of him. Thence he passes to things more unknown; and continuing to speak with the same Authority, is heard with Attention. What is there, I say again, more eloquent than this Discourse of *S. Paul* in the *Arcopagus*? Where shall we find more art, more cunning,

more dexterity used to compass his Design and Work upon the *Athenians*? No less appears in his Discourse before King *Agrippa* and the Governour *Festus*, and in his Reply to *Agrippa*. The Epistles of the same Apostle are full of Metaphors, and fine strokes of Eloquence, as *S. Austin* shews in Chap. 7. of his fourth Book of the *Christian Doctrin*: And the Canonical Epistles of the other Apostles, tho not so lofty, are written in an easy, pleasant, and familiar Style, very proper to instruct and move.

Some may object against this Doctrin that passage of *S. Paul* in the second Chapter of the First to the *Corinthians*, where he says, that "When he came to them to preach the Gospel of *JESUS CHRIST*, he came not with excellency of Speech, or of Wisdom, *Non in sublimitate sermonis aut sapientia*; and that his Speech and Preaching was not in the persuasive words of Man's Wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and of Power: *Non in persuasibilibus humana sapientia verbis, sed in ostensione Spiritus & Virtutis*. And in Chap. 11. of the second to the *Corinthians* he declares, "That he was rude in Speech, tho not in Knowledge: *Et si imperitus Sermone, non tamen Scientia*. But it was not *St. Paul's* design in that place to condemn all sort of Eloquence, or signify that he made no use of it, but only to teach the *Corinthians*, that there was something more powerful and effectual, necessary to make Men believe the Truth of the Christian Mysteries, than human Eloquence or Wisdom; and that his words would have had no effect, if they had not been accompanied and confirm'd by manifest signs of the Divine Power: *Domino cooperante & sermonem confirmante sequentibus signis*, Mark 16. vers. 20. This is the scope and design of the Apostle in that first passage: "*S. Paul*, says *S. Jerom*, in the first Book of his Defence against *Ruffinus*, being skilful in the Jewish Learning, and having been brought up at the feet of *Gamaliel*, (who after he became an Apostle, was called his Master) despis'd the Eloquence of the *Greeks*, or rather conceal'd it, out of humility; that the success of his Preaching might not be imputed to the persuasive Force of his Speech, but the Power of Miracles. He despis'd borrowed Ornaments, as having Excellencies enough of his own. But if he had been so very ignorant, *Festus*, when he stood and pleaded for himself before his Tribunal, would never have said to him: *Paul, thou art beside thy self; much Learning maketh thee mad*. When *S. Paul* therefore says, that *he was rude in speech*; it must be understood only as to elegance of words; or rather he says it by a Figure very common in Orators, who dissemble, or lessen the Opinion that others might have of their Eloquence, to insinuate what they say the more effectually; and indeed nothing can be more eloquent, than the very place where *S. Paul* says that he is not eloquent. Being forced, says *S. Austin*, to extol himself in that place, while he declares the folly of so doing, with what Wisdom and Eloquence does he perform it? His Discourse is not only lofty in it self, but has all the Ornaments that a variety of Figures and vehemence of Expression can give it; as all that read that 11th Chapter of the second to the *Corinthians* will easily see.

If some Fathers seem to have written, that the Sacred Authors were not eloquent, and that the Style of the holy Scripture was mean, they did not speak of true Eloquence; they meant only that the Sacred Writers had not affected that profane Eloquence which consists in Rhetorical Flourishes; but they never affirmed that there was no true Eloquence in the Sacred Books, and that their simplicity was mean and contemptible. On the contrary, they acknowledged them to have an inimitable Majesty and Grandure, very consistent with such a natural simplicity.

I shall only add to what I have hitherto said of the Eloquence of the holy Scripture, these excellent words of *Picus Mirandulanus*, in a Letter to *Hermolaus Barbarus*: "The holy Scripture, says he, is not only capable of persuading and moving; but it constrains, it drives, it forces: The words of the Law seem to be rude and barbarous; but they are powerful, full of Life and Fire, piercing and penetrating the most secret Recesses of the Soul, and transform the whole Man by a marvellous change. It is impossible to form a righter Judgment of the Style of the holy Scripture; and this Opinion is much more becoming, not only a Christian, but also a wise Man, than that of some Grammarians, who have had so little sense as to despise the Style of the holy Scripture, and dissuade Christians from reading it, for fear of corrupting their Style, whereas nothing can be more proper to form and elevate the Mind, and give it a true taste of Eloquence, than the Sacred Writings.



## S E C T. II.

*Of the Perspicuity and Obscurity of the Holy Scripture; Of the Causes of its Obscurity in some places, and the Means of overcoming it.*

THE Question concerning the Perspicuity or Obscurity of the holy Scripture may be treated either as a Controversy in Divinity, or with regard to Criticks. The state of the Question with respect to controversy is, Whether all Points of Faith are so clearly contained in the holy Scripture, that to understand them, there is no need of the Tradition or Authority of the Church? With regard to Criticks, the Question is, Whether the Books of the holy Scripture are perspicuously written; Whether that perspicuity be alike in them all; Whether there be not a great many obscure and difficult Passages, and what may be the causes of that Obscurity. Without meddling with the Question of Controversy, I shall confine my self to that of Criticks, and determine it in the following Reflections.

First; That the Sacred Authors having written, by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, things which God was pleased to reveal and make known to Men, it cannot have been their design to write them in an obscure and unintelligible manner; on the contrary it is to be suppos'd, that they spake as plainly as they could. It's true, there may have been times when God, being unwilling that certain Truths should be known to all Mankind, did not reveal them so clearly; but in a figurative and mystical manner. Thus the Prophets often spake, and JESUS CHRIST also spake to the common People of the Jews: He expressed his mind in Parables, *that bearing they might not understand*; but he explain'd himself clearly to his Disciples, *to whom it was given to understand the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven*. And yet tho the Sense of the antient Prophecies could not easily be discover'd before their accomplishment; nor the Parables of OUR LORD easily understood by all that heard them; both the Prophets and OUR LORD expressed themselves in familiar terms; and if there was any obscurity, it was not in their words, but the sense of their Prophecies or Parables; they were willing to have their Speech understood, but they would not have the Truths conceal'd under their words to be discerned by all Persons.

The second Reflection is, That JESUS CHRIST being come to teach Men all those Truths which God was pleased to reveal to them, and having permitted his Life and Doctrin to be written by his Evangelists and Apostles, in Books which were to be the Foundation and Rule of Christianity, it was agreeable to his Wisdom to provide that those Books should be written in a distinct and perspicuous manner; that Christians might easily discern the Truths they were obliged to believe, and the Rules which they were to practise. Nothing seems to be more contrary to the Goodness and Wisdom of God, than to suppose that the Books he has given Men, to teach them the Truths necessary for them to know in order to Salvation, are written so obscurely by the appointment of God himself, that very few Persons can understand them.

The third Reflection is, That the Truths most necessary to Salvation, whether as to Faith or Manners, are clearly enough expressed in the holy Scripture, to be easily understood by Persons of teachable Minds, and impartial inquirers into Truth. This S. Austin observes in his second Book of the *Christian Doctrin*, Chap. 9. "The Precepts, says he, relating to a good Life, and the Truths necessary to be believed, are clearly contain'd in the holy Scripture. And in his Letter to Volusian, "The things, says he, necessary to Salvation, and the Faith without which we cannot live virtuously, are not hard to find in the Scripture. S. Chrysostom says the same in several places: And this Assertion is not contrary to the Doctrin of the Church concerning Tradition; For tho the chief Articles of Faith, and most important Points of Morality are plainly enough contained in the Scripture; it does not thence follow that it comprehends every thing, or that Tradition is not necessary to confirm and explain the holy Scripture, or refute the false Interpretations that Hereticks put upon the plainest and most evident Passages of it.

The fourth Reflection is, That all things are not equally clear in the holy Scripture. Some of the Sacred Books are easier to understand than others; and the same Book,

Book, tho clear in some places, is obscure in others. The Historical Books have hardly any thing in them obscure, the Histories contain'd in them being related so familiarly and naturally that any one may understand them. If they have any difficulty, it is in Matters of *Chronology*; or in Circumstances, that make no change in the substance of the History. The Prophetical Books are more obscure in that which relates to the accomplishment of their Predictions; but they are also full of Precepts, Admonitions, Counsels, and matters of Fact, that have no manner of difficulty. The Sapiential Books, excepting the *Canticles*, contain hardly any thing but Moral Truths, easy to be understood by all Persons. The Book of *Job* is more obscure; but its obscurity proceeds from the abstruseness of the Subject in many places, and the figurative and poetical manner in which it is written. The *Psalms* are difficult in some places; but there are so many others easy to be understood, that the former are but few in comparison of them, especially if without adhering to the *Vulgar* we consult Translations of them made from the *Hebrew*. If we come to the New Testament, Is there any History in the World written with more plainness and simplicity, than that of the Evangelists? If it has any thing obscure, it is not in the relation of the Evangelists; but in the sublimeness of the Doctrin of *JESUS CHRIST*. There are in the Epistles of *S. Paul* some Passages hard to be understood; but how many Instructions, Precepts, Counsels, and other Truths are there, as clear as the Sun? The other Canonical Epistles are yet more plain. Lastly, The *Revelation*, how obscure soever it is in its Predictions, is clear, at the beginning, in its Counsels to the Angels of the Churches to whom they are directed.

The fifth Reflection is, That there are really some difficult and obscure Passages in the holy Scripture: which may proceed either from the Style, or things themselves. From the Style, (1.) When the signification of words is ambiguous and uncertain in the Original. (2.) When there occur any particular Idioms of the *Hebrew* or *Greek* Language, not common to other Languages. (3.) When the construction is intricate, and the words make different senses, according as they are differently join'd together. (4.) When any Errors have happen'd in the Text, that have alter'd its sense. (5.) When the different pronunciation or pointing of a *Hebrew* word changes its signification, and makes a different sense. (6.) When the Style is in it self obscure, because of Figures, Metaphors, Allegories, &c. The Poetical Books wherein such Figures are most used, are for that reason more difficult to understand than others. (7.) When the Writer passes from one Time, Subject, or Person to another, and interrupts his sense to begin a new one. Such Transitions are common in the *Psalms*, and Books of the Prophets, and often perplex those that are not accustomed to such a way of writing.

Things themselves occasion obscurity; (1.) When they are supernatural and above humane comprehension, such as the Mysteries of the Christian Religion. (2.) When the understanding of them depends upon things unknown, or which few are acquainted with. For Example, Some Passages cannot be understood without knowing some Custom or Ceremony formerly in use among the *Jews* or *Syrians*. And of those a great many are totally unknown, others known only by conjecture, and some cannot be discover'd without much study. The Sacred History is made obscure, and full of difficulties and seeming contradictions, by Circumstances not being expressed, which are not known, or not easily discovered; by our ignorance of the true situation of Places, the names of Provinces and Cities, and other Difficulties occurring in antient *Geography*. It has also its difficulties in *Chronology*, either as to making its Periods of Time agree with profane History, or reconciling seeming Contradictions in its account. And our ignorance of many other things necessary to be known in order to a perfect understanding of the Sacred Writers in some places, as the Names and Properties of Plants and Animals; of antient Weights and Measures; of the value and price of Coins; of common Arts and Sciences; of the customs of Countries, manners of their Inhabitants, their Laws, and Magistrates; of Proverbs and common Maxims among the People; of the Sects and different Opinions which then prevail'd, &c. Our ignorance, I say, of all these things, or the study that is necessary to become acquainted with them, render many places of the holy Scripture hard to be understood and explained, and makes it necessary to have a Commentary on them.

To master these Difficulties, and dive into the obscurity of the Sacred Writings; we must, (1.) When a *Hebrew* word is ambiguous, follow that signification which agrees best with the Context, and the antient Versions. (2.) We must learn *Greek* and *Hebrew*, and make the Jewish Idioms familiar to us. (3.) We must follow that construction that makes the best sense. (4.) When we find various Readings



in the Text, we must adhere to that which is most authoriz'd; and if it be corrupted, we must correct it by the antient Versions, as I before observed. (5.) I have also given Rules for overcoming the Difficulties proceeding from the different pointing of a word. (6.) We shall master those arising from Metaphors, Allegories, and other Figures, in the Poetical Books, by gradually accustoming our selves to them. (7.) Being admonish'd that the *Prophetical Books* and *Psalms* are full of Transitions from one Time, Subject, and Person to another; we may easily take notice of 'em, and perceive by things themselves, when the Writer has made such a Transition.

It is harder to overcome the Obscurity which arises from things themselves, especially that which depends upon the height and sublimity of the Christian Mysteries: Into which we must not attempt to penetrate, but submit our selves to the Divine Authority, and believe what we do not understand, as being satisfied that the things of God are above humane Comprehension. But for Difficulties which depend upon humane Knowledge; History, Chronology, Geography, the Customs and Manners of People, and on Arts and Sciences; we must apply our selves to the study of these things, and search into them as far as is necessary to understand the holy Scripture. But we must have a care of being too curious in those matters, or studying them too intently. If it be necessary, in order to explain the holy Scripture, to have recourse to humane Learning, or to treat of plain Questions relating to it, for the understanding of the Sacred Text; we must do it moderately, and when we cannot avoid it, and not make an Accessory of the Principal, by insisting at large upon Questions of Geometry, Geography, Chronology, Criticks, or Philology, on occasion of a passage of Scripture, as some Interpreters have rashly done. Yet it is absolutely necessary, in order to a thorough understanding of the Sacred History, and to overcome the Difficulties of it, to study diligently sacred and profane Chronology, sacred Geography, and what relates to the Ceremonies, Customs, Manners, and Laws of the Jews.

But after all, it must be confessed, that let our care and study be never so great, there will remain insuperable Difficulties in the holy Scripture, capable of exercising the most acute and discerning Persons. This is admirably represented by *S. Austin* in his 137th Letter to *Volusian*: "The depth, says he, of the holy Scripture, is so great, that I might make new discoveries in it continually, after I had taken all the pains in the world to understand it perfectly, beginning from my Childhood and continuing to an extreme old Age, and applying my self entirely to the study of it, without any diversion. Not, says he, because it is difficult to discern those things in it which are necessary to Salvation; but because when every one has learn'd out of it that Faith, without which it is impossible to live virtuously and religiously, there remains still a multitude of things conceal'd under mysterious Vails, to be discover'd by those who would attain to higher degrees of spiritual Knowledge. For there is such a vast height of Wisdom, not only in the words of Holy Writ, but also in its sense, that the most aged, subtil and inquisitive Persons, find that applicable to them which is somewhere said in the Scripture; *When Man thinks he has made an end, he is but beginning*. And some Pages after: "The Scripture way of speaking is so admirable, that whilst it lies open to all Mankind, there are hardly any that can dive into it. Where it is clear, it is like a familiar Friend that speaks without colour or artifice to the hearts of the ignorant and wise. And where it conceals its Truths under mysterious Expressions, it does it not in swelling Language, apt to discourage shallow minds, and deter them from approaching it, as poor Men are afraid to draw nigh the Rich; but it invites all Persons by the plainness of its Style, to come and feed upon its manifest Truths, and exercise themselves in discovering those which are conceal'd, while yet there is the same perfection of Light and Wisdom in both. But lest Men should be disgusted, if every thing in it were easy, it contains some things hard to be understood, that this may excite a desire of discovering them; and upon their discovery, Men may have a lively remembrance of them, and think of them with the greater pleasure. Thereby disorderly Minds are reduced, humble Souls are nourished, and the greatest Spirits are entertain'd with unspeakable delights.

The same Saint speaks of it in the same manner, in his Commentary on the 8th Psalm: "We may, says he, understand the holy Scriptures by the Heavens, which the Prophet says, are the Work of God's hands. For the Holy Spirit is the Finger of God, and by this Spirit the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament were dictated. Now God has brought down the Scriptures to the capacity of

Babes and Sucklings, according to that which is said in another Psalm: *God bowed the*

"the Heavens and came down: And this he has done because of his Enemies, who being Enemies to the Cross; their proud Eloquence being unable to endure its Humility; even when they speak truth, speak it in such a manner, that it can be of no use to Babes and Sucklings.

Nothing can be finer than what S. Gregory says about this matter in his Letter to Leander Archbishop of Sevil, wherein he sends him his Reflections on the Book of Job: "As the Word of God, says he, contains Mysteries capable of exercising the most discerning Minds, so it includes plain Truths, fit to nourish the most simple and ignorant. It carries in its Surface wherewithal to suckle its Children, and keeps in its secret Recesses that which may wrap up in admiration the most exalted Minds: being like a River whose Water is so shallow in some places, that a Lamb may wade in it; and in others so deep, that an Elephant may swim in it. He represents the same excellency in the holy Scripture, in the Preface of the 20th Book of his *Morals*, in these words: "The Scripture, says he, is incomparably beyond any other Doctrin, not only because it contains nothing but Truth, calls us to a heavenly Country, and changes the Hearts of those that read it, by taking them off from the love of sensible things, and inducing them to place their Affections upon Heaven; but because at the same time that by its obscurity it exercises the wise and perfect, it cherishes and comforts by its sweetness the imperfect and weak: it is neither so obscure as to discourage Men from reading it, nor so easy to be understood as to be contemptible: the more familiar we make it to our selves, the less we nauseate it; and the more we meditate on it, the more we love it: it eases our minds by the plainness of its words; and by the sublimeness of its sense, it seems to increase and grow, as they that read it grow and increase in knowledg; so that the most ignorant and simple understand something of it, and the learned and ingenious find it always new.

### SECT. III.

#### *Of the Sense of the Holy Scriptures.*

THE Sense of an Author or Book is, properly, that which their words plainly and naturally signify. But the same words may have two significations, the one immediate, and the other remote. All Metaphors have two significations or senses; the first is that of the Terms according to common use; the second, that of the thing signified by the metaphorical Terms: For Example, in this Metaphor: *Vicit Leo de Tribu Juda: The Lion of the Tribe of Juda has overcome*: The first Sense is that which answers to the Idea of the word *Lion*; and the second, is that which answers the Idea for which the name *Lion* is used in this place, that is, JESUS CHRIST, who is that Lion in the remote sense of the words, and the design of the Writer. The same may be said of Parables and Similitudes: they have an historical Sense, which agrees to things that have happen'd, or may happen; and at the same time they have another which agrees to the thing designed to be signified by the Parable or Similitude. The form of a Parable or Similitude is so accommodated to the thing intended to be represented, that 'tis easy to perceive the design of the Speaker is not to rest in that Description, but to signify something more. The History of the wicked Rich Man and *Lazarus*, has two Senses; an historical Sense, which relates to something that happen'd; and a moral Sense, to wit, an instruction to the Rich to be charitable to the Poor, that they may escape the Punishments of Hell, and be admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven. These two Senses are both proper and natural; the first is the Foundation of the second; and the History is so worded, that it is easy to perceive that we ought not to take up with the first Sense, but that JESUS CHRIST intended to signify something sublimer than the Fact he relates. The same may be said of the Parables of the *Samaritan*, and the *Prodigal Son*, and others: they contain a description of a probable Event, and at the same time have another more sublime meaning, which the words themselves sufficiently intimate: they may fitly be applied to the thing related; but in considering them, we may discover that they have a reference to something else. The same may also be said of Figures, and things figured: All Figures being to have a respect to things figured, if we con-



sider them as Figures, we speak at the same time of that which they represent: So that what is said has necessarily two proper and natural Senses; one that agrees to the Figure, and another to the thing figured. Sometimes the Figure is more evidently spoken of than the thing figured; but sometimes also such words are purposely chosen, as agree better to the thing figured than the Figure, to shew that what is said is but a Figure, and ought not to be rested in. The Old Testament is a Figure of the New: all those things which befel the Jews were Figures of whatever should happen to JESUS CHRIST and his Disciples: *Omnia in figura contingebant illis*, says the Apostle. But tho the chief Persons and principal Events of the Old Testament are Figures; yet some are more evidently such, and others more obscurely: some are written only as Histories, and left to be interpreted; and others are written so that we may plainly see they are but Figures, and their relation naturally and necessarily carries the Mind to something more lofty; such are many of the Prophecies of the Old Testament concerning JESUS CHRIST and his Church; they are capable of two Senses, that of the Figure, and of the thing figured: this latter is not an arbitrary, but a proper and necessary Sense, because the words themselves shew that the design of the Writer was to represent by a Figure something more sublime; as, for Example, when the Kingdom of David, or the Marriage of Solomon is spoken of in such lofty and magnificent terms, that 'tis visible the Writer intended to speak of something more sublime, that is, of the Kingdom of JESUS CHRIST, and his Union with the Church; to which what he says of the Kingdom of David, and the Marriage of Solomon, much more naturally agrees.

The first of these two Senses may be called the Literal Sense, if by the Letter be understood the immediate signification of the words; and the second, the Spiritual, if by Spirit be meant a more remote, but a natural and necessary signification of them. The Letter is that Sense which the Carnal Jews put upon the Law; the Spirit is the Sense which Christians apprehend under its terms. S. Paul seems to use the words *Letter* and *Spirit* in this Notion, when he says that the *Letter killeth, and the Spirit quickneth*; for the Letter which kills, is not the Letter rightly understood in all the Senses of which it is capable; but the Letter misunderstood, in the sense of the Jews, when Men take up with the Figure, without attending to the thing figured. The Spirit is not an Allegorical Sense, or that which is not grounded upon the Letter; but the excellent and sublime Sense comprehended under the Letter. Thus JESUS CHRIST, speaking to his Disciples, tells them: *Quæ dixi vobis spiritus & vita sunt*; *The words that I speak unto you are Spirit and Life*. The terms he used, naturally signified what he meant, but the Men of Capernaum misunderstanding those terms, did not apprehend the Spirit of them. But if by the spiritual Sense be understood an arbitrary one, which has no necessary connexion or dependence upon the words, and the signification of a Literal Sense be extended to any natural and proper Sense, it may be said that a Prophetical Sense is also literal. The Rabbins call the former a Sense according to the Sound, and the latter a Sense according to the Allegory. Origen says, that the first is according to the Letter, *πρὸς τὸ γράμμα*; and the other according to the Scope, *πρὸς διάνοιαν*. We may also call the first *κατὰ λέξιν*, a Sense according to the phrase; and the second *κατὰ σχῆμα*, a figurative Sense. Some also give to the spiritual Sense the names of *Mystical* and *Allegorical*; but those may be distinguish'd into several sorts; some that are evident, necessary, and naturally signified by the words, which require to have such a Sense put upon them; some that are more obscure and uncertain, because the Letter does not oblige us to understand them in that manner; some that are only Accommodations or Applications; and lastly, somethat are purely arbitrary, and depend on the Imagination. This is clear, and may be easily explain'd by Examples. These words of the second Psalm: *Filius meus es tu, ego hodie genui te*: *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, must necessarily be understood of JESUS CHRIST in the sense of the thing figured. The terms themselves here used, as well as the other expressions of that Psalm, shew that on occasion of David's Enemies, Victory and Kingdom, the Enemies of JESUS CHRIST, his Victory over them, and the establishment of his Church are spoken of; that the former are but a Figure, and the latter the thing figured. All Interpreters agree that this sense is proper, natural, and necessary: But many call it *literal*; others will not give it that name, because they only call the sense of the Figure or Parable *literal*, and give to the sublimer sense the name of *Mystical*, tho it be clearly signified and expressed in the words. This is a mystical sense of the first kind, a proper, intelligible, natural sense. There is a difference as to other mystical Senses which are not so clearly expressed: For tho  
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it cannot be doubted but they are true, yet it cannot be said they are necessary, that is, that in reading the words they must of necessity be apprehended. Such is the sense which *S. Paul* puts upon these words of the Book of *Kings*, in his Epistle to the *Hebrews*: *Ego ero illi in patrem, & erit ille mihi in filium*: I will be to him a Father, and he shall be to me a Son. Nothing in the Book of *Kings* obliges us to understand this of *JESUS CHRIST*; on the contrary, it seems to be said only of *Solomon*. Yet we cannot question the truth of the mystical Sense, according to which it has a respect to *JESUS CHRIST*, because the Apostle gives it that sense. There are some Senses which may be thought to agree to the Text only by accommodation, and are called by Interpreters *Accommodatitii*; such as the Application that *S. Paul*, in his first Ep. to the *Corinthians*, makes to the Pastors of the Church, of this passage in *Deuteronomy*: *Non alligabis os bovi trahenti*: Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that treadeth out the Corn: Which is meant literally of Oxen that stamp out the Corn with their feet. It is not necessary to say it has any other sense: and it is sufficient that it may be applied to the matter whereof *St. Paul* speaks. Lastly, There are some allegorical Explications purely arbitrary, which have no foundation in the Letter or History; of which kind the Works of *Philo*, *Origen*, and some other Fathers are full; as, for Example, when, according to some, *Lot* is a figure of the Person of *JESUS CHRIST*, and his Daughters of the two Testaments; or, according to *Origen*, *Lot* is the Law, his Wife the People of *Israel*, his Daughters *Jerusalem* and *Samaria*, and a great many such like, which are but Witticisms, capable of diverting and exciting the Hearer or Reader, and not true Explications of the Text.

The spiritual or mystical Sense is commonly divided into three kinds; the Allegorical, Tropological or Moral, and Anagogical. The Allegorical is, when a History of the Old Testament is interpreted concerning *JESUS CHRIST*, the Church, or some other Truth of the New; the Tropological, or Moral, when a History of the Old or New Testament is used to give Instructions concerning the behaviour; the Anagogical is that which has a respect to the happiness of another World. *Cassian* gives, for an Example of these three Senses, the name of *Jerusalem*; for, says he, *Jerusalem* may be understood four ways; according to the History, it is a City of the Jews; according to the Allegory, it is the Church of *JESUS CHRIST*; according to Anagogy, it is the Heavenly City; and according to Tropology, it is the Soul of Man. *S. Austin* is the first Father that distinguish'd these four Senses, in the first Book of his Commentary on *Genesis*. *Origen* distinguishes but three; the Literal, Spiritual, and Moral. *S. Jerom*, in his Letter to *Hedibia*, admits also three; the Historical, Tropological, and Spiritual. In the Historical, the Order of things is observ'd; in the Tropology, that which was visibly transacted among the antient People, is interpreted with a respect to Morality, that our Souls may receive benefit by it; in the Spiritual Theory, earthly things are omitted, to speak only of the future Happiness, and Heavenly things. *S. Cyril* and *S. Gregory* follow also this Division; but that of *S. Austin* is the most exact and common.

It must be also observed, that the Allegory, Moral, and Anagogy, may be differently managed; for those Senses may either be given to the History of the holy Scripture it self, or only made use of by way of Comparison, or Example, in discoursing of Doctrinal or Moral Truths. In this latter way, it is not designed to give the Sense of the holy Scripture, but only to make useful reflections on the History related in it. Some, for Example, apply the History of *Rahab*, and the two Messengers of *Joshua*, that shelter'd themselves in her house, to the New Testament; by comparing those two Messengers to the Apostles, sent by *JESUS CHRIST* into the World, which was figured by *Jericho*: and, they say, as the Messengers of *Joshua* saved that Woman upon the account of her Faith, and gave her for a Signal and Assurance of her safety, a scarlet Thred; so the Apostles deliver'd the Church, which was before prostituted to all manner of Wickedness and Pagan Superstition, by giving it, as a Pledg of its safety, the Blood of *Jesus Christ*, represented by that scarlet Thred. It is not to be thought that *Theodoret*, and other Fathers who made use of this Allegory, were perswaded it was the natural sense and signification of that History; it is only a turn they took to deliver the Truths of the Gospel, in a manner capable of engaging the attention of the Hearer or Reader; who are the more agreeably surpriz'd with such an Allegory, by how much the less they expect it. When a History is recited to serve for an Example of Virtue, or Vice; when the Circumstances of it are observed; when moral Reflections are made on it, and occasion thence taken to give pious Instructions; as is done by *S. Chrysostom* and *S. Gregory* in many places; that is not a spiritual or mystical sense given to the History, but rather



rather a Moral Commentary on it. When, lastly, any Event in this World is compared to what will befall us in the Life to come; as the introducing of the People of *Israel* into the Land of Promise, with the entrance of the Just into Paradise; it is not because it is pretended there is a natural and necessary relation between the one and the other; but it is only a Comparison made use of, to raise the mind of the Hearer or Reader to Truths more sublime, and of greater importance to their Salvation.

These things being suppos'd, it is easy to resolve all the Questions commonly put concerning the Sense of the holy Scripture. The First is, Whether the holy Scripture has more Senses than one; whether it has any other than the Literal; and whether a spiritual Sense, be a true Sense of the Scripture. I have shewn that there are Metaphorical, Parabolical, Allegorical, and Prophetical Passages in the Scripture, which have two real, proper, and necessary Senses; the Sense of the Terms, and of the Metaphor; the Historical Sense of the Parable, and its Moral Sense; the Sense of the Figure, and the thing figured; the Sense of the History, and the Prophecy: It must therefore be confessed that there are some places of Scripture which have really two Senses, a Literal and Spiritual. But if by a Spiritual and Allegorical Sense be meant an Arbitrary Sense, which is neither mediately nor immediately intended in the words; as an Allegory imagin'd in an Event which has naturally no relation to it; a plain and simple History turn'd into a Figure, when it does not appear to have been written under that Notion; an Action used to deduce a point of Morality; a Promise of Blessings merely temporal, interpreted of eternal Happiness; and many other such Applications or Accommodations, made of divers Passages in holy Scripture; it may truly be said, that such a Spiritual and Arbitrary Sense, tho it may serve for edification, is not the true Sense of Scripture.

The Second Query is, Whether a Proof can be drawn, or an Argument form'd from the Mystical Sense. This Question is resolv'd as the foregoing. If by the Mystical and Spiritual Sense, be understood a natural, proper, and necessary Sense of the thing figured, then it may be used to confirm a Doctrine, and Proofs or Arguments may be drawn from it. But if by a Mystical Sense be meant one that is Arbitrary, it cannot, as *S. Austin* observes, be used to establish any Principle; nor can any Proof be drawn from it, if such a Mystical Sense be not clearly express'd in other places of Scripture.

The Third Question depends also upon the same distinction. It is ask'd, If all places of Scripture have a Mystical Sense. If an Arbitrary one be intended, there is no passage but what is capable of it; but if a natural and proper Sense be meant, there are but few, and especially those of the Old Testament, which have both a Literal and a Mystical Sense.

A Fourth Enquiry is, Whether the same passage of Scripture may have several Literal Senses. The Resolution of this Question depends upon the *Idea* which is form'd of a Literal Sense. If by a Literal Sense be meant the immediate signification of the words, it must be confess'd that a single passage has but one Literal Sense: But if the name of Literal Sense be given to all proper, natural, and necessary significations of a Discourse; the same passage being capable of two, that of the words, and the thing; of the Figure, and the thing figured; it is true, that the same place of Scripture may have several Literal Senses.

The Fifth Question is, Which of the two Senses, the Literal or Mystical, is the first and principal, or was most in the intention of the Prophet and the Holy Ghost. Supposing the Sense of the thing figured be spoken of, and it be evident by the words, that what is written is a Figure, it is manifest that the Mystical Sense is the principal, because the Sense of the Figure is only for the sake of the thing figured in the intention of the Holy Ghost and the Prophet: as the principal design of one that uses a Similitude or Parable, is not to propose that Similitude or Parable, but the thing he would represent by those Figures. This being so, it must be acknowledg'd that the Prophetical Sense is that which ought to be principally regarded in Prophecies. But because for the right understanding of a thing figured, the Figure, which is used only to represent it, must be explain'd; as in order to a right understanding of things represented by Similitudes or Parables, the terms of the Similitude or Parable must first be understood; it is necessary to explain in the first place, the Historical Sense, upon which the Prophetical Sense is grounded. And whoever should think this strange, would be as ridiculous as he who should think it amiss to explain the History of the *Rich Man* and *Lazarus*, or the Parables of the *Samaritan* and *Prodigal Son*, to interpret all the Terms used in them, and apply them

them to the Persons mentioned in those Histories or Parables, tho it is evident they were written to signify something more sublime and lofty. Nor is it to be imagin'd, that when a Passage of the Old Testament is cited in the New, by the Evangelists or Apostles, as a Prophecy of JESUS CHRIST, we may not look for an Historical Sense in it, upon which the Prophetical is grounded. It would be impious to question the truth of the Sense put upon it by the Holy Ghost, by the Mouth of the Evangelists and Apostles; but it would be a groundless Pretence, that some of those Prophecies have no other sense in the place whence they are taken. Nay it may be said, that those who should stiffly defend such a Pretence, and maintain that the Evangelists and Apostles would have argued ill, if any of the Prophecies they alledged, to prove that JESUS CHRIST was the *Messias*, could agree to any but him: It may, I say, be affirmed, that those who should insist upon this, would do great wrong to the Christian Religion, and put Weapons into the hands of our Enemies. For it being evident, that the Apostles and Evangelists cite, as Prophecies concerning JESUS CHRIST, Passages that are or may be understood in a literal Sense, of other Persons than JESUS CHRIST; if all Prophecies must have but one Sense, to serve as Proofs, and be true Prophecies, the Jews will be sure to infer, that the Evangelists and Apostles designed to impose upon Men, by citing Passages which had quite another Sense. If any one should tell them, they have no other, he would make himself ridiculous, and confirm them in their Error, by defending the Cause of Religion so weakly. But if it be answer'd, that those Passages have two Senses, the Historical and Prophetical, the Sense of the Figure and of the thing figured; if that be proved by those Passages themselves, by the Consent of the Antient *Jews*, and the late *Rabbins*; if they be shewn that 'tis easy to discover the Spiritual Sense; that it is clearly signified in many places; nay that often the Words and Letter properly and naturally agree to JESUS CHRIST, and cannot be spoken of others but improperly and metaphorically: Thereby the Proofs alledged by the Evangelists and Apostles will be solidly vindicated; and the Enemies of the Church have Reasons given them which they will think probable, tho their obstinacy or prejudice should hinder them to be perfectly convinc'd thereby.

It is certain there are a great many Passages cited in the New Testament as Prophecies of JESUS CHRIST, which have another sense in the places whence they are taken: This is a Truth about which all are agreed, and if Examples of it were desired, it were easy to produce several. I shall mention some that have already been alledged by Authors who have treated of these matters. *S. Matthew*, in the first Chapter of his Gospel, produces as a Prophecy of the Massacre of the Children by *Herod*, these words of the Prophet *Jeremiah*: *In Rama there was a Voice heard, lamentation, and weeping, and great mourning; Rachel weeping for her Children, and would not be comforted, because they are not.* These words, according to the judicious Remark of the Bishop of *Avanches*, signify primarily the Calamities that befel the *Bethlehemites* in the time of that Prophet, and the Cruelty which the *Babylonians* at that time exercised towards them; and secondarily, the Massacre of the Children of *Bethlehem* by the Order of *Herod*. There is just such another Citation, some Verses before, out of the second Chapter of the Prophecy of *Hosea*: *I have called my Son out of Egypt*: For those words, as *Bonsferius* and all Interpreters observe, are to be understood literally in *Hosea* of the People of *Israel*; and spiritually of JESUS CHRIST. In the 13th Chapter of the same Gospel, *Vers. 35.* it is said, that JESUS CHRIST spake in Parables, to fulfil that saying of the Prophet: *I will open my mouth in Parables; I will utter things that have been kept secret from the Foundation of the World.* The Prophet cited in that place, says *Bonsferius*, is *Asaph*, who wrote the 77th *Psalms*: He said this of himself in a Literal Sense, and in an Allegorical Sense of JESUS CHRIST, of whom he was a Figure. The Evangelist uses also as a Prophecy of the Passion of JESUS CHRIST, that Law in *Exodus*, *His Bones shall not be broken*; which is to be understood in *Exodus* of the Paschal Lamb. The Gospels are full of such Citations of Passages out of the Old Testament, which in the places whence they are taken, have an Historical Sense, whereon the Prophetical, followed by the Evangelists, is grounded. It cannot be said that it is only an Application or Accommodation which they make of them; because they declare them to be Prophecies, and that the Event they spake of, happen'd that those Prophecies might be fulfilled, and make use of them as Arguments to prove that JESUS CHRIST was the *Messias*. Will it be said, that they were mistaken in supposing them to be Prophecies, or that they made use of deceitful Proofs? That would be intolerable profaneness.



faneness. Will it be said, that the Passages they alledg have no other sense than that which they attribute to them? That is evidently false. It must therefore be own'd that they have two Senses, one Historical and the other Prophetical, both true, real, and agreeable to the design of the Holy Ghost.

The Apostles S. Peter and Paul also very often use passages of the Old Testament in another sense than what they have in the places whence they are cited, and yet we cannot accuse them of false reasoning, or alledging insufficient Proofs of what they affirm. This S. Jerom observes in his Apology to Pammachius, wherein to justify himself for having, in his Books against Jovinian, alledged some Arguments against that Heretick, which did not seem to be direct and cogent; he produces the Example of the Greek Fathers, Origen, Methodius, Eusebius, and Apollinarius, who had used such Proofs against the Enemies of Religion, as were not conclusive: *Considerate, says he, quibus argumentis, & quam lubricis problematibus Diaboli spiritu contexta subvertant.* He adds that he would not alledg the Example of the Latin Fathers, as Tertullian, S. Cyprian, Minutius, Victor, Lactantius, and S. Hilary, for fear it should be thought he had a design to accuse others, rather than defend himself. But to shew that he had reason to do as he did, he produces the Example of the Apostle S. Paul. "Whenever, says he, I read him, methinks they are not words, but claps of Thunder that I hear. Read his Epistles, and especially those he has written to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, in which he disputes against his Adversaries; and you will see with what skill and art he manages the Testimonies that he cites out of the Old Testament; *Videbitis eum in testimoniis quæ sumit de Veteri Testamento, quam artifex, quam prudens, quam dissimulator sit ejus quod agit.* His words seem to be unstudied, and look as if they came from an ignorant and rustical Person, who knows not how to lay an Ambush, or to escape one; but consider them on all sides, and they are like so many Thunderbolts. He keeps close to his Point; he takes all Advantages; he retreats sometimes, the better to assault his Enemy; he makes as tho he fled, to gain the Victory over him. Shall we therefore calumniate him and say, that the Testimonies he brings against the Jews, or other Sects, have one sense in the places out of which they are taken, and another in his Epistles? *Calumniemur ergo illum, atque dicamus ei, Testimonia quibus contra Judæos vel cæteras Hæreses usus es, aliter in suis locis, aliter in Epistolis tuis sonant.* This reasoning of S. Jerom proves, that tho the Apostle Paul makes use of several passages of the Old Testament to confute the Jews, which have not the same sense in the places from whence he cites them, with that he puts upon them; it must not therefore be thought that the Arguments he draws from them are of no weight; because, as the same Father says in other places, one single passage of Scripture has several Senses; *In verbis singulis multiplices latent intelligentiæ;* and the sense of the thing figured supposes that of the Figure.

I will not stand to produce any Passages taken out of the Discourses of S. Peter or S. Paul, which are contained in the Acts, or the Epistles of this latter Apostle, to shew that they alledg, as Prophecies, some Passages, which have, or may have another sense in the places out of which they are taken; because that is certain, and a thing of which no body doubts. All Interpreters commonly cite for Example, this passage in the Book of Kings, alledged in the first Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews: *I will be his Father, and he shall be my Son: Ego ero illi in Patrem, & ille erit mihi in Filium:* which is spoken Historically of Solomon, in the Book of Kings, and applied by S. Paul to JESUS CHRIST, in a Prophetical Sense.

The Sixth Question is, Of what benefit a Mystical Sense may be; what use should be made of it; and how it may be abused. We must here also distinguish between true Allegorical Senses and Imaginary. As to those we know to be true, either by the Words themselves, or the Authority of the Sacred Authors, we cannot err in following them; but for those that depend upon the Imagination of Interpreters, they may be abused several ways.

1. By neglecting or destroying the Literal Sense, to obtrude only Allegories. This fault the Antients charged upon Origen: They accused him of having destroyed, by his Allegories, the Truth of the History, and render'd the Literal Sense contemptible: And indeed that Father in some places does not scruple to say, that the Literal Sense is not edifying; that it should not be rested in; and that the Scripture ought to be understood in an Allegorical manner. He is accused particularly of having allegorized what is said in the Scripture of the Earthly Paradise, so as to make the Truth of the History utterly void, by substituting Angels in the room

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of Trees; Heavenly Virtues in the place of Rivers, and, in a word, of making all that is said of the Earthly Paradise to be nothing but an Allegory.

2. Men may abuse an Allegorical sense, by pretending that an Arbitrary sense is the true sense of Scripture, and that which the Sacred Writer, or at least the Holy Spirit intended. This is to obtrude ones own private Conceptions for the Divine Oracles; which S. Jerom charges likewise upon Origen, who expatiates, says that Father in the Preface to the fifth Book of his Commentary on *Isaiah*, in Allegories, and explaining words according to his own fancy, makes Sacraments of the Church of his own Inventions: *Ingenium facit Ecclesie Sacramenta*. And in his Commentary on the 29th Chapter of *Jeremiah*, having recited an Allegorical Explication of Origen, whom he calls *Delirus Interpres*, he reproves his Disciples for thinking, that while they read such things, they were reading Divine Mysteries. S. Austin judiciously observes as to this matter, in his first Book of the *Christian Doctrin*, Chap. 36. That those who fasten upon the words of Scripture a sense tending to promote the Love of God and our Neighbour, tho they do not say what the Sacred Writer designed in that place, are not, it's true, in a pernicious Error; but are nevertheless mistaken; and tho whilst they are mistaken they promote Charity, they ought however to be rectified and made sensible how much better it would be to keep in the streight Path, lest by forsaking it they should fall into Precipices.

3. Men may abuse an Allegorical Sense, by inventing forced and farfetch'd Allegories, which have no Foundation in the Scripture, or in the Analogy of the Figures of the Old and New Testament.

4. By insisting too much upon Mystical and Allegorical Senses, and imagining that to be the best way of interpreting holy Scripture. It is a very great error to neglect the Literal sense, which is certainly that of the Sacred Writers, and the Holy Ghost, to apply our selves wholly to merely Arbitrary senses, which have no certain Rule. This is to leave solid Food, to feed upon Fancies. Such Commentaries give Interpreters a great deal of trouble, because they are forced to torture their Imaginations, to find out continually something new; and are of little use to the Hearer or Reader: for such continued Allegories require great Attention, instruct little, and persuade less.

However, it is not amiss to use Allegories sometimes, in order to excite the Reader or Hearer, and keep up his Attention, provided it be done sparingly: and on such occasions it is more proper to keep to those that are known, and received in the Church, and authoriz'd in the Writings of the Holy Fathers, than to propose new ones of our own invention.



## S E C T. IV.

*Of the different Ways of interpreting the Holy Scripture, and divers sorts of Commentaries on the Bible.*

THE Ways of interpreting holy Scripture may be different, either as to their Form and Method, or their Subject and Matter. I shall begin with distinguishing the different Ways of interpreting the Scripture with respect to Method: And then I shall speak of the different Matters that may be treated of in Commentaries on the Scripture.

The first Method of explaining the holy Scripture, is that which is called a *Paraphrase*, when the Text is render'd more largely in other words, with an Insertion of what may serve to clear it. This was an ancient Method among the Jews, who interpreted the *Hebrew* Text by paraphrasing it in *Chaldee*, as I have before observed. But it was not so common among the Primitive Christians; and 'tis chiefly in these last Ages that some Interpreters have used it to explain certain Books of the holy Scripture. This Method may nevertheless be useful, especially in the most difficult Books and Passages of holy Scripture, which a good Paraphrase may render intelligible: but there is this inconveniency in it, that it determines the sense of the Text, without alledging a reason for it; so that the judgment of the Paraphrast must, if I may so speak, be blindly follow'd, because we cannot be certain that he has given the true sense. For which reason it is proper to join a Commentary to the Paraphrase, to render a reason of the Interpretation given in the Paraphrase.

The second Method which may be taken, is to write *Scholia*, or short Notes, that are commonly put in the Margin, to illustrate the most difficult places, either by remarking the various Readings of the Text or Translations, or explaining the proper signification of words, or briefly clearing the difficulty of the Text, or noting the different Senses that may be put upon it. *Origen* made such *Scholia* as these upon all the Bible, in which he briefly and concisely illustrated those Passages he thought obscure and difficult. It was the first of three sorts of Works written by that Father upon the holy Scripture, according to the Testimony of *S. Jerom* in his Preface to the Version of *Origen's* Homilies on *Ezekiel*: *Primum ejus excerpta, quæ Græcè σχόλια nuncupantur, in quibus ea quæ sibi videbantur obscura, atque habere aliquid difficultatis, summatim breviterque perstrinxit.* This the same Father in his Commentary on *S. Matthew* calls, *Commaticum Interpretationis genus*; because such *Scholia* were to be written in a close and concise Style. After *Origen's* time this way of interpreting the holy Scripture was much neglected by other Fathers, who for the most part made very prolix Commentaries on the Sacred Text. And yet it may be affirmed to be very useful for explaining the Letter, and that several ingenious Interpreters of late times have with reason followed this Method, and written very learned Marginal Notes on the holy Scripture.

The third Method, is that of *Glosses* or interlined and Marginal Explications, introduced by *Walafridus Strabo* a Monk of *Fulde*, and Scholar to *Rabanus*, who lived in the ninth Century, and whose *Gloss* was a great while commonly used in the Church, under the name of the *Ordinary Gloss*. But he having done little else than abridged the Commentary of his Master *Rabanus*; his *Gloss* is not a literal Explication of the Text, but a Collection of several Sentences of the Fathers, which *Rabanus* had inserted into his Commentaries. The interlined *Gloss* which should have been a plain Explication of the obscure words of the Text, contains also a great many mystical Interpretations and useless Remarks. And therefore those *Glosses*, tho they were very much esteemed in darker times, were afterwards neglected and despis'd, and this Method, which was inconvenient for the Reader, laid aside.

A fourth Method may be that of the *Postilles*, which is a barbarous Term derived from the words *Post illa*; because *Post illa verba* was put at the beginning of a Note, to signify the place to which the Explication referred. This name was commonly

monly given in the twelfth and thirteenth Centuries to all sorts of Commentaries on the Bible; and tho it seems applicable only to short and literal Notes, yet it was often attributed to large, and allegorical or moral Commentaries. So that the *Postilles* cannot properly be taken for any particular sort of Commentary.

The fifth Method of explaining the holy Scripture, the most common in antient times, and which the Fathers most frequently used, was by Homilies or Discourses to the People, which the Latins formerly called *Tractatus*, and are now styled Predications, Prones, or Sermons; for the usual business of the Fathers in their preaching, was to explain the holy Scripture. It was read in the Church, and they expounded it gradually as it was read. This had been a common practice among the *Jews*; the Apostles had retain'd it, and the Church generally used it in the Primitive Times. In those Homilies, the Fathers commonly interpreted first the Letter of the Text, when there was any difficulty in it, to make it intelligible to the People, and afterwards passed to the Allegory or Moral. Yet sometimes they neglected the Literal Sense, and often dwelt but very little on it: Nor did they trouble themselves much to examin whether they followed the true Sense, provided that which they gave was proper to instruct Believers in some truth, and edify them in Virtue: So that we must not expect to find all the exactness of a literal Commentary in those Homilies.

The sixth Method of interpreting the holy Scripture, is called a *Commentary*: for tho that Term be general, and agree to any Explication whatever, yet it is peculiarly taken for an Interpretation of a just length, made with care and pains. Since *Origen's* time, several Greek and Latin Fathers have made such Commentaries on the Bible; it was their principal study, and the business to which they most commonly applied themselves. But such Commentaries are very different one from another: for some of the Fathers insisted very little upon the Letter, that they might enlarge upon Allegories and Moral Considerations, as *Origen*, *S. Ambrose*, and *S. Austin*; but others made it their principal business to explain the Letter, as *S. Jerom*, *S. Chrysostom*, and *Theodore*; and others lastly entirely confined themselves to it, as most of our late Commentators.

The seventh Method of explaining the holy Scripture, is that which the Writers of the eighth, ninth, and following Centuries have taken, by compiling the Commentaries of different Authors. Such Collections were called *Chains*; because they were composed of a great many Passages of divers Authors joined, and, as it were, chained together. *S. Jerom* had already done something of the same nature, in inserting in his Commentaries, the Interpretations of several Writers: But *Cassiodorus*, *Bede*, *Rabanus*, &c. among the Latins; and among the Greeks, *Procopius of Gaza*, *Nicetas* or *Olympiodorus*, and many others made it their chief business, which required very little but Eyes to read, and Hands to transcribe. However, their labour ought not to be despis'd: For besides that by this means a great many Fragments of antient Commentaries have been preserv'd, it is a great advantage to see the different sentiments of several Writers about the sense of any passage together, and in the same Book. But to make these Collections the more useful, they should be made with choice, and none but good Commentaries be inserted in them; which few of those makers of *Chains* had skill enough to distinguish. The latest Compilations which have been made, either of many entire Commentaries together, in the large Bible, and the great Criticks of *England*; or of Commentaries abridged, as it is in the *Synopsis Criticorum*, are of very great use. But the former have this inconveniency, that the same things are often repeated in several Commentaries; and the latter this, that there is a great deal of confusion and obscurity in it. Yet they are very good Books, and such as a Man cannot be without that would arrive to a thorough understanding of the holy Scripture.

The eighth Method of explaining the holy Scripture, is by *Questions* and *Answers*. *S. Austin*, *Theodore*, and some other Ecclesiastical Authors, made such Questions upon several Books of the Bible; in which they treat of the most important Queries that may be propos'd about those Books, and explain the greatest difficulties. This Method is very useful and convenient, provided the Interpreter confines himself to the discussion of such Questions as may conduce to the understanding of the Text, and does not meddle with curious and impertinent Inquiries, that have little or no relation to what he is upon.

The ninth Method is, to make long Discourses or Treatises upon the main scope of any of the Sacred Books, and give a large account of the Subject of them.

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Thus several of the Fathers commented upon the six days Work; that is, the Creation of the World, related in the beginning of *Genesis*, wherein they largely insist upon divers Questions that might be put upon that Subject. Others have treated of particular Heads in their Commentaries on certain Books, as *S. Ambrose* of Fasting, on occasion of the History of the Prophet *Elias*; of Usury on the Book of *Tobit*, &c. In like manner when Scholastick Theology began, certain Divines, as *Richard* of *S. Victor*, instead of explaining the Sacred Text, treated of Questions of Divinity and Philosophy in their Commentaries; if yet Treatises not made to explain a Book, but about other matters, may be properly called such.

The tenth Method of explaining the holy Scripture, is by Summaries or Abridgments. Thus *Peter Comestor* endeavoured to make the Bible familiar by his Scholastical History, which contained an Abstract of all the Sacred History, with some Explications of the Fathers. And that Book was formerly of great use in times of darkness and ignorance: but at present such Abridgments are only fit for beginners, to give them a taste of the holy Scripture.

The last Method of explaining the holy Scripture, is by treating distinctly of things requisite to be known in order to understand it; as of the Authority of the Sacred Writings, the Authors of the Text, of Translations, Sacred Geography and Chronology, of Weights and Measures, the Laws and Customs of the Jews, and many other things necessarily relating to the Sacred Text, which cannot be well explain'd when they are unknown, and by the help of which it is easy to solve most of the Difficulties that occur in it. These Treatises are generally called *Prolegomena*, *Apparatus*, or *Preliminary Dissertations* on the Bible, which are very antient and of excellent use, as I have shewn in my Preface to this Book.

Commentaries on the holy Scripture, with respect to the Matter of them, may be divided into *Allegorical* or *Mystical*, *Dogmatical*, *Moral*, and *Literal*. The *Allegorical* are those which instead of explaining the Letter, consist of Allegorical and Mystical Interpretations, of an arbitrary kind. This way of interpreting the holy Scripture, was transmitted by the Jews to the Christians: It was in use among the Primitive Jews a great while before OUR SAVIOUR'S Time. *Aristobulus* the Jew had made use of it in his Commentaries on the *Pentateuch*. *S. Paul*, who was skilful in the Jewish Learning, often uses Allegories in his Epistles; and especially in that to the *Galatians*, Chap. 4. vers. 24. where speaking of the two Sons of *Abraham*, one by the Bondwoman, and the other by the Freewoman, he says they were an Allegory, ἀνὰ ἑνὶ ἀλληγορούμενα, and that those two Women were the two Testaments, that is, as *S. Chrysostom* explains it, a Figure of the two Testaments, as *S. Paul* also says in that place. The Jews of *Alexandria* improved this way of interpreting the holy Scripture, above the rest. *Philo* observes, that the *Therapeutæ* had antient Commentaries made by the Founders of their Sect, full of Allegories; and that they interpreted the holy Scripture in a figurative manner by Allegories, conceiving the whole Law to be like a living Creature, whose Body was the Letter, and the Soul the hidden and mystical Sense. That Author himself followed this way of writing, and applied himself wholly to it. By him, as *Photius* observes in *Cod. 105.* an allegorical way of interpreting the holy Scripture was introduced into the Church with so much excess. The Masters of the School of *Alexandria*, *Pantenus*, *S. Clement*, and especially the famous *Origen*, brought it up in the Greek and Latin Church. For by this last most of the Greek and Latin Fathers, till *Diodorus* of *Tarsus*, took pattern in commenting on the holy Scripture, and often did no more than transcribe or translate his Commentaries, and other Treatises. In following Ages the Fathers did not altogether leave of allegorizing; and tho they were more careful to explain the Letter, yet they commonly joined Allegorical Explications to the Literal Sense, some more, and others less; and sometimes made Commentaries purely Allegorical. *S. Jerom* acknowledges, that when he was young, being charm'd with mystical Interpretations, he had made a Commentary on the Prophet *Obadiah*, merely allegorical; which was read and approved by some. But he saw afterwards that that Commentary did not merit the Reputation it had gain'd, and says himself that he wonder'd upon that occasion, how it was possible, tho a Man wrote never so ill, he should find a Reader who had as little judgment as himself; that his Book had met with one who commended it before his Face, whilst he blush'd at it; and who extoll'd his mystical Interpretations to the Skies, whilst he hung down his head to conceal his shame: *Fateor, miratus sum quod quantumvis aliquis male scripserit, invenit Lectorem similem sui: ille prædicabat,*

*cabat, ego erubescbam: ille quasi mysticos intellectus ferebat ad Cælum; ego demisso capite consiteri pudorem meum prohibebat.* S. Austin had undertaken in his Youth a Work of the same nature, upon *Genesis*: But he acknowledges in his Confessions, that his skill fail'd him upon trial, and that he was oblig'd to desist from his Work before he had finish'd the first Book. This shews how difficult it is to succeed in Allegorical Commentaries, where the Mind must have a constant supply of new Thoughts, and the whole System be even and uniform. However, this difficulty did not deter some Fathers from applying themselves wholly in their Commentaries to an Allegorical way of interpreting; and those, as S. Bernard, who with an extraordinary Piety had a lively Invention and a solid Judgment, succeeded in it; but those in whom any of these were wanting, easily miscarried in the execution of so difficult an Enterprize. The most antient Commentaries of the Jews on the holy Scripture, which are call'd *Midraschim* and *Rabbotb*, are not only full of Allegories and witty Inventions, but also of Jewish Fables and Superstitions obruded under the specious name of Tradition. This Method the *Talmudists* or *Rabanists* followed, who also made use of the *Cabalistical* Method, which I before explain'd, to discover hidden and mystical Senses in the holy Scripture. But these, as I have shewn, are vain Subtilties; and it may be affirmed that those antient Commentaries of the Jews are utterly useless. And accordingly the Modern Jews have taken another Method in their Commentaries on the Bible. I shall add nothing here to what I have said in the former Section, of the good or ill use that may be made of Allegories: What I have said in that place, may suffice to shew what we are to think of Allegorical Commentaries; they may serve to instruct and divert the Hearer or Reader, but contribute nothing to the understanding of the Text.

*Dogmatical* Commentaries generally divert the Reader yet more from a right understanding of the Text. Those are particular Treatises about certain Doctrins, or Articles of Faith, and not Explications of the Scripture. It belongs to a Commentator to explain those Passages of Scripture which relate to Faith and Manners, according to the Sense of the Church; but to make a long digression, and treat expressly of a particular Doctrin on occasion of a Passage, is to exceed the bounds of a Commentary, and to undertake another Work. Nevertheless some Fathers, and among others S. Cyril of *Alexandria*, have used this liberty in their Commentaries; and many late Expositors have also swelled theirs with Questions about Controversies in Religion, and other matters, and thereby render'd them burdensom and tedious. Nay some, not being contented to treat of Questions in Divinity, have mixed with them Questions of Philosophy, History, Criticks, Philology, Grammar, &c. Several of our Modern Commentators have been guilty of this fault; and a great many Jews, who on occasion of a word often make a long digression, and put into their Commentaries all they understand of Philosophy, Mathematicks, or any other Science.

*Moral* Commentaries are more useful, and keep more strictly to the Letter and Subject: for either the Moral Truth propos'd, is comprehended in the natural sense of the Letter of the Scripture, and then it is a literal Explication; or a History or Example of the Scripture is made use of to inculcate a Virtue, and dissuade from Vice, and then it is an application which is made of the literal or historical Sense; which cannot but be very useful, especially in expounding the holy Scripture to the People. This Method S. *Chrysostom* made excellent use of in his Homilies to the People; in which after having exactly explain'd the literal and historical Sense, he concludes with a moral Exhortation, grounded upon the History related in the Text, or on some particular passage. There is a third sort of moral Commentaries which agree with the mystical kind, viz. when the Moral is not grounded on the historical or literal Sense of the words, but an Allegorical interpretation of them. Such are the moral Commentaries of S. *Gregory*, and some other Fathers, which tend very much to the edification of Believers, but are not Expositions of the Scripture.

Lastly, *Literal* Commentaries are those in which the Interpreter applies himself to explain the true sense of the words of the Scripture: Yet not confining the true Sense to the immediate signification of the terms and phrases; but taking in all the proper, natural and necessary Senses of the Sacred Text: So that the allegorical Sense of the first kind has a place in such Commentaries, as well as the signification of the Terms. Tho the Antient Fathers seem to have applied themselves more to the allegorical Sense than the Literal, in their Discourses and Commentaries directed to the Christians, yet they did not neglect or despise the literal Sense of the holy Scripture, as appears  
by



by their controversial Treatises against the Jews, or Hereticks, in which they knew they ought not to use such arbitrary Senses, which proved nothing; but the natural and necessary Sense of those Prophecies or Passages which they alledged to confirm any Doctrin. Thus *Justin Martyr* in his Dialogue against *Trypho*, explains the natural Sense of Prophecies, and examines their proper signification; and *S. Ireneus* in his Books against Heresies, opposes to the Allegorical Explications, which the *Valentinians* and *Gnosticks* gave of the words of holy Scripture, to prove the falsity of their Doctrine, the genuin and true sense of the same passages which they abus'd. Other Fathers took the same Method, when they had to do with Hereticks, as being perswaded, that it was not proper, as *S. Austin* says *Lib. 1. contr. Adv. Leg. C. 13.* to make use of allegorical Interpretations against contentious Infidels; *Non esse hunc sensum contentiosis & infidelibus sensibus ingerendum*; and that, as *S. Jerom* affirms, a Parable or Riddle, the sense of which is dubious, can never be used to authorise Points of Faith: *Pius quidem sensus, sed nunquam parabola & dubia enigmatum intelligentia potest ad auctoritatem dogmatum proficere*; on *Matt. c. 13.* And therefore they adhered, in their controversial Books, to the literal sense of the Scripture; but in their Commentaries, which were either Discourses to the People, or Treatises written for the Instruction and Edification of Believers, they took the liberty to propose allegorical and arbitrary Senses, without insisting much upon the Letter. One of the first that kept to it was *Diodorus of Tarsus*, out of whose School proceeded several famous Commentators, who industriously applied themselves to explain the literal Sense of the Text; among whom *S. Chrysostom* was undoubtedly the most excellent in that kind, who has shewn also the beauty and usefulness of it. Since his time the Greek Church has been fruitful in learned Men, who have applied themselves to the same study, and drawn literal Explications of the holy Scripture out of his Commentaries, as *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, *Procopius of Gaza*, and several others; not omitting the learned *Isidorus of Damiette*, who in his Letters sufficiently shews, that he had taken a great deal of pains to become skilful in the literal sense of the Scripture. But some, as *Theodorus of Mopsueste*, carried the Principle of *Diodorus Tarsensis* too far. Among the Jews, some time after the Talmud, there appeared a Sect of learned Men called *Caraites*, from the name *Carai*, which signifies a Man skilful in the holy Scripture. It is suppos'd that the Founder of that new Sect, was a Jew called *Anan*, who lived about the middle of the eighth Century. Those of this Sect rejected the pretended Traditions of other Jews, and kept entirely to the Sacred Text, which they explained literally according to the Rules of Grammar, and by Reason, rejecting the Allegorical and Cabalistical Interpretations put upon it by others. The *Caraites* were at first very odious to the rest of the Jews, who charged them with being *Sadducees* and *Samaritans*, tho indeed they were far from being either, and differ'd from other Jews only in rejecting forged Traditions, and Allegories, and adhering to the literal sense of the Scripture. But what aversion soever the Jews might have to the *Caraites*, the most learned Rabbins of later times, as *Rabbi Kimbi*, and *Aben Ezra*, followed much the same Method with them, applying themselves in their Commentaries to explain exactly the literal sense, and observing the signification of every word, and the proper meaning of every passage. The most learned modern Interpreters have likewise set themselves in their Commentaries to interpret the literal sense of the holy Scripture, by explaining the words of the Text according to their signification in the *Hebrew* and *Greek*; by examining, when there is any difference between the Text and Translations, which is the sense that ought to be followed, and agrees best with that which precedes and follows; by comparing one passage with other parallel passages of Scripture; by enquiring into the true meaning of the Text, from the order and connexion of the Discourse, and design of the Writer; by clearing all doubts arising from the construction of the words; by explaining the Hebraisms and particular Idioms of the Sacred Writers; by removing the Difficulties that occur in the Doctrin; or in History, Chronology, and Geography; or in the names of Arts, Sciences, Plants, Animals, &c. and finally, by noting every thing that may contribute to the understanding of the proper and natural Sense of the Sacred Text.

I do not intend here to speak of Commentators on the holy Scripture in particular, or give my judgment concerning their Commentaries; that is too copious a Subject, and has been already handled in my *Bibliothèque of Ecclesiastical Authors*, where

where I have spoken at large of those that have commented on the holy Scripture in all Ages. It may suffice here to have given an Idea of the different sorts of Commentaries, whether as to Method or Matter, which have been and are still in use among Jews and Christians. All that remains, is to lay down the Rules that ought to be observed in order to a right interpretation of the holy Scripture, which I intend to do in the following Section.

# S E C T. V.

## Of the Rules to be observed for a right interpretation of the Holy Scripture.

THE most necessary Rule to be observed in interpreting the holy Scripture, for preventing mistakes in matters relating to Faith and Practice, is to follow in such Matters the Sense of the Church, and the unanimous Interpretation of the Fathers.

This Rule is given by the Council of *Trent*, in which it is said in the Fourth Session: "That to restrain bold Men, the Synod ordains, That no Person, relying upon his own understanding, should wrest the holy Scripture, in things relating to Faith and Manners and the furtherance of the Christian Doctrin, to his own sense, contrary to that which our holy Mother the Church, whose right it is to judg of the Sense and Interpretation of the holy Scripture, does hold, and has always held, or the unanimous Consent of the Fathers: *Ad coercenda petulantia ingenia, decernit Synodus, ut nemo suæ prudentiæ innixus in rebus Fidei & morum ad ædificationem Doctrinæ pertinentium, sacram Scripturam ad suos sensus contorquens, & contra sensum quem tenuit & tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cujus est judicare de vero sensu & interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum, aut etiam contra unanimem consensum Patrum, ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari audeat.*"

But how necessary soever this Rule may be to hinder bold Men from advancing new Doctrins, under pretence of explaining the holy Scripture, it was not the Council's design to forbid Interpreters of the Sacred Writings to illustrate such obscure Passages in the holy Scripture, as were not well understood by the Fathers, and discover, by the help of Languages and Sciences, the true sense of those places which the Fathers did not all fully apprehend. The Council explains it self to this purpose, by limiting its prohibition against interpreting the holy Scripture, contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers, to Things relating to Faith and Manners, upon which the propagation of the Christian Doctrin depended: *In rebus Fidei & morum, ad ædificationem Doctrinæ pertinentium*; and by declaring that it made this Prohibition only to curb insolent Men: *Ad coercenda petulantia ingenia*: that is, Innovators in Matters of Doctrin; which cannot be said of Catholick Divines, who by the help of Languages and Sciences, and by reasoning, explain the Sense of a difficult Passage, when that Sense is not repugnant to the Doctrin of the Church, tho it was not known or current among the Antients. For why may not a Person explain a Passage of Scripture now which was not so before, or remove Difficulties which were never yet well resolved, and find out the true Sense of a place which was before mistaken, either for want of understanding the Languages, or for want of Consideration and Judgment, or, lastly, through too great a reverence for the Explications of the Antients? Many of the Fathers applied themselves more to the Allegorical Sense than the Literal; few of them understood the Original Languages, consulted the Hebrew Text, or studied Criticks; and most of them differ'd from one another in their Opinions about the Sense of difficult Passages: Why then should not those that are come after them, and understand the Languages better than they, and have studied more the Manners and Customs of the Jews, and other Sciences conducing to the Interpretation of the holy Scripture; why should not they, I say, usefully employ their skill in giving further Light to the Sacred Text? *S. Jerom* was far from thinking it a Crime to propose new Explications of the Scripture, unknown to the Antient Fathers, nay contrary to those which were before given by all Christian Writers, because he often departed from the Interpretations received and au-



thoriz'd by the Christians, and followed the Remarks of the Jews. "I have taken," says he, in his 138th Letter to *Marcellus*, what I have here written out of the "Hebrew Fountains, not tracing the Rivulets of common Opinions, nor discourag'd by that multitude of Errors, of which the World is full; but being desirous to understand and to teach the Truth: *Hæc nos de intimo Hebræorum fonte libavimus, non opinionum rivulos persequentes, neque errorum, quibus totus mundus repletus est, varietate perterriti, sed cupientes & scire & docere quæ vera sunt.* And when he was reproached for having forsaken the Interpretations of the Christians, to follow those of the Jews, he defended himself in it by the Example of his Predecessors, *Origen*, *S. Clement*, and *Eusebius*, who had alledged and followed the Interpretations of the Jews. *S. Austin* was as far from thinking it unlawful to give any new Explication to the Books of Scripture; because on the contrary he asserts that new things may be continually discover'd in it, by Consideration and Application. And therefore he does not disapprove of the New Version which *S. Jerom* made from the Hebrew Text, and says, that tho Interpreters have but one Faith, yet they were forced to explain many passages of Scripture differently, by reason of their obscurity; which also made the same Interpreter explain it variously in different places. In short, there is no Father or Commentator on the holy Scripture, who has scrupled to give any Explication of it, not authorized by the joint consent of the Fathers: On the contrary, there are hardly any who have written of their own heads, and not barely transcrib'd others, but have advanced some new Interpretations, many times more lucky and true than those which had been before invented. There are several such in most Catholick Commentators that have written even since the Decree of the Council of *Trent*.

It is not therefore sufficient, to make a good Interpreter of the holy Scripture, to have a great veneration and esteem for the Doctrin of the Church, and the Judgment of the Fathers; but it is necessary also to understand the Languages in which the Sacred Books were originally written, that is, Hebrew and Greek. This is the first Rule that *S. Austin* gives for arriving to the understanding of the holy Scriptures. He says, that to become skilful in the Sacred Writings, it is requisite to understand, not only Latin, but also Greek and Hebrew, that recourse may be had to the Original Copies, when the disagreement of Interpreters renders the Sense doubtful: *Et Latine quidem Linguae homines quos nunc instituendos suscepimus, duabus aliis ad Scripturarum divinarum cognitionem opus habent, Hebræa scilicet & Græcæ, ut ad exemplaria præcedentia recurratur, siquam dubitationem attulerit Latinorum Interpretum infinita varietas.* Lib. 2. of the *Christian Doctrin*, C. 11. n. 16. He adds, that it is so much the more necessary to understand Hebrew, because there are words of the Hebrew Text remaining in Translations, and that it is hard to translate all the words of one Language into another. *S. Jerom* in his 28th Letter to *Lucinius Beticus*, lays down this Rule, which was inserted in the Decree of *Gratian*: That the true sense of the Books of the Old Testament, ought to be examin'd by the Hebrew Text; and that of the Books of the New by the Original Greek: *Ut Veterum Librorum fides de Hebræis Voluminibus examinanda est, ita & Novorum Græci sermonis normam desiderat.* This Method that Father took in his Commentaries, and Versions; where he has kept to the Sense of the Hebrew Text. Other Fathers, as *Origen*, *S. Chrysostom*, and among the Latins, *S. Hilary*, *S. Austin*, and *S. Gregory*, have also frequently recurred to the Original Texts, in explaining divers Passages of the Holy Scripture. In a word, the knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek Languages has been always thought necessary to a right understanding and interpreting the holy Scripture. Pope *Clement V.* was so clearly convinced of this, that in his *Clementine*, *De Magistris*, he thought he could ordain nothing more advantageous to the Church, than that there should be Professors of the Hebrew, Arabick, and Chaldee Tongues, settled in all the Universities, that they might train up Persons capable of understanding thoroughly the holy Scripture. The Theological Faculty of *Paris* was likewise heretofore so fully perswaded of the necessity of studying the Languages, that they made a Decree in 1530. wherein they ordained that for the future none should be admitted into the Faculty, that were not competently skilful in those Languages, agreeably to the I. *Clementine* Rule, *De Magistris*, and the Chapter, *Ut Veterum*. And Experience it self shews what a difference there is between Commentators that understand the Languages, and those who study only Translations; and how much more exactness, truth, solidity, and new Discoveries there are in the Commentaries of the former, than of the latter.

A Commentator ought not only to read the Originals, but must consult also Translations, and the various Readings of the Text, which may sometimes be corrupt, and corrected by Translations or other Copies. This S. Austin also observes, in his second Book of the *Christian Doctrin*, Chap. 14. "The great variety, says he, of Interpreters, discuss'd and examin'd by comparing Copies, may be of great use, if there be no fault in the Copies; for the chief care of one that desires to understand the holy Scripture, should be to correct the Copies of it: *Plurimum hic quoque juvat Interpretum numerositas, collatis Codicibus inspecta atque discussa, tantum absit falsitas; nam Codicibus emendandis primum debet invigilare solertia eorum qui divinas Scripturas nosse desiderant, ut emendatis non emendati cedant, ex uno duntaxat interpretationis genere venientes.* I have already laid down the Rules that are to be observed in following the Text, or Translations, which I shall not here repeat.

For the right understanding of the holy Scripture, it is also necessary, according to S. Austin, to have regard to the distinction of the words; which being severally divided by Points and Commas, make different Senses, and occasion ambiguity: But that is ordinarily cleared, either by the Original Text, or the Construction; which determines to one way of pointing rather than another. So that this difficulty is small in comparison of that which arises from the Tropes, Parables and Figures occurring in the holy Scripture. And it is not sufficient, as I before said, to understand the Terms, but we must also discover the remote Sense of the Trope, Parable, or Figure: This is what an Interpreter should principally apply himself to.

The knowledge of Sciences and other things relating to the holy Scripture, as of History, Chronology and Geography; of the Manners and Customs of the Jews; of the names of Plants, Animals, and precious Stones; and, in a word, of all the terms of Art therein used, is also necessary to a right interpretation of the holy Scripture; and a good Interpreter is indispensably oblig'd to study those things. But he must, as I before observ'd, treat of such Matters but briefly, and not employ himself wholly about them.

The Commentaries of those that have already written on the Bible, are a great help to such as desire to understand or explain the Sacred Writings to others. There are a world of Difficulties explained, Obscurities clear'd, and Questions resolved in the Commentaries of the Antients and Moderns, which no one Man could so much as touch upon, tho he employ'd himself in studying the holy Scripture from his Childhood to an extreme old Age. Among these, Catholick Interpreters are to have the preference; but Jews and others who have written out of the Bosom of the Church, may be also advantageously used. It is evident how much the Rabbins, and particularly *Aben-Ezra* and *Kimbi*, may contribute to the understanding of the Letter of the Scripture. Every one knows, that *Nicholas of Lyra*, *Isidore Clarius*, *Eugubinus*, *de Muis*, *Lorin*, *Tirin*, *Menochius*, and several other Commentators have made great use of their Discoveries, and drawn out of their Commentaries considerable Arguments in favour of the Christian Religion. And it is as undeniable, that the Commentaries of Hereticks may be also of great use for the understanding of the holy Scripture, and that Catholick Interpreters have often consulted and followed them. Nay it may be said, that this practice has been authoriz'd by the most antient Interpreters of the holy Scripture. For from the beginning of the Church, the holy Fathers made no difficulty of using the assistance of the Jews and Hereticks for the understanding of the Books of the Old Testament. S. Clement of Alexandria often cites them, and produces their words. Origen also very frequently sets down the Explication of the Jews and Hereticks in his Commentaries, and makes no scruple to propose them as true. Let us hear what S. Jerom says as to that matter: "Origen, says he, S. Clement, Eusebius, and many other of the Antients, when they had occasion to make use of any passages of Scripture to prove what they affirmed, were wont to say, A Jew told me this, I had it from a Jew, the Jews are of this Opinion. Origen cites also the Patriarch Huillus a Jew who lived in his time; and concludes his thirtieth Tome on *Isaiab* with an Explication of that Jew, confessing that tho he had been before of another mind, yet he chang'd it, after he had learn'd from him the Truth. He alleges also the Testimony of Huillus, to shew that the 89th and eleven following *Psalms* were written by *Moses*. In a word, whenever he interprets the Hebrew Text, he is careful to propose the Opinion and Interpretation of the Jews. S. Jerom, who was the most exact Expositor of Scripture among all the Fathers, sat himself particularly to study, not only the Hebrew Text, but also the Opinions of the



the Jews. He took a Jew for his Master, and learned the Traditions of the Hebrews about the Scripture, of which he has made a Collection on *Genesis*. *Ruffinus* in vain upbraided him with this Jewish Learning; he did not value his Reproaches, and was very well pleas'd with the pains he had taken to acquire it. He frequently also makes use of the Commentaries of Hereticks, and transcribes them word for word, without naming them. But let us hear what he himself says as to this matter in his own justification. "In the Commentaries I have made on the Epistle to the *Ephesians*; I have, says he, followed *Origen*, *Dydimus* and *Apollinarius*, who have often contrary Opinions, yet without forsaking the true Faith: That is the business of Commentators; they explain the Writings of others, and illustrate in easier words all those places that are obscure. They produce the Sentiments of several Writers, and say, some explain this passage so, others interpret it in this manner; these ground their Interpretation upon such Authorities, or Reasons; that the intelligent Reader, after he has read the Explications of others, may judg himself which are true, and reject those that are false, as a Banker does counterfeit Money: Ought he that alleges the different Explications of several Writers in the same Commentary, be accused of having contradictory Opinions?

This shews that it is proper for an Interpreter to set down in his Commentary different explications of the same passage, when they have all some probability. He may declare which he thinks to be best, but he ought not to conceal any of them, or impose his own Judgment upon the Reader. This *S. Jerom* proves in the following words, wherein he is very sharp upon his Censurer *Ruffinus*: "I wonder, says he, that a Person who pretends to be the *Aristarchus* of our Age, should be ignorant of things which Children know: *Illud miror, quod Aristarchus nostri temporis puerilia ista nescieris*: And he goes on to justify the Method he had taken. "In what am I to blame, says he, for explaining an ambiguous word several ways?—What Prejudice is done to the Faith of the Church, by telling the Reader how many ways such or such a Verse is interpreted by the Hebrews? Ought not I to have the liberty to remark what I have learn'd from the Jews? He says afterwards the same thing of Hereticks, or of those whom he look'd upon as such, that is, of *Origen* and *Apollinarius*: "*Dydimus*, says he, and *Apollinarius* have made some Treatises which I have either translated or imitated. I have signified this in the Preface. I said also that *Origen* had written three Volumes on this Epistle to the *Ephesians*, and that I had followed him in part, and taken out of the Commentaries of those Authors, what I thought fit; that I had pass'd by a great many things, and added others; that the diligent Reader might see by the Preface, that this Work was partly other Mens, and partly my own. If I cannot shew in the Greek Originals which I have translated, the Errors which are in my Explications, I will confess my Fault, and take upon my self what is not to be charged upon others. *S. Jerom* was not the only Person that made use of the Jews and Hereticks in explaining the holy Scripture. Did not all the Greek Fathers consult and cite the Translations of *Aquila* the Jew, *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*? Did not they follow them sometimes? Did not *S. Chrysostom* and *Theodoret* embrace some of the Interpretations of *Theodorus* of *Mopsueste*? In a word, were Catholicks ever censur'd for borrowing the Observations of Jews and Hereticks, to illustrate the Truth, to explain difficult passages of holy Scripture, and confirm the Christian Doctrin? Or were not those that did so rather commended, as having taken a Treasure out of the hands of its unjust possessors, to restore it to the Church to which it of right belonged?

Besides these helps depending upon acquired Knowledge, it is necessary also to use our Reason in discovering the true Sense of holy Scripture. But we must be very cautious that we do not abuse this Rule, by maintaining, with the *Socinians*, that nothing ought to be admitted as true, but what Reason or Sense discovers to us; so that there is no other true Sense of Scripture, but that which teaches us things agreeable to the Dictates of Reason, and the Evidence of Sense; and that all that seems to be contrary to these two Principles, ought to be rejected as a false and impossible Sense of Scripture: We must, I say, be very cautious of entertaining so dangerous a Notion, or using our Reason to judg of the Truth or Fallhood of things contained in the holy Scripture. It is certain that there may be Truths in the Sacred Writings which the Mind of Man cannot conceive or

compre-

comprehend; because its capacity being finite and limited; it is very possible and even necessary there should be a great many things beyond its reach. It is also certain that God may reveal to us Truths which we do not understand, and that his revealing them is enough to convince us that they are Truths. So that it is no sufficient Reason to reject a Truth clearly expressed in the words of Scripture, and to assert that they must have another Sense, because we find it difficult to reconcile the proper and natural Sense of those words with the Principles of Reason, and the Evidence of Sense: for it being certain that God cannot reveal a Falshood for a Truth, when it is evident that he has revealed such or such a thing, all ground for doubting ceases; and the Objections which Reason may make, ought not to be regarded. Faith in God *casts down*, as S. Paul says, *humane reasonings; and every high thing that exalteth it self against the Knowledge of God, and brings into captivity every thought to the obedience of CHRIST.*

But Reason serves another way to discover the Sense of the holy Scripture, when it is employed in inquiring into the signification of words, in order to know what is the meaning of such or such a Passage: to which Reason may contribute very much; for, 1. The Sense of a Passage is judg'd of by the Design of the Writer, and the scope he proposes to himself. Reason shews us how that which he says serves to prove, confirm, or explain what he had asserted. 2. It belongs to Reason to judge, whether a Passage explain'd in such a sense, has any or no connexion with the preceding and following Discourse. 3. By Reason also we compare one Passage of Scripture with another, and judge by that Comparison what Sense it must have. Lastly, By Reason we know whether a Passage explained in such a Sense is agreeable to the Analogy of Faith, that is, whether it be not contrary, either in it self or the Consequences that may be drawn from it, to some Article of Faith establish'd in other places of Scripture. These are the chief Rules to be observed for a right interpretation of the holy Scripture.

As to the Method proper to be taken in a Commentary on the holy Scripture, it must be determined by the different Designs we may propose to our selves. If it be only to interpret the Text, it may suffice to write *Scholia*, or short Marginal Notes, to explain those places that may perplex the Reader; but if we would fully expound the holy Scripture, we must write a larger Commentary, wherein Matters are more copiously handled. If we explain the holy Scripture with a respect to Practice, it may be done two ways; either by giving it an Allegorical or Mystical Sense, or explaining the Letter of it, and collecting from the Literal Sense all the moral Truths that may be drawn from it by reflection, and then treating more at large of those Points of Morality which have the nearest relation to the History. There is most ingenuity discover'd in Commentaries of the first kind; but the last are more solid: the first may be delightful; but the last are more profitable. Both the one and the other must be eloquent and well written, but it is not necessary they should be very learned: whereas the first sort of Commentaries which are only designed for the Explication of the Literal Sense, need not be eloquently written, provided they are not defective in Jewish, Ecclesiastical, and Profane Learning, necessary to the understanding of the Text.



## C H A P. XI.

Of the Division of the Bible into Chapters,  
Verses, and other Parts.

**I**D O not undertake here to speak of the Division of the Bible into whole Books, whereof I have already treated; but of the particular Division of Books into Chapters, Verses, and other Parts.

In the most antient Times, besides that these Divisions were unknown; there was not so much as any Distinction of Phrases and Words; as appears by the old Inscriptions and the most antient Manuscripts. But these Distinctions being a great Ease to the Reader, they were afterwards used to very good purpose, especially in those Books that were of most use.

*Origen* seems to have been the first who in his *Hexapla* divided the Sacred Books into different Verses, as *Eusebius* affirms in the sixth Book of his *History*, Chap. 16. "*Origen*, says he, having collected all the Interpretations of the Sacred Writings into one Body, distinguish'd them into Members, *μέλη*, and ranked them in Columns with the Greek Text. *Hesychius* attributes also to *Origen* the Invention of the distinction of the Sacred Books into Members or Verses, which the Greeks call *μέλη* or *σῆξες*. Yet there is ground to believe, that there had been already some distinctions made in the Bible before *Origen*, and it cannot be doubted but that those Books which are composed of Sentences, or in Verse, *σχήσεις*, to wit, *Job*, the *Psalms*, *Proverbs*, *Ecclesiastes*, and the *Canticles*, were written at first in verses, the Matter requiring them to be so.

*S. Jerom* in imitation of *Origen*, was the first among the Latins that divided the Books of the holy Scripture into Members of Verses, *Versuum Cola*; as he himself testifies in his second *Apology* against *Ruffinus*. "I have distinguish'd, says he, the *Paralipomena*, by Members of Verses, *Versuum Cola*, to avoid confusion and perplexity. In his Preface on *Joshua*, he admonishes the Reader to keep to this Distinction by Members, which he had observed to avoid confusion, if he would not have his labour lost. In his Preface before *Isaiah* he says, that when the Reader should see the Books of the Prophets distinguish'd into Verses, he was not to imagine that they were written in Verse, and like the Books of the *Psalms* and *Solomon*; but as it was usual to distinguish the Works of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, into Members and Parts of Sentences, *per Cola & Commata*, tho they wrote in Prose and not in Verse; so for the benefit of Readers, he had distinguish'd his New Translation, by a new way of writing. And in his Preface to *Ezekiel*: "Read, says he, the Book of this Prophet according to my Version, in which it is divided into Members, *per Cola*, and parts of Sentences, *& Commata*; which makes the Sense more intelligible to the Reader. *Cassiodorus* in his Preface to the Divine Lessons, assures us also that *S. Jerom* was the first that followed this Distinction into Verses in the Latin Copies. *S. Austin* used a Copy distinguish'd into Verses, in his Book entitled *A Mirror*. Some say that there had been distinctions of Verses in the Sacred Text before *S. Jerom*; and that this Father made a new Division of it into Sentences and parts of Sentences, which he calls *Cola & Commata*; and they prove it by *S. Jerom* himself, who in the Preface to his Commentaries on *Isaiah*, speaks of eight Verses that were in the Vulgar Translation of *Psalms* 13. and are not in the Hebrew. Those eight Verses are very short, and do not answer *S. Jerom's* Distinction. He speaks also in his Letter to *Sumnia* and *Fretela* of a Verse that contained only these words, *grando & carbones ignis*. And lastly, on Chap. 21. of *Ezekiel*, and the 63d of *Isaiah*, he makes mention of a great number of Verses.

We may therefore distinguish four principal Divisions of the Bible into Verses; the antient Division which was used before *S. Jerom*; that of *S. Jerom*; that of *Origen* followed by *Hesychius* and *Nicephorus*; and that at present taken from the *Masorets*. The first

is

is the most numerous of all, the third somewhat less, the second yet less, and the last contains much fewer Verses than any of the other. The last is also the latest, tho some Jews attribute it to *Esdra*s. But *Elias Levita* acknowledges that heretofore the Law was written all together, and without any distinction of Verses; and that the Invention of distinguishing it into Verses came from the *Masorets*, who, to separate them, made use of Points which they called *Silluc*, Pause, or *Soph Pasuch*, the end of a Verse. *Robert Stephens* was the first that exactly followed the Distinction of the *Masorets* in the Latin Bibles.

Besides this Distinction of the holy Scripture into Verses, the Jews have another Division of the Books of the Bible into different Sections, which they call *Parasoth*, and are of two sorts, great and small. The great, which are of some use, are Divisions of a Book into a certain number of Parts of a considerable bigness. *Genesis*, for Example, is divided into twelve such parts, and all the *Pentateuch* into fifty three. In the time of *S. Hilary* and *S. Jerom*, the Book of *Psalms* was distributed into five. And according to that Division the Rabbins cite the Law, by alledging the first words of every part. The small Sections which they call *Sechimoth*, are sometimes longer, and sometimes shorter, but are of no use. Lastly, The *Masorets* divide also the Sacred Books into Sections which they call *Sidra*.

The Greeks and Latins had formerly no Distinction of Chapters in the Bible, as appears by their Commentaries, in which they take no notice of any such Distribution; and to refer to the place which they explain, they never alledg the Chapter, but the Passage or History. It is very probable that till the fifth Century there was no distinction of Sections or Chapters in the Sacred Books, excepting the four Gospels, either among the Greeks or the Latins: but by degrees Conveniency introduced them, because to facilitate the understanding of the Text, there were Titles or Summaries put at the beginning of every Book, of what they contain'd. And as those Titles answer'd to different Parts, it was necessary also to distinguish those Parts. *Cassiodorus*, who is the first that has spoken clearly of those Titles, says in the first Chapter of his *Divine Institutions*, that the Titles of the *Old Testament* had been made by his Ancestors; and that having found none made upon the Books of *Kings* and *Chronicles*, he had composed some. He had also drawn up Titles for the Books of *Solomon*, and those of *Tobit*, *Judith*, *Esther*, and the *Maccabees*: But the Books of the Prophets had not as yet any; they were made or discover'd since. These small Sections were in use till the eleventh Century: they were much shorter than our Chapters, and contained but one single Subject, expressed in the Title or Summary.

To conclude, Cardinal *Hugo*, a Dominican Friar, who lived in the thirteenth Century, was the first that caus'd a Concordance to be made of the Bible, and divided the Sacred Books into Chapters, as they are at present. His Division being very convenient, was soon receiv'd and follow'd in the Manuscript and printed Bibles. I shall speak elsewhere of the Division of the New Testament.

F I N I S.



# A T A B L E

OF THE

Principal Matters contain'd in this First Volume.

**A.**  
**A** BEN-EZRA. *The Opinion of that Rabbin about the Pentateuch.* Pag. 61.  
 Abraham. *A Book of the Assumption of Abraham.* 27.  
 Adam. *A Book of the Generations and Creation of Adam forged by the Jews.* 27.  
 The Apocalypse or Revelation of Adam. 28.  
 Egyptian. *See* Egyptian.  
 Ethiopian. *See* Ethiopian.  
 Agur. *The Son of Jakeh.* 108.  
 Ahafuerus. *Who he that is mention'd in Esther was.* 93, 94, 95, 96. *And who he that is spoken of in Tobit.* 120.  
 Ahijah. *Of a Book of that Prophet which is lost.* 22.  
 Akiba. *That this Rabbin did not corrupt the Hebrew Text,* 152, 153, 154.  
 Allegories. *What.* 274. *Of several kinds,* Ibid. *Divers ways of using Allegories,* 275. *Questions about Allegories,* 276, &c. *The Usefulness or Abuse that may be made of 'em,* 278, 279.  
 Dennis Amelot, Priest of the Oratory. *His Translation of the New Testament into French,* 219. *approv'd by the Assembly of the Clergy in 1655.* pag. 259.  
 Amos. *Two several Persons of that Name,* 115. *When he that has left us his Prophecy, lived,* 119. *The Subject of his Prophecy,* Ibid.  
 Diego Payva d' Andrada. *See* Payva.  
 Apocryphal. *The Etymology and Signification of that word,* 3. *In what sense it is attributed to those Books that are out of the Canon,* Ibid. & 4. *How many sorts there are of Apocryphal Books,* 4. *The Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament that are extant,* 26. *Those which we have not,* 27.  
 Aquila. *His Life. When he made his Version,* 179. *A Judgment concerning his Version,* Ibid.  
 Arabian. *Of the Arabian Language,* 208. *Of Arabick Translations of the Bible,* Ibid. & 209.  
 Aramic Language, which, 130, 131.  
 Aristeus. *His History of the Version of the*

*LXX,* 169. *That the Book of Aristeus which we have, is the same that was used by Josephus,* 171. *That it was forged by an Hellenist Jew,* Ibid. & 172. *That his Narrative is a Romance,* 172. *Mistakes in Chronology observable in that History,* Ibid. & 173.  
 Aristobulus. *When he liv'd,* 169, 170. *His Account of the Translation of the LXX,* 169. *The Judgment that is to be passed upon his Work,* 174.  
 Armenian. *A Translation of the Bible into Armenian, and the Office of the Church celebrated in that Language,* 211, 213.  
 Asaph. *Psalms attributed to Asaph,* 103. *Who this Asaph was,* Ibid.  
 Assamoneans. *That Name given to the Maccabees,* 121.  
 Astersisks. *Their Figure,* 186. *Their use,* 183, &c.

**B.**  
**B**ARS, or Spits. *Their Figure,* 186. *Their Use,* 183, &c.  
 Baruch. *His Life and Prophecy,* 117. *His Letter,* Ibid. *He may be the Author of the end of Jeremiah's Prophecy,* 116. *The Book of Baruch, by whom rejected, and admitted into the Canon,* 10. *Cited under the name of Jeremiah,* Ibid.  
 Beheber. *The signification of that Hebrew Particle,* 69, 72.  
 Bel. *The History of the Idol Bel, whether it be Canonical,* 13, 14. *The Truth of that History,* 118.  
 Bellarmin. *His Judgment about the Decree of the Council of Trent concerning the Vulgar Translation,* 201.  
 Renatus Benedictus. *His Translation of the Bible into French.* 218. *ensured by the Faculty of Divinity at Paris, and condemned by the Pope,* Ibid. *Why,* Ibid. & 257.  
 Peter Bessus. *His Version of the Bible into French,* 218, 257.  
 Bethel-Luz. *Whether one City or two,* 81.  
 Bible. *The Original of that Name,* 2. *Translations of the Bible.* *See* Translations.  
 Bibliotheque. *See* Library.  
 Books. *Whether the Books cited in the Old Testa-*

## contain'd in this First Volume.

*Testament & lost, were Canonical or not, 23, 24. The causes of the loss of those Books, 25. Father Bouhours, the Jesuit. His Version of the New Testament into French, 219. Antony Bruccioli. His Translation of the Bible into Italian, 219.*

### C.

**CABALA.** Several sorts of Cabala, pag. 162. A Description of the Cabala most in use among the Jews, *Ibid.* Examples of divers Mysteries of the Cabala, *Ibid.* & 163. The Obscurity and Vanity of that Art, *Ibid.*

**Cabul.** What Country that was, and whether there were two of that name, 79, 81.

**Thomas de Vio, Cardinal Cajetan.** His Translation of the Bible, 204.

**Canaanite.** In what sense we are to understand that passage in the 12th Chap. of Genesis, And the Canaanite was in the Land, 68, 71.

**Canon.** Divers significations of that word, and in what sense it is used to signify the Catalogue of the Sacred Books, 2, 3. The Canon of the Books of the Old Testament, when compos'd, 3, 4. By whom, 4, 5. Whether there were more Canons of Sacred Books than one among the Jews, 5. What Books were contain'd in the Canon of the Jews, *Ibid.* & 6, 7. The Division of the Sacred Books in the Canon of the Jews, 6, 7. Canons of the Sacred Books of the Old Testament among the antient Christians, 7, 8, 9. A Rule whereby to distinguish those Books that are Canonical from others, 17. See Books.

**Canticles.** See Song of Songs.

**Melchior Canus.** The Judgment of that Writer about the Decree of the Council of Trent concerning the Vulgar Translation, 200.

**Ludovicus Cappellus.** His Book against the antiquity of the Hebrew Vowel-Points, 136. His Arguments, *Ibid.* & 137, 138, 139, 140.

**Caraites.** Of the Sect of the Caraites among the Jews, 284.

**Sebastian Castellio.** His Translation of the Bible into Latin, 205. and into French, 218.

**Chains.** A sort of Commentaries on the Bible, whence so called, and of what use, 281.

**Chaldean.** When that Name was in use, 69, 72, 73. The Chaldee Tongue the most antient in the world, 125, 126. called in latter Ages, Hebrew, 130. Of old, Aramick, *Ib.* & 131. When it became common among the Jews, 131. Of the Chaldee Paraphrases of the Bible, 206, 207. Of their Original, 206. Of different Chaldee Paraphrases, 206, 207. A Judgment concerning those Paraphrases, and their usefulness, 207.

**Chapters.** The Division of the Old Testament into Chapters began but in the 5th Century, 291. different from the present, *Ibid.*

**Cardinal Hugo,** the Author of the present Division, *Ibid.*

**Chronicles.** See Paralipomena.

**Chutheans.** The History of that People, 164. **Isidore Clarius.** His Translation of the Bible, 204.

**Clement.** Of the Reformation of the Vulgar Translation by Pope Clement VIII, 202, 203.

**Mr. le Clerc.** His peculiar Opinion about the Author of the Pentateuch, 62. refuted, 76. revok'd by himself, *Ibid.*

**Commentaries.** Of different sorts of Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, 280, &c. That name peculiarly attributed to one sort, 281. Divers kinds of Commentaries on the Bible with respect to method, 280, &c. with respect to matter, 282, &c. The necessity of Commentaries on the Holy Scripture, 287.

**New Converts.** That they ought to be suffer'd to read the holy Scripture, 261, 262.

**Coptes.** The Coptic Language, which, 212. whence so called, *Ibid.* The Religion of the Coptes, *Ibid.* Of Translations of the Scripture into Coptic, *Ibid.*

**Corah.** What befel Corah, 103. Psalms attributed to the Sons of Corah, *Ibid.*

**James Corvin.** His Translation of the Bible into French, 218, 257.

**Covenant.** Whether there was any Book of the Covenant, 21.

**Curfes.** See Imprecations.

### D.

**DAN.** When that name was in use, and to what places it was given, 69, 73.

**Daniel.** Of what Family he was, 117. Whether he ought to be ranked among the Prophets, 18, 117, 118. When he prophes'd, 117. Of his Prophecy, *Ibid.* The Truth and Authority of his Prophecies, 118. The Subject of his Book, *Ibid.* Of the Additions made to it, 13, 14, 118. Whether it be true that he was in the Lions Den, 118. in the Notes.

**David.** The Author of some of the Psalms, 102. and of what Psalms, *Ibid.* & 103.

**Day.** The meaning of that Expression, Unto this Day, 79, 80, 85.

**Deutero-Canonical.** Of the Deutero-Canonical Books, 9, &c. When and how they became Canonical, 15, &c.

**John Dietenbergh.** His Translation of the Bible into High-Dutch, 220.

**John Diodati.** His Translation of the Bible into Italian, 219.

### E.

**ECCLESIASTES.** What that name signifies, 109. The Book that carries it, by whom written, *Ibid.* & 110. The Subject and Design of that Book, 110, 111.

**Ecclesiasticus.** Who was the Author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus, 114. In what Language, and when it was written, *Ibid.* Of the



## A Table of the Principal Matters

the Titles, Stile, and Subject of that Book, Ibid. By whom cited under the name of Holy Scripture; by whom rejected, and by whom receiv'd as Canonical, 12.

Edar. Places so call'd, 70, 73.

Edomites. Of the Kings and Princes of the Edomites, mention'd in the Book of Genesis, 68, 69, 71.

Egyptian. The Translation of the Bible into Egyptian or Coptic, 211, 212.

Elias. The Book of the Assumption or Revelation of Elias, 27.

Eloquence. Wherein true Eloquence consists, 265. Of the Eloquence of the Holy Scripture, Ibid. &c. If it lye in the words, 265. Whether all the parts of true Eloquence are to be found in the Holy Scripture, 266. That its Eloquence agrees to Persons and Things, 267. Examples of the Eloquence of Holy Scripture, Ibid. &c. The objection against it taken from a passage of St. Paul answer'd, 269.

Martin l'Empereur. The first Edition of the whole Bible in French, printed by him at Antwerp, 217.

Jerom Emser. His Translation of the Bible into German, 220.

Enoch. Of the Book of Enoch, 26, 27.

Francis Enzinas. His Translation of the New Testament into Spanish, 219.

Erpenius. The Translation of the Bible into Arabick that he publish'd, 209.

Esther. The History of Esther, 93. When compos'd, Ibid. &c. Who was the Author of it, 96. The Additions made to that Book, 97, 98. By whom it was rejected, and by whom admitted into the Canon, 9. The Additions to the Book of Esther excluded out of the Canon by a great many Writers, Ibid.

Ethiopian. Of the Language of the Ethiopians, 212. Of them and their Religion, Ibid. Of Translations of the Bible into Ethiopian, Ibid.

Exstasy. Revelation in an Exstasy, 36, 37.

Ezechiel. His Life and Death, 117. Of his Prophecy, Ibid.

Ezrah. The Life and Actions of Ezrah, 88. Of his Character of Scribe, Ibid. Whether he was the Author of the Chronicles, 86. of the two Books that carry his Name, 87, 88. Whether he was the Author of the first, Ibid. Of the Contents of that Book, 88. The third and fourth Book of Ezrah, 26. Whether he was the Author of the Canon of the sacred Books among the Jews, 4. That he made the Collection of the hundred and fifty Psalms, 104. That he changed the old Hebrew Characters, 135. Whether he was the Author of the Vowel-Points, 136. In what sense he was the restorer of the Hebrew Text of the Bible, 144. That he did not make it all over again, Ibid. &c.

### F.

**F**ACULTIES of Divinity at Paris and Lovain. The Judgment of the Faculty of Paris about reading the Holy Scripture in a known Tongue, and Translations of it, 253, 254. The Judgment of that of Lovain upon the same Subject, 254.

Peter Frison. His Translation of the Bible into French, 218.

### G.

**G**AD. Of a pretended Book of that Prophet, 22. See Nathan.

Glosses. Of Glosses on the Bible, 280.

God. That God cannot deceive men, and that his Word is necessarily true, 29. Objections against that Assertion answer'd, 30.

Antony de Godeau, Bishop of Venice. His Translation of the New Testament, and the Psalms into French, 219. His Exhortation to read the Holy Scripture, 260.

James le Grand. His Paraphrase on the Bible in French, 217.

Gregory xiii. The permission he gave to translate the Holy Scripture into a known Tongue, 256.

Hugo Grotius. His Opinion of the Book of Judith, that it is an Allegory, 92.

### H.

**H**ABAKKUK. Two Prophets of that Name, 118, 120. when he that has left us his Prophecy lived, 120. The subject of his Prophecy, Ibid.

Haggai. Under what King of Persia he prophesied, 120. of his Prophecy, Ibid.

Hagiographa. What Books were so called among the Jews, 7, 18.

Haman. Who he was, and of what Nation, 93. His Death, Ibid.

Happiness of another Life, whether it be spoken of in the Psalms, 106.

Nicolas Heath, Bishop of Rochester, and Cutbert Tunstal, Bishop of Durham. Their Translation of the Bible into English, 221.

Hebrew. The Land of the Hebrews, the Habitation of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, 69, 73. whether the Hebrew Tongue be the most antient in the World, 125, &c. whether it was that used by Noah, Ibid. whether the Language of Noah continued in the Family of Heber, 127. whether it were the Canaanitish Language, Ibid. The original of the name Hebrew, whether it be deriv'd from the Patriarch Heber, or the Particle Heber, which signifies Beyond, 128, 129. When the Language of the Jews began to be called Hebrew, 130. Divers significations of that name, Ibid. How long that Language continued, Ibid. &c. When it ceased to be common among the Jews, 131, 132. Of the old Hebrew Characters, 133, 134. The changing of those Characters, 135. Of the Points added

## contain'd in this First Volume.

added to the Hebrew Tongue, *Ibid.* &c. That the Hebrew Text of the Bible was not lost during the Captivity, 144. That it was not corrupted by the Malice of the Jews, 145, &c. The passages taken out of the Fathers to prove it answer'd, 146, &c. Reasons to shew that it was not, nor could be corrupted by the Jews, 149, &c. The Differences between the Hebrew Text and the Version of the Septuagint, of what sort, 154. That there are corruptions in the Hebrew Text, and how they came, *Ibid.* &c. That those Corruptions are not considerable, 155. That it is ordinarily to be preferred before Translations, 159. Rules to know when it ought to be followed, and when not, 156, &c. Various readings of the Hebrew Text, 160, &c. The Hebrew Text in the Hexapla of Origen, in what Characters written, 181, &c. Whether the Hebrew or the Vulgar Latin ought to be follow'd in ordinary Translations, 263. The necessity of understanding Hebrew to find out the sense of the Scripture, 286.

Hebron. The name of a City, when it carried it, 69, 73.

Hereticks. The use that Catholics may make of their Commentaries on the Scripture, 287, 288.

Hesychius. His Edition of the Translation of the Septuagint, 187.

Hexapla. By whom compos'd, and what, 181. Of how many Columns, *Ibid.* &c. The disposition of the Translations and Text in the Hexapla, 183.

John Hircanus, Son of Simon. Memoirs of John Hircanus lost, 23. Some make him the Author of the first Book of Maccabees, 121.

Thomas Hobbes. His Opinion about the Pentateuch, 61.

Homilies. The Custom of explaining the Bible in Homilies, 281.

Hofai. Discourses of Hofai lost, 22.

Hosea. When he lived, his Stile, and the Subject of his Prophecy, 119.

Cardinal Hugo. The Author of the Division of the Chapters of the Bible, as it is at present, and of Concordances, 292.

Hypolemnisques. See Lemnisques.

I.

JAIR. Of the Cities of Jair spoken of in the Book of Deuteronomy, pag. 69, 72.

Jasher. The Book of Jasher, which, 21, 79, 80.

Jafon. The Author of an History out of which was taken the 2d Book of Maccabees, 23, 121.

Iddo. Of a Book of that Prophet that is lost, 22.

Jeduthun. Who Jeduthun was, and why his Name is prefixed to some Psalms, 103.

Jehu. A Book of that Prophet which is lost, 22.

Jeremiah. The Life and Prophecy of Jeremiah, 116. His Stile, 117. An Apocryphal Prophecy of Jeremiah, *Ibid.* The La-

mentations of Jeremiah, when written, *Ibid.* Books of Jeremiah lost, 22, 23. From whence the Prophecy of the 30 pieces of Silver, and the Potters Field, cited in the Gospel under the name of Jeremiah, was taken, 28, 29.

S. Jerom. His Works upon the Sacred Text, 193, 194. The Reasons that induced him to undertake a new Translation of the Old Testament, 194. The Censures that were pass'd upon it, *Ibid.* A Judgment concerning his Translation, 195. How it was receiv'd in his time, 196. When it came to be commonly used in the Latin Church, and at last universally receiv'd, *Ibid.* The difference between our Vulgar Latin, and S. Jerom's Translation, 197. Whether he translated the Bible into the Dalmatian Tongue, 213.

Jesus, the Son of Syrach. Who that Jesus was, and when he lived, 114.

Jews. The usefulness of their Commentaries, for the right understanding of the Scripture, 287, 288.

Imprecations, against the wicked, when just and lawful, 107.

Index. The Rules of the Index, of what Authority, 255, 256.

Inspiration. Proofs of the Inspiration of the Books of the Old Testament out of the holy Scripture, 47, 48. The Judgment of the Fathers about the Inspiration of the Sacred Writings, 49, &c. Whether the words and phrases were inspired, 52, &c. Of what nature is the Inspiration of the Sacred Books, and how it was made, 54. Whether all that is contain'd in the holy Scripture be inspired, 55, &c.

Job. Of what Race he was, 99, 100. When he lived, 99. His History, 98. Whether it be a Fiction, *Ibid.* & 99. Who was the Author of the Book of Job, 100, 101. Whether it be written in Verse, 101. The Subject, Design, and Division of that Book, *Ibid.* Of the Genealogy of Job, which is at the end of his Book in the Greek Copy, 26.

Joel. When he prophesied, and the Subject of his Prophecy, 119.

Jonah. The History of that Prophet, and when he prophesied, 119. Of his Prophecy which we have, and another that is lost, *Ibid.*

Jonathan, Ben-Uziel. Of his Chaldee Paraphrase, 206.

Josephus. A Passage of Josephus about the number of the Sacred Books explain'd, 56.

Joseph, call'd the Blind. Of his Chaldee Paraphrase, 207.

Joshua. His Life, 81. Of the Book of Joshua, and its Author, 78, &c. Why so intitled, 78. Whether Joshua was Author of it; Reasons for and against it, 79, &c. The Argument of that Book, 81. Its Chronology, 82. The Death of Joshua added to his Book, 79, 81.

Addi-



## A Table of the Principal Matters

*Additions made to the Book of Joshua, Ibid.*  
**Isaiah.** *Whose Son, and when he prophesied,*  
 115. *His Death, Ibid. The Collection of*  
*his Prophecies, Ibid. Of the other Works*  
*attributed to him, Ibid. Of Isaiah's Style,*  
 116. *Of his Prophecies, lb. Whether he was*  
*the Author of the Book of Job, 101.*

**Israel.** *The Journals and History of the Actions of the Kings of Israel, 22.*

**Juda.** *The Journals and History of the Acts of the Kings of Juda, 22.*

**Lion Juda.** *His Version of the Bible into Latin, 205. His Translation of a Passage in*  
*Isaiah, compar'd with that of S. Jerom, 266.*

**Judges.** *The signification of that Name, 83. Wherein they differ'd from Kings, Ibid. Divers Opinions about the Author of the Book of Judges, 82. When it was written, 83. The Argument and Chronology of that Book, Ibid.*

**Judith.** *The History of Judith, 90. Whether it happen'd before or after the Captivity: Reasons for and against both, with Answers to them, Ibid. &c. Whether it be true, 92, 93. Who was the Author of that Book, 93. In what Language it was written, Ibid. Of the Translations of it, Ibid. That Book rejected by the Jews out of the Canon, 10, 11. Seldom cited by the Antients, 11. The Opinion of S. Jerom about it, Ibid. Whether it was acknowledg'd Canonical by the Council of Nice, Ibid. When inserted into the Canon, Ibid.*

**Junius and Tremellius.** *Their Translation of the Bible, 205.*

### K.

**K** **ERI** and Ketib, *what, 160, &c.*  
**Kings.** *Of the Author of the Books of Kings, 84, &c. The Time when they were compos'd, 85. What they contain, Ibid. & 86.*

**Korah.** *See Corah.*

### L.

**L** **ANGUAGE.** *The Original of the first Language, 122, 123. The Division of Languages, 123, 124. When it happen'd, 124. Into how many, Ibid. The difference between those Languages, Ibid. Of the first Language in the World, 125. Of the Samaritan Language, 168. Of the Syriac, 207. Of the Arabic, 208. Of the Coptic, 212. Of the Armenian, 211. Of the Ethiopian, 212. Of the different sorts of Languages in the World, 210, &c. Of the Latin Tongue, and in what Countries it was receiv'd and understood, 213, 214. Of the Greek Language, 215. The necessity of understanding the Languages, to understand well the Holy Scripture, 286.*

**Law.** *The Law given to Moses, 33. That this Name agrees particularly to the Pentateuch, 6, 17, 62. The Oral Law an Invention of the Jews, without foundation, 34.*

**Lemniscues and Hypolemniscues.** *Their Use and Figure, 185, 186.*

**Lemuel.** *Who was King Lemuel, 108.*

**Letter.** *Of the sense of the Letter of Scripture, 273, &c. Of the usefulness of the Literal sense, 283, 284.*

**Library.** *The use of that Word, to signify the Collection of the sacred Books, 2.*

**Lord.** *The Book of the Lord; whether there was any particular Book so call'd, 21.*

**Lovain.** *The Translation of the Bible into French by the Doctors of Lovain, 218.*

*The Judgment of the Faculty of Divinity of Lovain, concerning Translations of the Scripture into a known Tongue, 254.*

**Lucian.** *His Edition of the Septuagint, 187.*

**Martin Luther.** *His Translation of the Bible into German, 220.*

### M.

**M** **ACCABEES.** *Whence so called, 121.*

*Why called also Aslamoneans, Ibid.*

*The Author of the two Books of Maccabees, Ibid.*

*The Argument of both those Books, Ibid.*

*The third and fourth Books of Maccabees, 26.*

*The Books of Maccabees, by whom cast out of the Canon, 12. By whom cited, and acknowledg'd Canonical, 13.*

**Isaac le Maitre.** *His Translation of the Bible into French, 219.*

**Malachi.** *The signification of that Name, 120.*

*When he prophesied, and the subject of his Prophecy, Ibid.*

**Nicolas Malhermi.** *His Translation of the Bible into Italian, 219.*

**Thomas Malvenda.** *His Translation of the Bible into Latin, 204.*

**Manasseh.** *The Prayer of King Manasseh, 26.*

**Manna.** *What is to be thought of that passage in Exodus, where it is said that the Children of Israel did eat Manna forty Years in the Wilderness, 69, 72.*

**John Mariana, Jesuit.** *His opinion about the Decree of the Council of Trent concerning the Vulgar Latin, 200.*

**Mafs-Book.** *The Translation of the Mafs-Book by the Sieur Voisin and others, 259.*

*by the Sieur le Tourneux, 260.*

**Maffora.** *The signification of that word, and definition of the Maffora, 159. Its Original, Ibid. Its Form and Matter, 160. Several sorts of Maffora, Ibid. Its usefulness, Ibid.*

**Micah.** *His Country, 119. Different from another Prophet of the same Name, Ibid.*

*When he prophesied, and the subject of his Prophecy, Ibid.*

**Michael de Marolles, Abbot of Villedoin.** *His Translation of the New Testament into French, 218, 259.*

**Mons.** *The Version of the New Testament of Mons, 218, 260.*

**Arias Montanus.** *His Translation of the Bible into Latin, 204.*

Moral,

## contain'd in this First Volume.

**Moral.** *Of Moral Commentaries on the Scriptures,* 283.

**Moses.** *Revelations made to Moses,* 32, 33. *The Law given to Moses,* 33. *The Excellency of Moses above other Prophets,* 41, 42. *Proofs of the Truth of the Revelations of Moses,* 42, 47. *Proofs that he was the Author of the Pentateuch,* 61, &c. *from the Old Testament,* 63. *from the New,* 64. *by particular citations of Passages alledged in the Old and New Testament,* Ibid. &c. *from the Tradition of the Jews, the Consens of Nations, and profane Records,* 66. *from the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Translation of the Septuagint,* 67. *Objections against it answer'd,* Ibid. &c. *Moses speaks of himself in the third Person, and why,* 70, 73. *The Death of Moses adted in the Pentateuch,* 68, 71. *The Book of the Assumption of Moses,* 27. *He was the first Author of Songs in the praise of God,* 104. *Whether he was the Author of the Book of Job,* 100. *Of what Psalms he was the Author,* 103. *Whether he was the Author of the Massora,* 159. *and the Cabala,* 162. *Mount of Moriah. When so called,* 69, 73. **Guars de Moulin.** *His Translation of the Bible into French,* 216, 217.

**Simeon de Muis.** *His Latin Version of the Psalms,* 205.

**Sebastian Munster.** *His Latin Translation of the Bible,* 205.

**Mystical.** *A preservative against mystical Delusions,* 262.

### N.

**N A H U M.** *Of his Country; when he prophesied, and of his Prophecy,* 119.

**Nathan.** *Of a Book of that Prophet which is lost,* 22. *Whether the Prophets Nathan and Gad finish'd the 2 Books of Kings,* 64.

**Nazarene.** *Whence that Passage, He shall be called a Nazarene, is taken,* 28.

**Nehemiah.** *The Life and Employment of Nehemiah,* 88. *Whether he was the Author of the 2d Book of Ezra,* 87, 88. *Of the History contain'd in that Book,* 88. *Whether he had any hand in composing the Canon of the Jews,* 4.

**Ninive,** *when founded,* 69, 72. *The Threatnings denounc'd against it, and Conversion of its Inhabitants,* 119. *The Destruction of it,* lb.

### O.

**O B A D I A H.** *His Profession,* 119. *When he prophesied,* Ibid. *The Subject of his Prophecy,* Ibid.

**Office Divine.** *Celebrated formerly every where in a known Tongue,* 210, &c. *Translations of the Office into a known Tongue approv'd,* 259, 260.

**Og.** *Of the Iron-Bedstead of that King, spoken of in Deuteronomy,* 69, 72.

**Robert Olivetan.** *His Translation of the Bible, and the several Editions of it,* 217.

**Onkelos.** *His Chaldee Paraphrase of the Bible,* 206.

**Nicholas Oresme.** *His Translation of the Bible into French,* 216.

**Origen.** *His Works upon the Bible. See Hexapla, Tetrapla, and Septuagint.*

**Andrew and Luke Osiander.** *Their Latin Translations of the Bible.*

**Othofred.** *His Translation of the Gospel into the Teutonic Language,* 216.

### P.

**Sanctes P A G N I N U S.** *His Translation of the Bible,* 204.

**Cardinal Pallavicino.** *His Opinion of the Decree of the Council of Trent about the Vulgar Translation,* 201.

**Pamphilus.** *His Edition of the Version of the Septuagint, drawn from the Hexapla,* 186.

**Pandects.** *A name given to the Collection of Sacred Books,* 2.

**Paralipomena.** *The name of those Books among the Hebrews and Greeks,* 86. *When, and by whom compos'd,* Ibid. *What they contain,* Ibid.

**Paraphrases.** *Of what use are Paraphrases of the Bible,* 280. *Of the Chaldee Paraphrases,* 206.

**Peter of Paris.** *His French Translation of the Psalms,* 216.

**Theological Faculty of Paris.** *See Faculty.*

**Matthew Parker, ABP of Canterbury.** *His Translation of the Bible into English,* 221.

**Patriarchs.** *The Testament of the 12 Patriarchs, cited by Origen,* 27, 28.

**Diego Payva d' Andrada.** *His Opinion of the Decree of the Council of Trent, concerning the Vulgar Translation,* 200.

**Pentateuch.** *Proof that it was written by Moses,* 61, &c. to 76. *The Names and Arguments of the Books of the Pentateuch,* 77. *When they were compos'd,* Ibid.

**Samaritan Pentateuch.** *To whom it is to be attributed,* 165. *Its Antiquity,* 166. *Of its Authority,* Ibid. *The Difference between the Text of that, and the Text of the Hebrew,* Ibid. & 167. *When it should be followed,* 168. *Translations of the Samaritan Pentateuch,* Ibid.

**Persians.** *When the Christian Religion was established among the Persians,* 212, 213. *Translations of the Bible into Persian,* 213.

**Father Pezron Bernardin.** *His Character,* 152. *A Refutation of his System about the Corruption of the Hebrew Text,* Ibid. &c.

**Philo.** *Who that Philo is, who is made to be the Author of the Book of Wisdom,* 113.

**Poetry.** *Of the Hebrew Poetry,* 105.

**Vowel-Points.** *Of their use,* 135, 136. *The different Opinions about their Antiquity and Author,* 136. *Proofs of their Novelty,* Ibid. *The Reasons alledg'd to prove their Antiquity, answer'd,* 141, 142. *The exact time when they were invented,* 142, 143.

**Postilles.** *The Original of that word, and of a sort of Commentary on the Bible so called,* 280, 281.



## A Table of the Principal Matters.

**R**adolph de Preles. *His Commentary on the holy Scripture in French*, 216.

**P**rophets. Of the Hebrew Names, *Nabi and Roc*, which signify a Seer and a Prophet, 34, 70, 73, 85. The Etymology and Signification of those Names, 34. The Definition of a Prophet, and how many sorts there are of Prophets, *Ibid* &c. Means to distinguish false Prophets from true, 38, &c. The Succession of the true Prophets among the Jews, 41, &c. The Qualifications requisite to intitule a Man a Prophet, 117. The Revelations made to the Prophets, 33. That the Prophets gave no new Laws, 1b. The Prophetical Books according to the Jews, 6, 18. The distinction of antient and second Prophets, 18. Greater and Lesser Prophets, 115. That the twelve lesser Prophets made but one Book, 119. Of the Order of the twelve lesser Prophets, *Ibid*.

**P**rophecy. What Prophecy is, and how many sorts there are of it, 34, &c. Proper and natural senses of the word Prophecy, and improper, 35, 36. The difference between Revelation and Prophecy, 36. The difference of Prophecys, as to the manner in which Truths are reveal'd, *Ibid* & 37, 38. Several ways of delivering them, 38. The Difference of Prophecies, with respect to things revealed, *Ibid*. Means and Rules to distinguish false Prophecies from true, 1b. &c. The Difference between Prophecy and Inspiration, 18, 117. Sect. 21. in the Notes. Prophecies of Jesus Christ contained in the Psalms, 106.

**P**roverbs. The signification of that word, 108. The method of teaching Morality by Proverbs or Sentences, its usefulness, 109. Who was the Author of the Book of Proverbs, 108. The Excellency of Solomon's Proverbs, 109. The Book of Proverbs, call'd the Wisdom of Solomon, 108.

**P**salms. Of the general Title of the Psalms, 102. Of their particular Titles, *Ibid* & 104. Whether David was the Author of them all, 102. Of what Psalms he was the Author, *Ibid* & 103. Other Authors of the Psalms, 103, 104. The use of Psalms among the Jews, 104. Whether they are written in Verse, 105. The Subjects of the Psalms, *Ibid* &c. Of the Psalms added in the Greek Edition, 26.

**Q**

**P**asquier **Q**UESNEL, Priest of the Oratory. *His Translation of the New Testament into French*, 219.

**Q**uestions upon the holy Scripture, 281. The usefulness of that way of explaining it, *Ibid*.

**R**

**R**EASON. The use of Reason in interpreting the Holy Scripture, 288, 289.

**R**evelation. Of the different sorts of Revelations that God has made to men, 32. &c. The difference between the Revelations of

the Old and New Testament, 32. Divers kinds of Revelations under the Old Testament, *Ibid* &c. That all the Revelations, left to us of those that were made from the Creation of the World till Jesus Christ, are contain'd in the Books of the Old Testament, 34.

**C**assiodore Reyna. *His Translation of the Bible into Spanish*, 219.

**R**uth. When the History of Ruth happen'd, 84. Of the Book of Ruth, and its Author, *Ibid*.

**S**

**A**lphonfus **S**ALMERO. *His opinion of the Decree of the Council of Trent, concerning the Vulgar Translation*, 200.

**S**amaritans. The History of the Samaritans, 164, 165. Of whom they receiv'd their Pentateuch, 165, &c. Of the Samaritan Tongue, and Paraphrases of the Samaritan Pentateuch, 168. Of the Samaritan Characters, 133, &c.

**S**amuel. Whether he was the Author of the two first Books of Kings, or a part of them, 84, 85. A Book of Samuel that is lost, 22.

**S**anhedrim. Whether the Canon of the Jews was approv'd and publish'd by the Authority of the Sanhedrim, 5.

**S**cholia. Of Scholia on the Bible, 280.

**S**ciences. The necessity of Sciences in order to understand the Scripture, 287.

**S**cribes. In what sense that word is taken in the Old and New Testament, 46. A Refutation of Mr. Simon's pretence, that there were always publick Scribes or Writers of Memoirs among the Jews divinely inspir'd, 43, &c.

**S**cripture. That name given by way of excellence to the sacred Writings, 1. Several names given to the Collection of the Books of Scripture, *Ibid* & 2. Whether it was all written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, 55. The Principle upon which the Authority of the Holy Scripture is founded, 29. &c. Of the reading of the Holy Scripture; and whether it was written to be read by all Christians, or only by Priests, 222, &c. The benefit that all Believers may receive from it, prov'd by Tradition, 229. &c. Objections answer'd, 246. &c. That the reading of it was never absolutely forbidden to all Christians, 249. &c. nor by the Council of Trent, 254, 255. Of the rule of the Index that seems to prohibit it, 255. That the reading of it is authoris'd and approved, at present, every where, 256. &c. The reasons for which some might think that it ought to be forbidden to Christians, ceased, 261, 262. And new ones for advising them to read it come into their place, *Ibid*. How persons ought to be dispos'd to read the Holy Scripture with Profit, 263, 264. Of the Eloquence of the Scripture, 265. &c. Of the Perspicuity

## contain'd in this First Volume.

- Perpicuity and Obscurity of it*, 270. &c. *The reasons of the obscurity of the Holy Scripture in some places*, 271. *Of the means to overcome it*, Ibid. & 272. *Of the sense of the Holy Scripture*, 273. &c. *Of the different ways of interpreting it*, 280. &c. *Of the Rules to be observ'd in interpreting it*, 285. &c. *Of the Division of the Holy Scripture into Chapters, Verses, and other parts*, 290. &c.
- Sections.** *The Division of the Bible into great and small Sections by the Jews*, 291.
- Sense.** *A definition of that Term*, 273. *An Historical and Metaphorical Sense*, Ibid. & 274. *A literal and Mystical or Spiritual Sense*, 274, 275. *An Allegorical, Tropological, Moral, Anagogical, and other Senses*, 275. *Several kinds of Allegorical Senses*, 274, 275. *Whether the Scripture has more Senses than one*, 276. *Whether a Mystical Sense be demonstrative*, Ibid. *Whether all passages of Scripture have two Senses*, Ibid. *Whether one and the same Passage has two literal Senses*, Ibid. *Which of the two, the Literal or Mystical Sense, is the principal*, Ibid. &c. *The Use and Abuse of Mystical Senses of Scripture*, 278, 279.
- Septuagint.** *The History of the Septuagint, and what divers Authors have said of them*, 169. &c. *The falshood of that History*, 171, &c. *That there was a Version of the Septuagint*, 175. *Why so called*, Ibid. & 176. *Of what Books*, 176. &c. *Of the Authority of the Version of the Septuagint*, 190. *When it ought to be follow'd or forsaken*, 156. &c. *Whether there were two Versions of the Septuagint*, 178. *Whether they were in the Hexapla of Origen*, 182. *The Version of the Septuagint corrected by Origen in his Hexapla, and made conformable to the Hebrew Text by the means of Spits, Afterisks and other Marks*, 183. &c. *Several old Editions of the Version of the Septuagint*, 186, 187. & new, 188. *Whether it may pass for Authentick*, Ibid.
- Shemaiah.** *Of a Book of that Prophet which is lost*, 22.
- Mr. Simon.** *A Refutation of his Hypothesis, concerning the Writers of publick Registers among the Jews, pretended to be divinely inspired*, 43. &c. *A Refutation of his Opinion about the Author of the Pentateuch*, 61, 62. and the Reasons peculiar to him, 70, 73. *Of his Hypothesis of the Rolls*, 74. *A Refutation of his Opinion about the Time when the Hebrew Tongue ceased to be understood*, 132.
- Gabriel Sionita.** *Of his Edition of the Syriac Translation of the Bible*, 208.
- Sixtus V.** *An Edition of the Bible set out by that Pope, and what became of it*, 203.
- Solomon.** *Of the Book of the Proverbs of Solomon*, 108. *Of his Ecclesiastes*, 109. &c. *Of his Book of Canticles*, 111, 112. *Of the Time when he compos'd those three Books*, 108, 109. *That he was not the Author of the Book of Wisdom*, 113. *Whether he was the Author of the Book of Ecclesiasticus*, 114. and of the Book of Job, 101. *Books of Solomon that are lost*, 22.
- Songs.** *Moses the first Author of Songs in the praise of God*, 104.
- Song of Songs.** *What is meant by that Title*, 112. *Who was the Author of that Book*, Ibid. *The subject of it explain'd*, Ibid.
- The Song of the three Children in the fiery Furnace.** *Added to the Prophecy of Daniel*, 118. *Whether it be Canonical*, 13, &c.
- Speech.** *The Original of it*, 122. *Whether Adam and Eve had it by Infusion*, 123.
- Benedictus Spinoza.** *His Opinion about the Author of the Pentateuch*, 61.
- Stephen de Citeaux.** *The Revision he made of the Latin Translation of the Bible by St. Jerom*, 197.
- Susanna.** *The History of Susanna, whether it be Canonical*, 13, 14, 15. *The Truth of that History*, 118.
- Symmachus.** *Who he was*, 179. *When he made his Version, and what sort of Version that is*, Ibid. & 180. *Of two Editions of it*, 180.
- Syriac.** *Of the Syriac Tongue*, 207. *Of Translations of the Bible into Syriac*, 208, 210. *The Divine Office celebrated in that Language*, 210, 211.
- T.
- TEMPLE.** *The Prophecy of Haggai about the Second Temple*, 120.
- Testament.** *In what sense that word is used to signify the old and new Covenant*, 1, 2. *The Division of the Books of the Old Testament*, 17, &c. *The Order of those Books*, 19, &c.
- Tetrapla.** *By whom compos'd, and what*, 181. *Of how many Columns*, Ibid. &c. *The Disposition of the Translations in the Tetrapla*, 183.
- Theodotion.** *Of what Country and Self*, 180. *When he made his Version*, 179. *A Judgment concerning it*, 180.
- William Tindal.** *His Translation of the Bible into English*, 220, 221.
- Tobit.** *Who he was, and when he lived*, 89. *Of the Truth of his History, and when it happen'd*, lb. *By whom, and how written, and of what use*, Ibid. *The Book of Tobit out of the Canon of the Jews*, 10. *By whom cast out of the Canon, and by whom cited*, Ibid.
- Toulouse.** *Of the Decree of the Council of Toulouse in the year 1229. about reading the holy Scripture*, 250.
- Tradition.** *That it ought to be a Rule in interpreting the holy Scripture*, 285. *That we are not oblig'd to follow it but in what concerns Faith and Manners*, Ibid. & 286.
- Transla-



## A Table of the Principal Matters.

**Translations of the holy Scripture.** *Whether there was a Greek Translation before that of the Septuagint, 168, &c. Of the Translations of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion, and other Greek Versions, 178, &c. Of the old Latin Translations of the Bible, 192, 193. Of S. Jerom's Translation, 193, &c. Of the Vulgar, and its Faithfulness and Authority, 197, &c. Of the new Latin Translations of the Bible, 204, &c. Of the Chaldee Translations or Paraphrases, 206, 207. Of the Syriac Versions, Ibid. & 208. Of the Arabic Translations, 208, 209. Of the other Oriental Translations, 210, &c. Translations of the Bible into all sorts of Languages, 210, 215, 218. Whether there was a Translation of the Scripture into the Dalmatian Tongue, 213. Whether there was one into the Punic, Ibid. The Necessity of consulting Translations in order to a right understanding of the Scripture, 287. The History and Enumeration of Translations of the Bible into Vulgar Tongues, 215, &c. Into Teutonic, 216. Into French, Ibid. &c. Into Italian, 219. Into Spanish, Ibid. Into German, and Low-Dutch, 220. Into English, Ibid. & 221. Into Swedish, Danish, Polish, Bohemian, and Hungarian, 221. Whether the Church has prohibited Translations of the Scripture into known Tongues, 249, &c. The Opinion of Gerson as to that matter, 250, 251. The Judgment of several other Writers upon the same Subject, 251, &c. Of the Theological Faculty of Paris, 253, 254. Of that of Lovain, 254. Of the Council of Trent, Ibid. & 255. Of the Rules of the Index concerning it, 255, 256. Of authoriz'd Catholick Translations, 256, &c. Of what was done with respect to this Matter by the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1655. pag. 259. and in 1660. Ibid. As to the New Testament of Mons, 260. Translations of the holy Scripture into a known Tongue, generally receiv'd and approv'd at present, Ibid. & 261. The Reasons that might have occasion'd their Prohibition, ceased, 261. Reasons for making such Translations, Ibid. & 262. The Qualifications requisite in them, 262, 263.*

**Tremellius and Junius.** *Their Translation of the Bible, 205.*

**Council of Trent.** *An Explication of the Decree, whereby it declar'd the Vulgar Translation Authentical, 198, &c. That it did not prohibit the reading and translating the holy Scripture in a known Tongue, 254, 255.*

**Cutbert Tunstall.** *His Translation of the Bible into English, 221.*

### V.

**Cyprian VALERIUS.** *His Translation of the Bible into Spanish, 219.*

**Andreas Vega.** *His Opinion of the Decree of the Council of Trent, concerning the Vulgar Translation, 199, 200.*

**Francis Veron.** *His Translation of the New Testament into French, 218.*

**Verles.** *The antient and new Divisions of the Bible into Verses, 290. Of how many sorts, and their Difference, Ibid. 291.*

**Versions.** *See Translations.*

**Joseph de Voisin.** *What was done concerning his Translation of the Mass-Book into French, by the Assembly of the Clergy, and the Theological Faculty of Paris, 259.*

**James de Voragine.** *His Translation of the Bible into Italian, 219.*

**Vulgar.** *The antient Vulgar Translation of the Bible, 193. The new Vulgar Translation by S. Jerom, Ibid. &c. when receiv'd in the Latin Church, 196. Of our Vulgar Translation, 197. In what sense declared Authentical by the Council of Trent, 198, &c. Whether it ought to be preferred before the Original Texts, 199, &c. Whether it be without faults, 199. The Opinions of Divines and Historians of the Council of Trent about the Authenticalness of the Vulgar Translation, Ibid. &c. Editions of the Vulgar Translation, 203. The Approbation of it, Ibid. Whether it be necessary to follow always the Vulgar in Editions of the Bible, 206. and Translations of it into a known Tongue, 263.*

**Uzziah.** *A Book of the Acts of Uzziah, written by Isaiah, lost, 22.*

### W.

**WARS.** *Whether there was any such Book as that, Of the Wars of the Lord, 21.*

**John Wickliff.** *His Translation of the Bible into English, 220. His abuse of the Holy Scripture, 250.*

**Wisdom.** *Of the Book that carries that Name, its Author, and Subject, 113. By whom cited under the name of Holy Scripture; by whom rejected; and by whom receiv'd as Canonical, 12.*

**Writing.** *The original of Writing, 133. Which were the most antient Characters, Ibid. Of the Characters used before the Flood, Ibid. Of the old Phœnician and Hebrew Characters, Ibid. & 134.*

### Z.

**ZECHARIAH.** *Who was that Zechariah that has left us his Prophecy, 120. That there were several of that Name, Ibid. Who is that Zechariah of whom it is said in the Gospel, that he was slain between the Temple and the Altar, Ibid. The Subject of Zechariah's Prophecy, Ibid.*

**Zephaniah.** *When he prophesied, and the Subject of his Prophecy, 120.*

**ERRATA.]** Page 22. line 10. After the word *Uzziah* insert, *written by Isaiah.* P. 23. l. 10. after the words, *his work*, insert, *The Prophecy of Jonah which is lost.* P. 151. Note (c) at the end add, *He began to prophesy but at the End of the Reign of Uzziah.* P. 128. l. 21. read, *name of Hebrews.*

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# THE PREFACE.

OUR Author, in this and the former Volume of his *Dissertations* on the *Bible*, has enter'd upon a very useful and noble Subject. Not that he pretends to have made many new Discoveries in the Matter, but only to have collected together what others have said, and to have set that in as clear a Light as possible. He freely confesses, that this sort of study appear'd very early in the Church; that, besides the Ancient Fathers, and others, who have written very largely upon the *Bible*, there have been a great many Treatises of the same Nature composed by Modern Writers, both *Romanists* and *Protestants*. A Catalogue of the most Eminent of these Authors, and of their Tracts, either upon the whole Bible in General, or upon separate and distinct Subjects relating thereto in Particular, *M. Du Pin* gives us in his *Preface* to the first Volume; wherein he likewise clears himself from the Imputation of being a *Plagiary*. To do our Author Justice, we think it very proper to insert what he has said as to that Point, since we omitted it in our former *Preface*. His Words, as they lie in the Original, are as follow : *Mais afin qu'on ne m'accuse point d'être plagiaire des Ouvrages des autres, j'avoue & je reconnois que la plupart des choses qui sont dans celui-ci, ont été dites avant moi par ceux qui ont traité de ces matières. Je ne me vante point d'avoir fait beaucoup de Nouvelles découvertes, & je serai parfaitement content si le public est satisfait*



## The PREFACE.

*tisfait du choix des matiere que j'ai recueillies, de la Methode avec laquelle je les ai traitées, & des sentiments que j'ai embrassés.* i. e. " But that none may charge me with being a *Plagiary*, I here freely own and declare, That " most of the Things in this my Treatise have been said " already, by those that have treated before me on the " same Subject. I do not boast of having made very " many *New Discoveries*, and shall be very well satisfied " if the World be but pleased with the *Choice* of my Matter, with the *Method* I have pursued, and with the *Opinions* I have embraced. After so fair a Confession and Acknowledgment as this, none can reasonably charge our Author with *Plagiarism*, especially considering that in his Citations he mentions by Name Most of the Writers, whose Opinions he has cited.

But enough we presume has been said to vindicate the Doctor of the *Sorbonne*, and to give some Light into his Design in general. It may be expected, that we should now give some Account of what he has done in this his Second Volume upon the *New Testament*.

And here it will be granted by every Man who impartially peruses it, That he discovers a great deal of Reading and much Judgment through the whole, and that where ever he advances any thing which seems to thwart the Opinion of the Reformed Churches, it is chargeable upon his Education and Circumstances: So that we are rather to wonder that a *Sorbonne* Doctor has said so much for us, than to be offended at his saying any thing against us. And even in that which may be judged to have a tendency against the common Doctrine of Protestants, he hath acquitted himself with so much Calmness and Moderation, that we could scarcely wish for a fairer Adversary.

Tho' there be nothing advanc'd in this Volume that can reasonably be thought capable of staggering any Protestant of Learning; yet the Persons concern'd in the Publication, think they owe so much to the Establish'd Religion,

## The P R E F A C E.

Religion, that they would not by any means be Instrumental in laying a stumbling Block before the weakest Professor of it; and therefore find themselves obliged to give some Cautions as to the most material Points wherein *M. Du Pin* seems to be too much swayed by the Interest of the Church of *Rome*.

The first thing thought fit to be taken notice of is, his Proposition, *Cap. 1. Sect. 8. That it is by the Testimony of the Church and Tradition that we know the divinely Inspired Books of the New Testament.*

It's obvious at first view that this Proposition would seem to imply that there are some of the Books of the *New Testament* not divinely Inspired, which is only our Author's Inadvertency in forming his Proposition, but not his Opinion; and therefore he is not chargeable with Herodoxy as to that Point. But it is evident, that the design of the whole *Section* is to bring us to a dependency upon the Church of *Rome's* Authority for the *Rule* of our Faith and Manners; for he lays it down at first, *That the Tradition of the Church is the only certain and infallible Rule to know whether a Book be wrote by a Person divinely Inspired.* 2. *Whether he did write it by divine Inspiration.* And, 3. *To make us certain of both one and t'other.*

We don't deny that the Consent of the Universal Church in such Matters is the best *Secondary Rule*, and most to be relied on of any *Humane Authority*, but need go no further than what *M. Du Pin* hath advanc'd in the preceding *Section* to overthrow his Proposition, and to prove that the *divinely inspired* Books may be known by their own *Intrinsic* Light and *Infallible* Evidence, without being beholden to the *Tradition* of the *Universal Church*, much less to that of the *particular Church of Rome*.

This he must needs have been convinced of himself, had he consider'd, that he said in the 7th *Section*, *That the Predictions of future Events, which were accomplish'd long after the death of the Authors, as the Ruine of Jerusalem, the Unbelief of the Jews, the Persecution of the Christians, the Establishment of the Gospel throughout the Earth, and that Here-*



## The P R E F A C E.

sies should arise, are Authentick Proofs that those Books are divinely inspired. If so, it's a plain Concession that there's no need of the Churches Tradition to know the divinely inspired Books of the New Testament; especially if we consider what he immediately subjoyns, viz. That those Books have a Character wholly Divine; that there's nothing Humane in what they relate or teach; that for Wisdom they surpass the Books of the wisest Pagans, tho' wrote by unlearned Men; that they infinitely excel those wrote by Christians; are free of humane Weaknesses; that every thing in them is True, Sublime, Great and Divine; That the Doctrines there taught are above the reach of humane Wit; and that the Precepts therein given us are more perfect than those prescrib'd by Reason. If the Case be so, as undoubtedly it is, there's no more need of the Tradition of the Church to assure us that those Books are Divine, than to assure Men that have the use of their Senses, that the Sun gives Heat and Light.

It were easie to multiply other Arguments, but we shall content our selves with a few of those insisted upon by Protestants to maintain this Proposition; As that the Holy Ghost in the Scripture refers us to the Scripture it self for the Truth of Revelation, and settling our belief of its Divinity: To the Law and to the Testimony, *Isai. 8. 20.* The Scripture is the Foundation of the Church, and therefore hath not its Authority, even in respect of us, from the Church: But, on the contrary, the Church hath her Authority from it. Our Saviour sent the Jews to the Scripture, but never to the Church, to prove that his Doctrine was of divine Inspiration. The same Doctrines we have in the Scripture were known to be divinely Inspired before they were written, without any dependance upon the Authority of the Church. The Scriptures were Authentick in themselves before the Declaration of the Church: And by the same Evidence that the Church was convinced of their being divinely Inspired, we may be convinced too. And on the same Grounds that the Church rejected other Books as not Canonical, we may reject them too. It is dishonourable to God, that the Credit of his Word should depend upon the Testimony of Men: It exalts Men above God: So that as *Tertullian* said of

## The P R E F A C E.

of old of humane Presumption, *Nisi homini Deus placuerit Deus non erit.* It may be said of the Church of Rome in this Case, *That what does not please her shall not be admitted as divinely Inspired; and by Consequence all our Faith must be built on Humane Authority:* And perhaps upon the mere *Capriches* of some one prevailing Party of Men.

The next thing we take notice of is, That in the close of his Dissertation upon the Revelations, *Cap. 2. Sect. 13.* he hints *that the Things spoke of by St. John in that Book were speedily to come, and are by Consequence apparently fulfilled.* We are not to wonder at this in a *Dignitary* of the Church of Rome, whose Apostacy and turning *Anti-Christian* is so graphically set forth in the *Revelation*, and whose Destruction is likewise plainly foretold there; but had M. Du Pin duly weighed the whole Book, he would have found Reason to interpret those Words of St. John in the first Verse, concerning *things which must speedily come to pass*, as the generality of *Protestants* do, *viz. That they were speedily to begin to be fulfilled; but not that they were long ago fulfilled in the Pagan-Roman Empire:* Since it is evident that Face does not answer to Face more exactly in a Glass, than the Church of Rome at this Day answers to the Description of the *Anti Christian* Empire in the Revelations: And that *Rome-Papal* better deserves the Characters given of the *Great Whore*, than *Rome-Pagan* ever did. It is also evident from the 19th Verse, That the Apostle had a Commission to write the things *that shall be hereafter;* which being limited to no certain Period of Time, is with Reason interpreted by *Protestants*, to take in the Condition of the Church to the End of the World; especially since, as we have already hinted, the Characters given here of *Anti Christ* are so visible in the Church of Rome at this very Day.

It is true that M. Du Pin and the Doctors of the Romish Church are not alone in this Matter. *Hugo Grotius*, Dr. *Hammond*, and some other Men of *Great Names*, who were not of that Communion, fell in with them as to that Opinion; but with how little Reason is well enough known to those who have perus'd what has been said on both sides:

To



## The P R E F A C E.

To which we shall add, That how Great soever those Men may have been, we have no Reason to have their Persons so much in Admiration, as to prefer their Judgment in this Point to that of the first *Reformers* in all Churches; and particularly to that of those Great Lights of our own Church, the Archbishops *Cranmer* and *Usher*, the famous Bishops *Jewell*, *Grindal*, *Abbot*, and others, much less to the unanimous Opinion of all the *Reformed Churches Abroad*, the Judgment of the Church of *England* in her Homilies and Offices, and that of the Parliaments of *England* in the Reigns of *Henry VIII.* *James I.* &c.

Thus much we thought requisite to say by way of Caution. What he has offer'd most considerable in the remaining Part of this Second Volume, is his Treating concerning the manner, how the Greek Text of the *New Testament* came to be corrupted, and of the various Lections to be met with in several Manuscripts. In speaking to the Manuscripts he particularly enlarges on the three most famous Ones, *viz.* the *Vatican*, the *Oxford*, and the *Cambridge MSS.* concerning which last he sets down the various Opinions of several Authors, and gives us his own Sentiments upon it. We pass over what he says concerning the Apostles Creed, the Books attributed to the *Sibils*, the famous Passage cited out of *Josephus* in favour of the Christian Religion, with other remarkable Things, and leave them to the further Perusal and Censure of the Learned Readers in the Treatise it self.

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THE

# THE CONTENTS.

## CHAP. I.

**O**F the Authority and Canon of  
the Books of the New Testa-  
ment. Page 1

SECT. I. Of the Revelation made by  
Jesus Christ, and of the Manner of  
its publication throughout the World. Ibid.

II. Of the Manner how the Books of the  
New Testament were composed. 4

III. That the Books of the New Testa-  
ment are certainly the Works of those  
Authors whose Names they bear. 5

IV. That the Books of the New Testa-  
ment have not been corrupted. 7

V. That the Authors of the Books of the  
New Testament, had no design to  
write Fables. 8

VI. That the Authors of the Books of the  
New Testament were neither decei-  
ved nor Deceivers. 9

VII. That the Authors of the Books of  
the New Testament were divinely  
inspired, and that Their Writings are  
Divine. 12

VIII. That 'tis by the Testimony of the  
Church and Tradition that we know  
the divinely inspired Books of the  
New Testament. 13

IX. Of the Canon of the Sacred Books  
of the New Testament; and in par-  
ticular, of those whereof there hath  
been some Doubt, whether they were  
Canonical. 16

## CHAP. II.

Concerning the Authors of the New  
Testament, and the Books them-  
selves. 20

SECT. I. Of the Names of the New  
Testament and Gospel, and of the  
Titles of the Gospels. Ibid.

II. Of the ancient Gospels: That the  
Church never receiv'd any more than  
four as Canonical, and why. Sym-  
bols ascrib'd to the four Evangelists.  
Of the Harmony and Difference  
found betwixt the four Gospels.  
The Order in which they were com-  
pos'd. 22

III. Of St. Matthew and his Gospel:  
In what Language he wrote it. If  
it differ from the Gospel of the Na-  
zareans. Of the Authenticalness of  
the Greek Text. Of some Additions  
made to the Text. 26

IV. The Life of St. Mark: Concern-  
ing his Gospel: Of the Truth of the  
last whole Chapter of it, 40

V. The Life of St. Luke: Of his Go-  
spel: How it was corrupted by the  
Marcionites. Of the Truth of Christ's  
sweating Drops of Blood. Of the Al-  
terations and Additions in the Cam-  
bridge Manuscript. 44

VI. The Life of St. John. Concerning  
his Gospel. The History of the Wo-  
man taken in Adultery. 48



## The CONTENTS.

<p>VII. Of the Books of the Acts of the Apostles. 53</p> <p>VIII. The Life of St. Paul: Of the Time, Occasion and Subject of his Letters. That the Epistle directed to the Hebrews is St. Paul's: In what Language it was wrote. Ibid.</p> <p>IX. Of the Catholick Epistles in general, and of that of St. James in particular. Whose it is. How many St. James's there are. The Life of St. James the Brother of our Lord, the Author of this Epistle. The Argument of this Epistle. 69</p> <p>X. Of the two Epistles of St. Peter: That the second is really his. 74</p> <p>XI. Of three Epistles of St. John. Of the Passage concerning the Trinity, which is in the first Epistle. 76</p> <p>XII. Of St. Jude and his Epistle. 80</p> <p>XIII. Of the Revelation. 82</p>	<p>V. Of what Nature those Differences are, which are in the Greek Text, and betwixt that and the Vulgar Latin. 110</p> <p>VI. Principles and Rules whereby to judge which of the different Editions ought to be follow'd, and when the Greek Text ought to be preferr'd before the Vulgar Latin, or the Vulgar before the Greek. 111</p> <p>VII. Of the Hellenistical Language. 114</p>
--	--

### CHAP. III.

#### Concerning the Greek Text of the New Testament. 97

SECT. I. How the Greek Text of the New Testament was preserved in the Church without any Falsification: Of the Variations which might have crept into it: Of the Editions of this Text, and of the Differences that are in the Manuscripts. 97

II. Of the Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament, and particularly of the Vatican, Oxford and Cambridge Manuscripts. 103

III. The rise and occasion of the Faults that might have crept into the Greek Text of the New Testament. 107

IV. The Original of the Faults that might have crept into the Text of the Vulgar Latin. 109

### CHAP. IV.

#### Of the Versions of the New Testament. 115

SECT. I. Of the Latin Versions of the New Testament: Of the Ancient Vulgar, the New Vulgar, and the Modern Versions. 115

II. Of the Oriental Versions of the New Testament. 117

### CHAP. V.

#### Of the Division of the New Testament into Titles and Chapters. 119

### CHAP. VI.

#### Of the Apocryphal Books of the New Testament. 120

SECT. I. Of the Letter of Jesus Christ to King Agbarus, and of that King's Letter to Jesus Christ. 121

II. Of several Letters attributed to the Virgin Mary. 123

III. Of the ancient Gospels which are not Heretical, tho' they be not Canonical: 123

# The CONTENTS.

*nical: Namely, the Gospels according to the Hebrews, and according to the Egyptians.* Ibid.

IV. *Of the Proto-Evangelium of Saint James, and the Gospel of Nicodemus.* 124

V. *Of the false Gospels forg'd by the Hereticks.* 125

VI. *Of the spurious Acts of Apostles and Revelations.* 128

VII. *Of the Epistle of Saint Barnabas.* 130

VIII. *Of the Liturgies which are falsely attributed to the Apostles.* 133

IX. *Of the Apostle's Creed.* 135

X. *Of the Canons and Constitutions attributed to the Apostles.* 144

XI. *Of the Books attributed to Prochorus, Saint Linus, Abdias, and of the Acts of the Passion of Saint Andrew.* 149

## CHAP. VII.

*Of the Ancient Prophane Records produc'd in Favour of the Christian Religion.* 150

SECT. I. *Of the Sibyls and the Oracles commonly attributed to them.* Ibid.

II. *Of the Books attributed to Hyfaspes and Mercurius Trismegistus.* 161

III. *Of the Letters of Lentulus and Pilate concerning Jesus Christ.* 162

IV. *Of the Epistles of Seneca to Saint Paul, and of those of Saint Paul to Seneca.* 163

V. *Of the Passages of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ, Saint John Baptist, and Saint James.* 164


VI. *Of several Authors whose Works relate to the Sacred History, such as Philo, T. Flavius Josephus, Justus, Aristas, Aristobulus, Josephus Ben-gorion, Berofus, the false Dorotheus, Zoroaster, &c.* 168

E R.

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## ERRATA.

**P**Age 8. line 13. for *every one*, r. *every day*. l. 27. for *Interposiation*, r. *Interpolation*. l. 38. for *In-vention*, r. *Intention*. p. 10. l. 16. for *Imposfor*, r. *Imposiure*. l. 42. for *one other*, r. *one or other*. p. 12. l. 8. dele *that*. p. 18. Notes, Col. 1. l. 2. for *Heathens*, r. *Hereticks*. p. 28. Notes Col. 2. *anteponult*. for *conscriptit*, r. *conscriptum*. p. 29. l. 40. for *would*, r. *could speak*. p. 32. l. 6. r. *and was* *preferr'd*. p. 43. l. 19. r. *dyasus*. p. 46. Notes, Col. 2. l. 7. for *directed*, r. *dictated*. p. 54. Notes, Col. 2. l. 5. r. 30. p. 64. l. 42. for *Hypotheses*, r. *Hypotiposes*.

 *Note*, There's a Mistake in Paging, for after 84 comes 97, but the Contents are re-  
ferr'd to the right Pages notwithstanding.

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A Com-



A

# Compleat History

OF THE

## CANON and VWRITERS

OF THE

## OLD and NEW

# TESTAMENT, &c.

By Way of DISSERTATION.

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### VOL. II.

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#### CAP. I.

Of the Authority and Canon of the Books of the N. Testament:

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#### SECT. I.

*Of the Revelation made by Jesus Christ, and of the Manner of its publication throughout the World.*

**T**HE Revelation which God made to Men by Jesus Christ his Son, does as much surpass those that he made by the Prophets, as the Dignity of the Person of Jesus Christ excell'd that of the Patriarchs and Prophets. In the first Revelations God made use of Angels or Men to make known those Truths to Mankind, that he would have them taught. In this he made use of his own Son, whom according to the words of St. Paul he hath appointed Heir of all things, and by whom he made the World. But it is not only the Dignity of the Person whom God hath made use of in this second Revelation, which renders it much more considerable than the first; it hath divers other advantages besides. For, 1. Those Antient Revelations were obscure and vail'd over with Figures and Parables that conceal'd the Mysteries and Truths. This is evident, and discovers clearly the most sublime Truths and profound Mysteries. 2. The first were imperfect and defective in abundance of things; they contain'd only a small number of Truths, a great many being reserv'd to the time of the Messia. This is complete and perfect, there is nothing more to be hoped for in this World; it is the perfection and end of all Revelations. As there was never any like it before, neither will there be any like it

in time to come. It will continue till the end of the World. 4. The first was only for the Jews, they were known to none but that Nation; they were always confin'd to *Judea*, and the rest of the World knew nothing of them till the Coming of Jesus Christ. This was made for all Nations. It was spread through all the Earth, and this Light did shine, and shines still for the Use of all Men.

The Son of God being come then into the World to declare unto Men the Truths which his Father was willing to reveal to 'em: He spent the last Years of his Life in Preaching them in *Judea*, from whence the Light of the Gospel was to be carried into all Nations. Whilst he continued upon Earth, there was no difficulty to learn what his Doctrine was; there was no more to do but to address our selves to him, to hearken to him, and to understand the meaning of his words. He equally Instructed all Men, he allow'd them to ask him Questions, and answered with Meekness such as came with a design to inform themselves, but on the other hand confounded those who came to ask him Questions meerly to take advantage of what he said. But since he was to stay only a little while upon the Earth, he took care to Instruct his Apostles and Disciples more particularly in the Truths he had a mind they should Teach the World after his Death. He hid nothing from them of what his Father would have reveal'd to Man. He says to them, *John 15. 15. I will not henceforth call you Servants, for the Servant knoweth not what his Master does, but I have called you Friends, because I have revealed to you all that I have heard of my Father; And cap. 17. 18. I speaking to his Father, he says, I have given unto them the words that thou gavest to me.* The Apostles and Disciples being thus Instructed by the Mouth of Jesus Christ, might also give Testimony to his Doctrine. But that they should know it fully, and be infallible after he ascended to Heaven, he confirm'd them, and gave them New Light, by sending them his Holy Spirit, who completely instructed them in all the Truths of the Religion which they were to know. This Dispensation is represented in the last words of our Saviour Jesus Christ to his Apostles. He order'd them to go through all the World to Preach the Gospel, to Teach the People, and to Baptize them in the Name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, *Matth. 28. 18. All power, (says he) is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. Go ye therefore and teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I commanded you.* He assures them that to the end they might be enabled to Preach the Gospel, he would send them the Holy Ghost, his Father had promised them, and order'd them to stay in the City of *Jerusalem*. and wait for it, *Luke 24. 49. And behold I send the promise of my Father upon you, but tarrye in the City of Jerusalem until ye be endued with power from on high: And eating with them, says St. Luke, Acts 1. 4. He commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me, for John truly baptized with Water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence, v. 8. Ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and you shall be witnesses unto me both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the Earth.* This is the Holy Ghost which he had promised them before his suffering, in the discourse he had with them at the last Supper in those Terms. *John 15. 16. I will pray my Father, and he will give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth, &c. v. 26. The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my Name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your Remembrance whatsoever I have said unto you, John 16. 12, 13. I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now; howbeit when he, the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all Truth, for he shall not speak of himself, but whatsoever he shall hear, that shall he speak, and he will shew you things to come. He shall glorify me, for he shall receive of mine, and shall shew it unto you.*

## Chap. I. of the Old and New Testament.

3

you. In fine, he promises his Apostles never to forsake them, *Matth. 28. v. ult. Lo I am with you even unto the end of the World.*

It results from those Promises of Jesus Christ; 1. That he chose and appointed his Apostles to Preach his Doctrine throughout the Earth, and to instruct those that would believe in him. 2. That he instructed them therein himself by his Word from the time he began to Preach, till the time of his Death. 3. That being raised again, he appeared to them several times during the forty days, to instruct them in, and to convince them of his Doctrine. 4. That he promised them his Holy Spirit, to make them remember the Doctrine he had taught them, to enlighten and confirm them in those Truths, and to enable them to maintain and Preach them. 5. That the descending of the Holy Ghost upon them, was so necessary to make them capable of acquitting themselves worthily of that Ministry, that he forbade them to depart from *Jerusalem*, or to Preach till such time as they had received it. 6. That after the Descent of the Holy Ghost, they were perfectly instructed in all the Truths of the Christian Religion, which they were to teach to those that would embrace it, and that Jesus Christ left behind him no other way for the World to be instructed in it than the Preaching of it by the Apostles throughout the Earth. This is the only way he left for Men to Learn those Truths that were necessary to Salvation, *Mark 16. 15. Go ye into all the World and Preach the Gospel unto every Creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, but he that believeth not shall be damned.* It is sufficient for Salvation to believe what the Apostles taught, and if that be not believed, we shall be condemned. There's no having recourse to other Preachers, Jesus Christ hath appointed no other. It is in vain to seek for other means of Salvation, Jesus Christ hath left none. He hath promised no New Revelation after this that he hath made to Men. By his own Preaching, and the Mission of the Holy Ghost, he taught his Apostles all the Truths which he thought it needful Men should be instructed in. The Holy Ghost made them to remember all that he had taught them, and instructed them in all that they ought to know and teach unto Men.

When our Lord Jesus Christ was ascended into Heaven, the Apostles after having received the Holy Ghost in a visible manner, *Preached the Gospel every where, the Lord working with them, and confirming the Word with signs following,* *Mark 16. 20.* They taught Men what they had seen and learned. In a word, they executed the Order and Commission which they had received from Jesus Christ; and as he commanded them to Preach all the Truths that he had taught them, and instructed them in all those that were necessary for the safety of Men; It is not to be thought that in acquitting themselves faithfully, as they have done in their Ministry, they would conceal any of those Truths, which he had revealed to them to be taught unto Men; for if they had it, must either have been out of Ignorance, Malice, Policy, Fear or Neglect, because they were not instructed in all the Truths of Religion which they must teach unto Men, because they envied the knowledge of them to some of their acquaintance, or else because they were negligent in acquitting themselves of their Ministry. But we cannot suppose the Apostles to be guilty of any of those faults. We cannot say they were ignorant of any of the Truths which Jesus Christ would have taught unto Men, for they could not be ignorant of them, but either because Jesus Christ had not revealed them to them, nor explained them clearly enough, which cannot be maintain'd without derogating from the Wisdom of Jesus Christ, or because they did not retain or understand the Truths that he taught them, of which there is not the least appearance, since they applied themselves wholly to understand him who taught them those things, whom they consider'd as their Master, who had in his mouth, as *St. Peter* said, *the words of Eternal Life*, and whom the Heavenly Father had commanded them to hear by a Miraculous Voice. And tho' it should be said, that they did not retain nor perfectly understand all the Truths which Jesus Christ had taught them before the

descent



descent of the Holy Ghost, it cannot be said so of the time that followed that descent, since the Gospel assures us in so many places that the Holy Ghost was sent on purpose to instruct them perfectly in all the Truths which Jesus Christ had taught them. Neither can we say that they maliciously conceal'd any of the Truths that Jesus Christ had taught them, they being incapable of such a prevarication, nor could they do it from any Politick Reason, since Jesus Christ had commanded them to teach publickly all that he had taught them in private, *Matth. 10. 27. What I tell you in Darknes, that speak ye in Light; and what ye hear in the Ear, that Preach ye upon the House tops.* And that when he commanded them to Preach the Gospel in all the Earth, he excepted no part nor person: *Preach the Gospel to every Creature.* He says not, make use of this Policy and Precaution, do not Preach your Doctrine to all the World, keep something secret, which you are not to trust but to a small number of People, but Preach the Gospel to every Creature, *Mark 16. 15.* To the great as well as to the small, to the poor as well as to the rich, to the ignorant as well as to the learned, to the simple as well as to those of the quickest apprehension. It is still less probable that they conceal'd any of those Truths out of fear, which they were immediately to teach after that Jesus Christ had order'd them to Preach upon the House tops that which they had heard in secret, and that he had forewarned them not to be diverted from it by the fear of Death: *Do not fear those which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul,* *Matth. 10. 28.* And the Event hath sufficiently verified, that they well observ'd that Maxim, since there were no perils to which they did not expose themselves, no penalties they did not undergo, nor punishments which they did not suffer for Preaching the Gospel, which most of them seal'd by their Death. They fear'd neither the perfidiousness of the Jews, nor the violence of the Gentiles; they Preached without fear, and in the publick places, they Preached Jesus Christ Crucified, a Doctrine which was a Stumbling-block to the Jews, and Foolishness to the Gentiles. After this there was no need of being upon the Reserve as to other Truths; all the rest of the Articles were less odious than this, and would have made them less liable to Persecution. Who then in short can suspect as guilty of Negligence, persons of such Zeal and Fervency, and who applied themselves so much to accomplish their Ministry as the Apostles, who accounted that Office their chief happiness, who acted all things, suffered all things, and died every day that they might acquit themselves worthily. It must then remain uncontroverted, that the Apostles taught, discovered, Preached, and at last committed to writing the Truths of that Religion which Jesus Christ had taught them.

## SECT II.

### *Of the Manner how the Books of the New Testament were Composed.*

OUR Saviour taught his Doctrine *viva voce*, without putting any thing in Writing. He left that to his Apostles and Disciples, and by a special Providence order'd it so, that some of 'em after having taught by word of mouth the Doctrine they receiv'd from him, after having confirm'd it by Miracles, and spread it through the World, they did also faithfully write the History of his Life, to serve for a Pattern to Christians, and to be a perpetual Monument of the Doctrine which they taught in his Name, and wrote Epistles as occasion offer'd to instruct the Churches. *St. Matthew* and *St. John* Apostles and Eye-witnesses of the Actions of Jesus Christ, wrote what they saw and heard, and *St. Mark* and *St. Luke* wrote what they learned from the Apostles themselves. The latter wrote also the History of the first Christians, and some circumstances of

## Chap. I. *of the Old and New Testament.* 5

of the Sermons and Lives of the Apostles, particularly of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, of part of which he had been witness. St. *Paul* being instructed not by Men, but by Jesus Christ himself, having all the Churches of the Gentiles, whose Apostle he was, committed to his Charge, wrote several Epistles full of the Holy Spirit of the Lord which was in him. St. *Peter*, St. *John*, St. *James*, St. *Jude*, wrote likewise Epistles on different occasions. These are the Works which Compose what we call the New Testament, and contain the principal Points of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ.

Tho' our Saviour hath wrote nothing, it is no Argument why we should not believe what his Apostles and Disciples have wrote, both as to his Person and Doctrine. This St. *Austin* proves against the Gentiles, who call'd in question what was wrote of Jesus Christ, because he did not write it himself. "I ask them (says he) why they believe without any scruple what the Disciples of their most famous Philosophers write concerning them, tho' they wrote nothing themselves? *Pythagoras* for example, the best Philosopher that ever *Greece* produced as to the speculative part, hath wrote nothing of himself, nor upon any Subject. *Socrates*, who is prefer'd before all the rest of the Philosophers on the account of his Moral Doctrine, and whom the Oracle of *Apollo* declar'd to be the Wisest of Men, hath wrote nothing but *Æsop's* Fables, nor had he done that, if we may believe his Disciple *Plato*, had he not been forc'd to it by the Order of his Genius. This Book contains the Sentences of another Man, and not his Doctrine. What reason then have the Pagans to believe what the Disciples of those Philosophers have wrote concerning them, and not to believe what the Disciples of Jesus Christ have wrote concerning him, *Lib. 1. de Doct. Chr. c. 7.*

To prove beyond Contradiction the Authority of the Books of the New Testament, and the Truth of the Matters of fact there related: We must prove in the first place that those Books are really the Writings of those whose Names they bear, that is, of the Apostles and Disciples of Jesus Christ, who were Eye-witnesses of what they wrote.

Secondly, That those Books have not been corrupted.

Thirdly, That the Writers of them are persons worthy of Credit, that they have not stuffed them with Fictions and Fables, but design'd to write such things as they would have believed to be true.

Fourthly, That they could neither be deceived themselves, nor yet deceive others. That is to say, they could neither be ignorant of the Truth of the Matters of fact which they related, nor of their Masters Doctrine, and that they could not impose upon People in relating Facts that were not true, or advance in their Writings a Doctrine contrary to that of their Master, as having receiv'd the same from him. Those four things being certain, there's no room to dispute the Authority of the New Testament. For there is nothing more easie than to make it evident.

### SECT. III.

*That the Books of the New Testament are certainly the Works of those Authors whose Names they bear.*

IT is certain at first view, that there is no Reason to doubt but the Gospels, Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, are wrote by those whose Names they bear, and that there's no cause to doubt of the Authors of all the rest, for there is nothing, the truth of which can be established by more Ancient, and more Authentick Monuments; to wit,

1. By the Testimony of Authors, who wrote a little time after, and who have quoted them, as being without doubt the Works of those whose Names they bear.

2. By the Testimony of the Christian Churches spread through the Earth, who did at all times unanimously own those Writings as Authentick and True.

3. By Inspecting into the Books themselves, which have no mark of being supposititious or Counterfeit, but on the contrary have all the Marks of Truth and Antiquity that any Authentick Monuments can have. Here is nothing contrary to History. It is manifest that the Authors wrote whilst *Jerusalem* was in being, and whilst the Jews carried the face of a Republick: This evidently proves that those Books are of that time wherein it's agreed the Apostles liv'd. It appears that the Authors of those Books are plain-hearted upright Men, who had neither the Parts, nor the Malice to forge or impose those Works upon the World. Not one thing has escap'd them contrary to History, or to the Circumstances and Customs of the Time, which would have been hard for them to have avoided, had they been Impostors. They agree with one another as to the Matters of fact they relate, but so nevertheless as 'tis evident, that it is not one Author who wrote those different Works, and that those who wrote them did not agree together to say all one thing. Their Stile is different, which makes it plain they are different Authors, and there are betwixt them seeming Contradictions and Diversities, which demonstrate plainly that the Writers did not concert those Works together. In fine, there is in those Works a certain Character of Genuineness and Truth, which make it evident that it is not the production of an Impostor, but an Authentick and True Work.

Where is there any profane Work of the Ancient Greeks and Latin Authors of whose Truth so many Authentick proofs can be brought? For the most part they satisfy themselves with the Testimony of an Author that liv'd some Years after the Work is thought to have been Compos'd: Many times they gave their Judgment upon the Conformity of the Stile alone, or by the Title found in some Manuscripts, which are for the most part not very Ancient. Nevertheless they tell us with Confidence and Moral Certainty, that those Works were wrote by those whose Names they bear. With how much more reason may we say so of the Gospels, the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, which are supported by much stronger Evidence, and a far greater Certainty? Let it be considered that those Gospels and Epistles were published in the time of the Apostles, not only in the Churches for which the said Gospels were Compos'd, or to whom those Epistles were directed, but also in the Neighbouring Churches, and that those Writings were publish'd every where in a little time. It was easie then to know the Authors of 'em, nor could they be deceiv'd, the thing being publick and certain: That the Persons who wrote those Works, those for whom, and to whom they were wrote, and the Churches who had receiv'd and own'd them, who read them, and made use of them for their Instruction, gave 'em such an Authentick Testimony, that no body doubted but they were the Writings of the Apostles. That there were Copies of 'em in all the Churches; that all the most Ancient Orthodox Authors have quoted and own'd them to be true; that when the Hereticks did afterwards Counterfeit the Works of the Apostles, or falsifie those that were true, they were immediately convicted of it, by Authentick Testimonies: That their Writings were disown'd and rejected by the Disciples of the Apostles, and by the Apostolical Churches; and that in fine, all the Churches have at all times unanimously receiv'd, the **Body of the Books** of the New Testament, which they considered as their Law and Infallible Rule; and that they Repealed the others, as false, or as not having the same Authority. If I say we give but a little heed to those things, we cannot but be convinc'd in common sense, that the Books of the New Testament are really the Works of those whose Names they bear. This is the first Truth we had to demonstrate.



SECT. IV

*That the Books of the New Testament have not been Corrupted.*

THE second Truth that those Books were not corrupted, is establish'd upon the same Evidence. It is certain in the first place, that the Originals of the Gospels, and of the Epistles of the Apostles and of the Evangelists, wrote by their own Hands, or by those to whom they had dictated them, did remain for some time in the Churches for which those Gospels were wrote, or to whom those Letters were directed. *Tertullian* seems also to assure us, that in his time there were Churches which had this precious Pledge in their keeping; when he says, speaking of those Apostolical Churches, that there they repeat their Authentick Letters, *Apud quas Authentica Litera eorum recitantur*; Terms which seem to design the Originals themselves. But tho' those words should be otherwise understood, the Respect which they had in the Churches for the Gospels and the Epistles of the Apostles, leaves us no Room to doubt, but they preserved the Originals a long time, and that Copies of them were immediately wrote, which were spread in a little time through all the Churches, where they read them publicly. Had those Copies been False, it had been impossible but the Fraud must have been discovered immediately by comparing them with the Originals. The Apostolical Churches who still had them, would soon have convicted of Forgery those falsified and interpolated Copies, and not have suffered them to have been made use of. All the Christians who had seen and read the Originals, would have been so many Witnesses to depose against them: Otherwise how could all the Copiers agree together to make the same Falsifications? How could those False Copies have been spread through the World in a little time, without any of the Churches having preserved the True Ones? It cannot then be said, That the Writings of the Apostles were falsified, either during their Lives, or speedily after their Death; nor is it to be doubted, that *St. Clement* the Roman, *Hermas*, *St. Polycarp*, *St. Justin*, *St. Irenaeus*, and the most Ancient Authors, had the Genuine Writings of the Apostles. The Apostolical Churches preserved them as they received them from the Apostles: They were the same in all Churches of the Earth. How was it possible they could be corrupted and falsified throughout in an uniform Manner? Is it credible, that all the Churches, and that all Christians should agree to falsify Them, and that they could have concealed this Imposture? Would not the Jews and Pagans have upbraided them with this Change? The Hereticks that came after, would they have spared the Christians in such a Case? When *Valentine* and *Marcion* falsified the Gospels, they were convicted of the Crime, by proving, That the Gospels kept by the Churches were more Ancient than theirs, and that their Falsification was of a later Date. In short, Can it be imagined that all the Copies of the New Testament, could have been changed and corrupted? How could that Falsification have been effected? Who was the Author of it? In what time can they say it was done? It cannot be said to have been since the time that we had the Writings of Christian Authors; for all the Passages of the New Testament which they quote, are agreeable to the Books we have, and they quote so great a Number of them, that 'tis, morally speaking, impossible that they changed them in their Works. Nor can it be said, That this Corruption was effected before any Christian began to write, that is to say fifteen or twenty Years after the Death of the Apostles, in a time when there were many Witnesses still remaining that had received them from the Apostles themselves. Could there be then any Person so impudent as to change those Books? And sup-  
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posing there were ; is it possible that all Christians would have believed them, contrary to the Universal Testimony of the Disciples. How was it possible to impose upon so many entire Societies, who had received those Books of the Apostles, who read them continually in their Assemblies, upon so many Christians who read them in private, had the Contents of them by Heart, and respected them as Sacred Books ? Would not they have universally risen up against this Change ? Those whom they suppose to have corrupted or altered them, they did so either in the Essential Part, that is to say in the Doctrine, or in things of small Consequence, and without touching upon the Essentials of the Doctrine. The latter is not likely ; for if they left the same Doctrine remaining, to what purpose was it to corrupt the Text ? And the first was impossible, because the Christians, who knew the Doctrine of the Apostles, and died every one in Defence of it, would rather have lost their Lives, than suffered their Ancient Doctrine to be overturned. In a Word, How was this Change effected ? Was it all at once ? Was it insensibly ? The Former is extravagant ; for how can we suppose, that all the Christians of the Earth should agree to falsify the Sacred Books all at once, and in one and the same Manner, and that they could effect that Design every where without Opposition ? The Latter is no less difficult to believe ; for to bring that to pass there must of necessity have been many Men, living in different Times and Places, that had the same Design and End to corrupt the Books of the Apostles, and they must always have found the Spirits of Christians disposed to receive their Fictions. Whereas, on the contrary, it is certain, by the Testimony of Christian Authors, That from the time of St. Clement and St. Polycarp till now, there was no considerable Change made in the Books of the New Testament. The Text is Equal, Uniform, of the same Style, and contains the same Doctrine ; nor does there appear therein any Interposition, Contradiction or Difference, so that there is more Ground to believe, that they are entirely Supposititious than falsified or corrupted. 'Tis not denied, but some Mistakes may have slip'd into them, as into all other Books, by the Neglect of the Copiers ; but this cannot be called a *Corruption* or *Falsification* that changes neither the History nor the Doctrine of those Books.

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#### S E C T. V.

*That the Authors of the Books of the New Testament, had no design to write Fables,*

**I**T is no less certain, That the Authors of the Books of the New Testament had no design to write Fictions and Fables, like those of Poems and Romances ; but their Invention was to write Things that they would have believed to be true, and that they fell out in the same Manner as they reported them. We need only cast our Eye upon their Works to be convinced of this. They assure us throughout, That the Matters of Fact they relate are true. They write them with the same Simplicity, and in the same Natural Manner as they fell out. Their Scope is not to divert the Reader with Fictions, but to instruct them in Matters of Fact which it was important for them to know. In short, their Works contain nothing which can occasion the least Suspicion, that they had a Mind to forge any Thing or make a fabulous Narrative.

They set down the Time, the Place, the Persons, the Matters of Fact are circumstantiated, and related in a Natural Manner, without the least Air of Forgery. It's plain, that those Authors speak every where serious and positively. It is impossible to read the four Evangelists without being convinced, that the

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Authors had no design to forge; and that their only design was to write a History which they would have looked upon to be true. *The Acts of the Apostles* have no less an Air of Sincerity and Truth. They are exact Memoirs, which contain nothing that looks like Fable. How is it possible for any Man to think, that the Epistles of the Apostles are nothing else but pleasant Fictions; that they had no design to instruct those they wrote to, nor to teach them a Doctrine that they would have them believe to be True; and that they wrote only to divert themselves and others? To maintain those things, or to think there's any shadow of Truth in them, were the most absurd thing in the World. There's no Man then of good Sense, who can doubt, that the Books of the New Testament were wrote by those to whom they are ascribed, that those Books are such as they wrote them; and that those who were the Authors of them did intend at least to make People believe, that the History they wrote was True. This being granted, there remains no more to convince us effectually, That it is so, but to prove, That they were neither imposed upon themselves, nor designed to impose upon others, that is to say, that they were neither ignorant of the Truth nor disguised it.

# SECT. VI.

*That the Authors of the Books of the New Testament were neither deceived nor Deceivers.*

TO demonstrate, That the Apostles and Evangelists could not be imposed upon in the Things they related, 'tis sufficient to observe, That they themselves heard and saw what they wrote concerning Jesus Christ, or had it from those that conversed Familiarly with him. St. Matthew, St. John, St. Peter, St. James and St. Jude saw and heard what they wrote concerning the Doctrine of Jesus Christ. They lived a long time familiarly with him. He had instructed them carefully in his Doctrine, with a design that they should teach it to others, and publish it throughout the Earth. They received his Instructions with a teachable Temper, applied themselves to understand them, and desired him to explain such Things as they did not. They retained them carefully, because they looked upon them, as Things necessary for the Salvation of themselves and others. The Respect they had for their Master, and the extraordinary Things they saw him perform, made them give special Attention to every Thing he said to them. He explained himself to them in clear Terms, and discovered to them all the Secrets of his Doctrine. They could not then be deceived on this Subject, nor be ignorant of the True Doctrine of their Master. Much less could they be mistaken in the Miracles and Matters of Fact, which they saw him perform. It had been impossible to make them believe that Jesus Christ had cured those that were Paralytick and Lame, that he raised the dead, and that after death he rose again himself, if those Matters of Fact had been false. We are to make the same Reflections upon the Evangelists; St. Luke and St. Mark wrote only what they had from Eye-witnesses, and Persons worthy of Credit, in a time when the Memory of those things was fresh and recent. Had they been false, it is impossible but they must have known the falshood of them. St. Paul, who was a Persecutor of the Christians, could he have been ignorant of it? and after having been convinced of the Imposture, whilst he was yet their Enemy, could he have afterwards perswaded himself of the Truth of that which he formerly knew to be a Fiction? It cannot then be said, that the Authors of the Books of the New Testament were deceived either as to the Doctrine or Actions of Jesus Christ.



It only remains then for us to demonstrate, That they were not Impostors neither; That 'twas impossible for them to conceive or effect a Design of imposing upon all the VWorld, to make them believe Matters of Fact to be True the Falshood of which was known to them, by publishing their own Fancies, as the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, and writing Books on purpose to give Credit to that Imposture. It is fit we should enlarge a little more upon this Subject.

In the first Place, to accuse several Authors of an Imposture, we must have some Evidence of their Dishonesty, and be able to prove their Character of their being Cheats and Impostors. But nothing can be more opposite to this Character, than that which appears in their VVritings, which plainly shew, That they were poor, simple Men, without Learning, full of Ingenuity and Sincerity, who were not capable of feigning, or of disguising Truth.

Secondly, No Man ordinarily turns Impostor for nothing. 'Tis either some Motive of Interest or Ambition that inclines Men to impose upon others. But it does not appear, That the Apostles and their Disciples could hope for any Advantage from such a gross Impostor, as that of making the History of Jesus Christ, which they themselves feigned, pass for a Truth. They could gain nothing by such an Enterprize, but Labour, Persecution and Punishment. The Doctrine they taught neither flattered their Covetousness nor Ambition: They had no humane Success to expect from their Enterprize, which was contrary to all the Rules of humane Prudence. They drew upon themselves the hatred of their own Nation, and became the Reproach of all the Earth. *Jesus Christ crucified* whom they taught, was a Subject of Scandal to the Jews, and was looked upon as Foolishness amongst the Gentiles.

Thirdly, The Matters of Fact they relate are not of such a kind as to be forged, without a possibility of discovering the Imposture: They were publicly acted, made a great Noise, were known to all the VWorld. A Prophet who preached publicly in *Judea*, for a considerable time, whom many Jews saw and heard. VVhose Reputation was established all over the Country, who worked great Miracles in the Presence of all the People; who boldly reprov'd the Priests and Doctors of the Law; who was accused, taken and delivered to the Governour of *Judea*, by the Envy of his own Countrymen; who was crucified, raised again, seen by many after his Resurrection; and, in fine, ascended unto Heaven. All those Facts could never be forged, in a Place and Time, wherein they are said to have been done, but they must immediately have been convicted of Forgery and Imposture. VVith what Forehead dared the Apostles to have preached and taught those Things as Truths, had they known them to be False, and that they could be contradicted by the Testimony of the Public? How could they possibly conceive a Design of making them pass for Truths amongst Persons who must have been convinced of their Falshood. By what means could they imagine if they had conceived such a Fantastical Design, to put it in Execution, without having the lie given them by one other.

Fourthly, Supposing we could imagine any particular Person capable of so much Extravagancy, can we believe, that such a Thing could enter into the Minds of so many; and that a great Number of Persons could invent by Concert, so many evident Falshoods, agree to teach them every where, and to deceive all the Earth in that manner, without being forced to acknowledge their Imposture, by Fatigue, Poverty, misery, Torments, and death it self? VVhat probability is there, that all of them should resolve to lay down their Lives for the maintenance of a Lie, and that neither Remorse of Conscience, Interest, Hopes nor the Rigor of Punishment should ever be able to extort this Truth from their *Mouths*.

Fifthly, If the Authors of the Books of the New Testament, had been Impostors, they would have wrote by Concert the same things; there would not have been any difference or seeming contradiction in their Narratives, they would have wrote nothing but great and singular things, and such as would have com-  
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## Chap. I. *of the Old and New Testament.* 11

manded Admiration; They would have conceal'd all that part of our Saviour's History that seem'd Mean and Weak in the Eyes of Men: But this they have not done, they have wrote what they knew of Jesus Christ, and without affectation, or omitting the Circumstances that might have render'd him despicable in the Eyes of carnal Men. They have wrote his History in a different Manner, and related it with different Circumstances. They have explained their Sentiments with Liberty, without Copying one from another, or making use of the same Terms.

Sixthly, Nothing can be more opposite to a Spirit of Imposture, than the Doctrine of the Religion that they Teach in those Books, tho' our Enemies will have them to be full of it. Is it credible, that People who were perswaded that it is a Crime to Lye, who make it their profession to say nothing but the Truth, and to die for it, should be so wicked as to teach and write nothing but Impostures? Their Books are full of a most pure and holy Morality. Their Practice was agreeable to their Maxims, that is to say, Regular, Holy, Innocent, full of Zeal for God, Truth and Religion; how then can all those things be reconcil'd with a continual Imposture, whereof they are suppos'd to be Culpable?

Seventhly, If the whole History of the New Testament were nothing but a Continuation of Impostures, how was it possible that it should be own'd as true both in *Judea* and throughout the whole Earth, that the Books which contain the same, should not only have been regarded as true, but look'd upon as Divine, and that the Doctrine which they teach should be established throughout the World, notwithstanding all the Opposition that hath been made thereunto?

Eighthly, The History of the Evangelists agrees perfectly with all that the Jewish and Pagan Historians inform us of those Times. 'Tis not from them alone that we know there was in *Judea* a Person called *Jesus Christ*, the Author of a new Religion, whom the Jews put to death. *Tacitus*, *Pliny*, *Suetonius*, *Lucian*, Pagan Authors have also made mention of it, and even those who wrote against the Christians don't contradict it. The Governours and Princes of *Judea*, spoke of in the New Testament, are also made known to us by the History of *Josephus*, who speaks of *Quirinius*, *Pontius Pilate*, *Festus*, *Felix*, *Caiaphas*, *Herod*, *Herodias* and *Agrippa*. What he says of them, agrees with what the Evangelists have wrote, so that those are not Supposititious Names or a pure Fiction. In short, all the Circumstances of the Narrative of the Evangelists agree with what other Historians have left us of the History of that Time. There are neither Contradictions nor Anachronisms, into which Impostors must of necessity have fallen. In a Word, there are no Authors that can less be suspected of Imposture, than those of the New Testament, nor any History that we can with more reason believe to be true, than that of the Evangelists and Apostles. If we question the Credit of those Witnesses, and of the Truth of the Facts, which they relate. We must call in question the Truth of all the Histories of the World, and by Consequence overthrow the Foundation of the greatest part of our Knowledge. We may doubt, whether there ever was such a Person as *Julius Cesar*, if he conquered the *Gauls*, defeated *Pompey* or was killed by *Brutus*, none of those Things being established upon Testimonies and Writings, so Authentick as the Birth, Death and Life of Jesus Christ. This is what may be said as to the Moral Certainty of the Truth of the Books of the New Testament, and of the Matters of Fact therein related. We shall now proceed further, and shew that those Books are Divine, and were composed by Men divinely inspired:



## S E C T. VII.

*That the Authors of the Books of the New Testament were divinely inspired, and that Their Writings are Divine.*

**I**F the Apostles were not Impostors, but true and honest Men, as we have just now proved, It cannot be denied, but they received the Holy Ghost to confirm them in the Truths that they had learnt from *Jesus Christ*, that they might preach them, through the Earth, for that is one of the Signal and Publick Matters of Fact, as to that which the Apostles could not be deceived nor yet deceive others. *Jesus Christ* promised to send them the Spirit of Truth which should lead them into all Truth, and teach them what they should say, when they came before Kings, Governors and Judges, to give an Account of their Religion. This Promise was fulfilled on the Day of *Pentecost*, but in such a visible manner, and with so sensible Effects, that no Body could doubt the Truth of that Inspiration. The Holy Ghost descended upon them in form of Tongues of Fire, and they received the Gift of speaking all sorts of Languages. These were such Marks and Effects as Men could not be deceived in. The Standers by who were numerous, saw those Tongues of Fire, all the People heard the Apostles and Disciples speak different Languages. This was speedily followed by Miracles performed by the Apostles, to confirm the Doctrine they preached. The Apostles being endowed with those Gifts, and animated by the Holy Ghost, preached with boldness and zeal the Truths which the Holy Ghost put into their Mouths, so that it was not so much they as the Holy Ghost which spoke in them, declaring, That the Doctrine which they taught was not their Doctrine, but that of *Jesus Christ* which the Holy Ghost inspired them with, and that what they Preached unto Men was the pure Word of God. *St. Paul* himself says, that he was not instructed by Men, but by the Revelation of *Jesus Christ*, *Gal. 1. 12.* All those things attested by the Apostles themselves, whom we cannot suspect of Trick or Imposture, leave no room to doubt that the Holy Ghost inspired the Apostles in their Sermons. And if it was necessary they should be conducted, inspired and directed in a particular manner to Preach the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, there was much more Reason they should be inspired with it to Compose those Writings which ought to subsist as Eternal Monuments of the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, and the Rule of Faith to all Christians; if they had not been so, they might have fallen into Errours as to the Matters of Religion; and if God had permitted it, he should have exposed his Church to almost an unavoidable danger of following those Errors, which would not have been consistent with his Wisdom, and the Promise he made, that it should subsist until the End of Time.

The Testimony of the Ancient Church is a strong Argument to prove that the Books of the New Testament are divinely inspired, for all the Churches have at all times received them as Divine and Sacred Books, and made a great difference betwixt those Books and all others: They were receiv'd and quoted by all, as containing nothing but what is true, as the Rule of their Doctrine and Faith, as Books whose Authority could not be rejected, nor the least of those things that they teach or relate doubted of, whereas they had not the same respect nor veneration for other Books, whoever their Authors were, or however good they might be. Whence could this Difference come, but that the Ancient Christians were persuaded there were some Writings Inspired by God, and that the others were meerly of Humane Authority.

The Predictions of future Events, every where in the Books of the New Testament, all of which were accomplish'd a long time after the Death of the Authors



Authors of those Books, as the Ruine of *Jerusalem*, the unbelief of the *Jews*, the Persecutions of the Christians, the Establishment of the Gospel throughout the Earth, that Heresies should arise, are Authentick Proofs that those Books are divinely inspired; for those Events not having fallen out till after the time they were wrote, those that wrote them must of necessity have been Prophets divinely inspired.

In a word, those Books have a Character wholly Divine; whether we consider the Things they relate, or the Doctrine they teach, there's nothing humane in it. In Wisdom they surpass the Books of the wisest *Pagans*: Yet they were composed by simple unlearned Men. There we find the most sublime Maxims of Moral Philosophy, and Precepts far above any thing that Nature can teach us. Those Books are likewise infinitely more excellent, than all those that have since been wrote by Christians. They are free of that humane Weakness, and of those Passions and Partialities, which Authors who have no other Conduct but that of their own Reason can scarcely avoid. In short, every Thing there is True, Great, Sublime and Divine. This is better perceiv'd in reading them, than can be express'd by Words or Examples. The Doctrines taught in those Books are above the reach of humane Wit. They are not then the Invention of Men. The Precepts they give are more perfect than those that meer Reason prescribes us: They are not therefore the Product of ordinary Meditation and Reflexion. And, by consequence, it is God who hath revealed those Truths, and given those Commandments; whence it follows, that the Books which contain them are Divine.

#### S E C T. VIII.

*That 'tis by the Testimony of the Church and Tradition that we know the divinely inspired Books of the New Testament.*

THREE Things are necessary to establish the Divine Authority of a Book. 1. It must be wrote by a Person inspired by the Holy Ghost. 2. The Author must have been inspired when he wrote, and composed it by a Divine Inspiration, *Inspiratione Divina*, and not meerly with the Exactness of an Historian, *Historica Diligentia*. 3. That we be sure both of the one and the other. The Inspiration not having been continual in the Apostles, neither in their Discourses nor Actions. Nor can we be assured that all their Writings were divinely inspired. There may have also been Authors divinely inspired, that are not known to be such. In short, we may be at an uncertainty, that an Apostle whom we knew to have been divinely inspired, is the Author of the Work ascrib'd to him. We must then find a certain and infallible Rule to assure us of those things.

But there is no other of that Nature, except the Tradition of the Church. For, 1. It is by her Testimony we know the Apostles to be the Authors of the Books which bear their Name. This we are sure of, as we have shew'd, because the most ancient Christian Authors ascrib'd them to them, and that all the Churches with an unanimous Consent, have own'd them as theirs. 2. We cannot be certain that those Works in particular are wrote by divine Inspiration, but because the Churches receiv'd them as such from those who compos'd them, and have always own'd and regarded them as Sacred and Divine. We can have no other undoubted Proof of their Inspiration, as that certainly is, because 'tis not possible that the Apostles and the first Guides of the Churches would have propos'd to them for a Rule of Faith and Manners, Books as divinely inspired that really were not so: And 'tis no way credible that the Churches

would have own'd those Books as Divine and Sacred, had they not been ascribed of it by credible Witnesses. It is then certain, That the Books of the *New Testament*, which the Churches receiv'd in the Primitive Times, as Genuine and Sacred, were deliver'd to them as such by the Apostles or their Disciples, who are unexceptionable Witnesses of those two Matters of Fact; and, by consequence, there's no Reason to doubt but they are true and divinely inspired.

It is also by this infallible Rule of Tradition, and the Testimony of the ancient Churches, that the holy Fathers judg'd of the Truth and Canon of the Books of the *New Testament*.

St. *Irenæus* in his third Book against Heresies, Cap. 1, 2, 11. demonstrates against Hereticks, that the four Gospels are the only true ones, because the Church that was spread over all the Earth own'd them, and the Hereticks themselves bear Witness to them, because some of them receiv'd one Gospel and others another.

*Tertullian* alleges the Testimony of the Apostolical Churches, to prove the Authority of the Gospel of St. *Luke*, and the rejecting that of *Marcion*. 'I maintain, says he, that our Gospel of St. *Luke* is receiv'd in all the Apostolical Churches, and even in all the Churches ever since it was published, and that that of *Marcion* was scarcely known to most part of them. This Authority of the Apostolical Churches will also serve to authorize the other Gospels. In another place, he says, That the Book of *Pastor* is not Canonical, because 'tis rejected by all the Churches. *Ab omni Concilio Ecclesiarum vestrarum inter Apocrypha Numerari. Lib. de Pud.*

*Serapio* in a fragment related by *Eusebius*, *Hist. lib. 6. cap. 12.* proves the falshood of the Gospel ascrib'd to St. *Peter*, by the difference betwixt the Doctrine of that Gospel, and that which the Church receiv'd by the Apostles, and because it was not authoriz'd by Tradition. 'We receive, says he, that which St. *Peter* and the other Apostles have said, as that which Jesus Christ himself hath said; but we reject the Writings which are falsely call'd by their Name, without suffering our selves to be impos'd upon by them, because we know we did not receive them from the Ancients.

It is by the Testimony of the Ancients that *Melito* maintains his Catalogue of Sacred Books. It is also upon Tradition that St. *Clement* builds, when he rejects the Authority of the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, because there are no more than four Gospels, that were given us by Tradition, *Clemens Alex. Lib. 3. Stromat.*

It is the Rule which *Eusebius* makes use of in imitation of *Origen*, to distinguish the Canonical from the Apocryphal Books, and those that are certainly supposititious from those that are doubtful. He examines which have been receiv'd at all Times and by all Churches, without having ever been called in question by any Man, which are those that have been doubted of by some few, and have since been receiv'd by all the Churches, those which are not yet receiv'd but by part, and those, in fine, that are rejected by unanimous Consent. It is by those Differences that he distinguishes the different Classes of Canonical and Apocryphal Books. *Hist. lib. 3. c. 13. l. 4. c. 24, 5. l. 6. c. 25.*

St. *Epiphanius* says, That as those Persons are convicted who falsifie a Princes Letters by producing the Originals that are preserv'd in the Archives; the Falshood of the Gospels compos'd by Hereticks is also discovered by producing the Gospel which is preserv'd in the Church, as the Archives of Law are in the Palaces of Princes. *Epib. Hæres. 42.*

St. *Jerome* reckons amongst the Canonical Books of the *New Testament*, all those that the Church Universal receives as such, and even those whereof some Churches doubted at first, as the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; of which the Church of *Rome* did sometimes doubt: The 2d Epistle of St. *Peter*, the Epistle of St. *James*, and the Epistle of St. *Jude*, of which he says, it acquir'd Authority by its Antiquity, and the use that was made of it: *Auctoritatem jam vetustatis*



## Chap. I. of the Old and New Testament.

15

*Et usum meruit. In prologo Galeato. Prefat. in Judith & Tobiam. Lib. de Script. Eccl. in voce Juda.*

But, of all the Fathers, there's none who more values the Authority and Testimony of the Synagogue and of the Church, for distinguishing the Canonical from the Apocryphal Books, than St. *Augustin*; inasmuch, as he said, 'That he would not have believ'd the Gospel, had he not been determin'd to give Credit to it by the Authority of the Church: *Ego vero Evangelio non crederem nisi me Catholica Ecclesia commoveret Auctoritas. Contr. Epist. Manich. cap. 5.* Not that the Gospel in it self derives its Authority from the Church. It hath it from God himself, who hath reveal'd and inspir'd it: But we are not sure of that Revelation but by the Authority of the Church, which teaches us that 'tis the same Gospel which was wrote by the Apostles. Thus it is S. *Augustin* explains himself in his 11th Book against *Faustus*, *Man. c. 2.* It is one thing, says he, to say that we will not receive Books, and that we don't think our selves oblig'd to believe them, as the *Pagans* say of all our Books, the *Jews* of the *New Testament*, and the *Catholicks* of the Heretical and Apocryphal Books, and another not to acknowledge the Authority, neither of those Books, nor of the Authors that compos'd them; it is one thing to say, that Man was a Saint, what he wrote is true; and that Letter is his, but another to say in that Letter, this is his, and that not. In this latter Case, when a Man is requir'd to prove what he advances, he must have recourse to Copies, either to the Truest, the most Ancient, the greatest Number, or the Original Text; for 'twould be ridiculous in him to say, I prove that that is his, because it makes for me; and that that is not his, because 'tis against me. . . . If another maintain the quite contrary, what will you do? you will produce to him another Book: But he will tell you, that 'tis utterly false. What will you do then? Where will you be? What Original can you shew for the Book you have produced? What Antiquity will you alledge? What Tradition will you bring in Testimony? . . . . You see of what value the Authority of the Catholick Church is in this Case, which hath been kept up since the time that the Sees were establish'd by the Apostles, by an uninterrupted succession of Bishops, and by the Consent of so many People. If the Controversie then were only about the faithfulness of the Copies, as in some variety of Sentences, which are very few in Number, and well known to those that are vers'd in the Sacred Scripture; we might decide that Doubt by the Copies of other Countries from whence that came; and if those Copies were also different, we would prefer the Ancient to the Modern, or the greatest Number to the least, and if still there remain'd an uncertainty, we should have recourse to the Original. *Ibid. c. 5.* He says, We distinguish the Excellence of the Canonical Authority of the Books of the *Old and New Testament*, which being establish'd from the Time of the Apostles, was preserv'd by the Succession of the Bishops and the Establishment of the Churches, and set as it were upon a Throne, to the End that all the Faithful should obey it. If we meet with any thing there that seems absurd, it is not lawful for us to say, That the Author of that Book stray'd from the Truth; but we must say, that the Copy is faulty, the Translator is mistaken; or that we don't understand it. *Ibid. Lib. 33. c. 6.* He says further, of what Book can we be certain, that 'tis such an Authors; if it be uncertain, whether the Epistles which the Church says and believes are those of the Apostles, be theirs; and how can we believe it to be certain, that the Apostles have wrote those, which the Hereticks produce against the Church, and which bear the Name of their Heads and Leaders, who liv'd so long after the Apostles? As if even in Prophane Books we had not the undoubted Works of certain Authors, under whose Names others have been since produc'd that have been rejected, either because they did not agree with those that were certainly theirs, or because they did not appear in the time of their Lives, or were not publish'd and transmitted to Posterity



Posterity by them, or by their Friends. He proves this by the Instance of Books falsely ascrib'd to *Hippocrates*, which were rejected because they had not the Energy of his true Works, and were not during his Life-time known to be his; whereas one could not call in Question his true Works, without exposing themselves to be mock'd by all Men, and accounted to be Persons void of Sense, because they were own'd to be his by constant Tradition from that down to the present Time. It is the same as to those of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Varro*, &c. And, in fine, as to the Books of divers Ecclesiastical Authors, of which we cannot know the Author, but that he own'd it himself at the time of its Publication; and the knowledge of this was afterwards convey'd to Posterity, and so fix'd, that when we ask whose such a Book is, they tell it us without any hesitation.

In a word, *St. Augustin* was so much persuaded, that the only way to distinguish betwixt such Books as are Canonical and such as are not, was the Testimony of the Churches, that he proposes it as a Rule in his Book of *Christian Doctrine*, where he says, 'That upon this Subject we are to follow the Authority of the greatest Number of the Catholick Churches, and particularly that of the Apostolical Churches; and that an equitable Person should prefer the Scriptures which are receiv'd by all the Churches, to those which some of them reject; and that amongst those which are not receiv'd by all the Churches, we must prefer those that are receiv'd by the greatest Number, and most considerable of the Churches: And that, in fine, if there be some that are receiv'd by the greatest Number of the Churches, and others that are receiv'd by those that have most Authority, tho' they be not the greatest Number (which, however, he thinks can scarce come to pass) that then the Books should be of equal Authority.'

#### S E C T. IX.

*Of the Canon of the Sacred Books of the New Testament; and in particular, of those whereof there hath been some Doubt, whether they were Canonical.*

THE Principle which we have laid down being granted, it will not be difficult to distinguish the Canonical Books of the *New Testament*, from the Apocryphal or Doubtful Books, and to explain in what manner the Canon of the Sacred Books of the *New Testament* was made. We cannot say, that it was drawn up by any Assembly of Christians, or by any particular Person; but we must say, that it was formed by the unanimous Consent of all the Churches, who receiv'd it by Tradition, and always acknowledg'd certain Books to be wrote by Authors divinely inspired, and by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. It is this Consent of all the Churches, which served as a Rule in the first Ages, to distinguish the Canonical from the Doubtful and Supposititious Books. It was by following this Rule that *Eusebius*, who is the first that made an exact Enquiry into those things, distinguishes three sorts of Books, appertaining in some Measure to the *New Testament*.

The first Class comprehends those that were always receiv'd by the unanimous Consent of all the Churches, which are the *four Evangelists*, & the *fourteen Epistles* of *St. Paul*, excepting that to the *Hebrews*, which some Authors did not put in the same Class with the others, because they did not believe it to be *St. Paul's*, and the *first Epistles* of *St. Peter* and *St. John*.

# Chap. I. of the Old and New Testament.

17

The second Class comprehends those which not having been receiv'd by all the Churches of the World, have always been considered by some as Canonical Books, and quoted as Books of the Scripture by Ecclesiastical Authors; but this Class is still divided into two; for some of those Books have been receiv'd since by all the Churches, and acknowledg'd as Genuine, such as the Epistle of St. James, the Epistle of St. Jude, and the 2d Epistle of St. Peter, the 2d and 3d Epistle of St. John. Others on the contrary have been rejected, either as counterfeit, or as unworthy to be put amongst the Canonical Books; tho' they might otherwise have been useful; such as the Book of Pastor, the Letter of St. Barnabas, the Gospel according to the Egyptians, another according to the Hebrews, the Acts of St. Paul, the Revelation of St. Peter.

The last Class contains the Books forged by Hereticks, which were always rejected by the Church; such as are the Gospels according to St. Thomas, and St. Peter, &c.

In regard of the *Apocalypse*, of which we have said nothing, *Eusebius* observes, that some plac'd it in the first Rank; that is to say, amongst Books that are undoubtedly Canonical; and others put it amongst those of the second Class, (a).

This Observation of *Eusebius*, which is confirm'd by the Testimonies of the Ancients, and which he repeats in divers Places of the History, shews us, that the Canon of the Books of the *New Testament* hath almost constantly been the same; for tho' there were some of the Epistles wrote by the Apostles, that were not unanimously receiv'd at first by all the Churches, they were always considered as having great Authority; and in a little time obtain'd the same Authority with the rest. This is confirm'd by the ancient Catalogue of the sacred Books of the *New Testament*, wherein are comprehended the Books that we receive at present. There all of 'em are to be found, excepting the *Apocalypse*, in the Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, which St. Cyril of *Jerusalem* followed. They are all of 'em receiv'd by St. *Athanasius*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, by *Amphilochius*, in the Council of *Carthage*, in the Roman Council, by Pope *Innocent*, and by all the other Greek and Latin Authors since *Eusebius*. They are all quoted as Sacred Books by the Authors, who were nearest the Times of the Apostles, (b). In short, it is without doubt, as we have formerly

(a) *Euseb. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 25.* It is proper here, says he, to make the Catalogues of the Books of the *New Testament*, of which we have spoken. We must in the first place put there the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of St. Paul, the first Epistle of St. John, and the first of St. Peter. In fine, we must add, if it be thought fit, the Revelation of St. John, reserving to our selves a Liberty to say in its Place, what the Ancients have thought of it. Those Books are receiv'd by common Consent: *ἡ ταῦτα δὲ ἐκ κοινῆς ἀποδοχῆς*. And those are they that were called in doubt by some Persons, and own'd by many, *ἃ δὲ ἀποροῦντες ὁρῶμεν ὅτι ἔσονται τοῖς πολλοῖς*. The Letter ascrib'd to St. James, that of St. Jude, the 2d of St. Peter, the 2d and 3d of St. John. In fine, we must reckon amongst the Books that are altogether counterfeit or spurious, *ἡ δὲ πᾶσι*, the Acts of St. Paul, the Book of Pastor, the Revelation of St. Peter, the Letter of St. Barnabas, and the Institutions of the Apostles. Add thereto, if you please, the Revelation of St. John, which some reject, out of the Number of the Books of Scripture, and which others place amongst those that are not to be question'd, *τοῖς ἀμετανοητοῖς*. This Passage

makes it plain, that there are two opposite Sentiments concerning the Revelations, that some own'd it for Canonical, and the rest put it amongst the Number of Apocryphal Books.

(b) They are all quoted as Sacred Books, by the Authors that were nearest the Times of the Apostles. The Gospel of St. Matthew is quoted in the Epistle of St. Clement the Roman to the Corinthians, in the Epistle of St. Barnabas, by St. Ignatius, St. Polycarp, Papias, St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, &c. Papias makes mention of that of St. Mark; St. Justin, St. Irenaeus, St. Clement of Alexandria quote it. St. Clement the Roman, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, quotes Places taken from St. Luke: There are also in the Epistle of St. Barnabas, some Passages taken out of that Gospel. St. Ignatius in his Epistle to the Ephesians makes mention of it, and applies to him that Passage of the 2d Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians; We have also sent with him Luke, whose Praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches. The Gospel of St. Luke is also quoted by St. Justin and St. Irenaeus; St. John wrote his Gospel the last; and 'tis also quoted by those two last mentioned. In fine, in the Times of St. Irenaeus, Tertullian and St. Clement of Alexandria, those four Gospels were receiv'd by

formerly made it appear, that they are theirs whose Names they bear. The Epistles themselves that were called in Question, contain nothing but what is agreeable to the Law and the Doctrine contained in the other Books that were received by all the Churches from the beginning.

The Epistle to the *Hebrews* was receiv'd as Canonical, with Consent almost of all the Churches. There were none but some *Latins*, such as *Caius* and *Hyppolitus*, who question'd its Authority, because they did not believe it to be wrote by *St. Paul*. But admitting it were not his, which is not at all probable, as we shall make it evident, it must always pass for Canonical, it being certain that 'twas wrote by some of his Disciples, if not by himself, and that it was receiv'd as Canonical almost by all the Churches of the World as soon as ever it appeared. It is quoted by *St. Clement* the *Roman* in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, by *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, and by *Tertullian*, who assures us that it was more receiv'd in the Churches than the Books of *Pastor*; by *Origen*, by *St. Cyprian* (c), and by all those that have lived since, as a Writing undoubtedly Canonical. *St. Jerome* acknowledges, that all the Churches of the East, and part of those of the West, did always receive it as Canonical; and he himself is of that Opinion, tho' some *Latins* have doubted of it. *Philauster* accounts them Hereticks who call it in Question.

We find no particular Author that doubted of the Epistle to *St. James*; it was quoted by *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, by all the Ancients, and put in the Number of the Canonical Books in all the Catalogues that we have.

The same may be said of the 2d Epistle of *St. Peter*, which is certainly that Apostles, as we shall make it appear. It is quoted by *St. Justin*, by *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, by *Origen*, and divers others of the Ancients.

The Epistle of *St. Jude* was rejected by some, not that they had any lawful ground to doubt that *St. Jude* was not the Author of it, but only because of the Quotation of the Book of *Enoch*. This Reason did not prevent its being put in the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the *New Testament*, or being quoted by *Tertullian*, *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *St. Cyprian*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, and divers others: *St. Jerome* says, That tho' several had rejected it because of the Quotation of the Book of *Enoch*, yet it was received in his time because 'twas ancient and approv'd by the Custom of the Church. *Auctoritatem, vetustate jam, & usu meruit.*

The two last Epistles of *St. John* were very short, and containing nothing but what was like to the Contents of the first, could not occasion any difficulty. They are of the same Author with the first, as the resemblance of the Style makes it evident. The second is quoted by *St. Ireneus* in his first Book, cap. 12. and in his third Book, cap. 18. by *Tertullian*, by *Origen*, by *St. Denys* of *Alexandria*, and divers others. In short, they were both of them put in the

by all the Churches as the only true ones. Nay, the ancient Heathens themselves own'd them; *Cerinthus*, who was Cotemporary with the Apostles, receiv'd that of *St. Matthew*; *Cerdon* and *Marcion* receiv'd that of *St. Luke*, except the two first Chapters; *Amelius* the Platonick Philosopher, quoted by *Eusebius*, quotes the Words of the beginning of *St. John's Gospel*, under the Name of a Barbarous Author. The *Acts of the Apostles*, compar'd with *St. Luke*, shew that they are the Work of one and the same Author. They are quoted by *St. Justin*, *St. Ireneus*, and *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*. Mention is made of the Epistles of *St. Paul* in the 2d Epistle of *St. Peter*. *St. Clement* the *Roman* makes use of several Passages of it in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*; *St. Polycarp* quotes the Epistle to the *Galatians*, and to the *Philippians*; *St. Justin*, *St. Ireneus*, *Athenagoras*, *St. Cle-*

*ment* of *Alexandria* often quote divers Passages of the Epistles of *St. Paul*. *Papias* hath taken Passages out of the first Epistle of *St. John*; it is quoted by *St. Ireneus*, *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Tertullian*, &c. The first Epistle of *St. Peter* is quoted by all the Ancients, according to the Testimony of *Eusebius*, as a Canonical Work; and, amongst others, by *St. Polycarp*, *Papias* and *Ireneus*. In fine, the Testimony of *Eusebius* alone, who assures us, that all those Books were receiv'd by one common Consent, as Canonical; whereas he observes sincerely of others, that there were some who doubted of them, is sufficient to establish that Truth.

(c) In the English Edition of *St. Cyprian's* Works, there are three Places observ'd, wherein 'tis pretended that *St. Cyprian* quoted the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; but that is not altogether certain.



Number of the Canonical Books, in all the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the *New Testament*.

There remains nothing more to be spoken of, but the Revelation which some of the Ancients, according to the Testimony of *Eusebius*, have put amongst those that were not doubted of; and others have placed them amongst the Number of those that were doubtful or supposititious. It was rejected by *Caius*, an ancient Priest of *Rome*, who ascrib'd it to the Heretick *Cerintus*, as *Eusebius* testifies in the third Book of his History, cap. 28. On the contrary, *St. Justin*, *St. Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *St. Cyprian*, *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* and *Tertullian* quote it in divers places, and ascribe it to *St. John* the Evangelist. *St. Denys* of *Alexandria* observes, that divers before him had rejected and refuted the *Apocalypse*, as a Book full of Fictions and Falshoods, but that divers others approv'd it; as for himself, he dar'd not to reject it, that he believ'd it had a mysterious Sense, but that he was persuaded it was not wrote by *St. John*, as he endeavours to prove by several Reasons. *St. Jerome* says in his 129th Epistle, That in his time most of the Churches of *Greece* did not receive that Book, no more than the *Latins* did the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, but that he receiv'd both, as making no account of the Custom of his Time, but of the Authority of the Ancients. *Amphilochius* also observes, that in his time some receiv'd it, but that there were many more who rejected it. In effect it is not, as we have observed, in the Catalogue of the Council of *Laodicea*, nor in that of *St. Cyril*. But it hath since been receiv'd by the Greek and Latin Churches, and quoted by *St. Epiphany*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Hillary*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Austin*, and by all those that have wrote since. In fine, it was put amongst the Canonical Books by the Council of *Carthage*, by the Council of *Rome* under *Gelasius*, and by Pope *Innocent*. The 4th Council of *Toledo*, held in 633, decided in their 17th Canon, that it was wrote by *St. John*, and ought to be placed amongst the Sacred Books. And the Council of *Trent* hath decreed, that it should be accounted Canonical.

These Observations make it evident, That it's only a small Number of the Books of the *New Testament* that ever was called in question, that there were but few Churches who doubted of them, and that their Doubt was not of any long duration.

This being once granted, it is no ways difficult to explain, how without a new Revelation, the Church might become more assured of the Genuineness of a Work than she was at first: The manner as follows. When *St. Paul*, for example, wrote his Letter to the *Romans*, it was at first known only to those to whom 'twas wrote, to those who saw him write it, or had heard from himself that he had wrote it: There were none but those that could be assured of it: By degrees it was publish'd, many Copies of it were wrote, it became more common and known, and more People were assured of it. In a word, it became so publick that *St. Paul* had wrote it, that no Body could be ignorant of it. But there was some time required to bring it to this. Let's suppose that *St. Paul* did not set his Name to it, as he did not to the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and that he would not have been known to any but those he wrote to; it is certain People would have been longer in doubt of it; and that, nevertheless, in the close they might have been certain of it, by the Testimony of those to whom it was wrote, and of those to whom he had entrusted the Secret. Let's suppose that the knowledge of this had not for some time reach'd a particular Church, but had at last come to them, should the Temporary Ignorance of that Church hinder the Things becoming certain at last. Let us further suppose, That a Letter be wrote to particular Persons, as the two last Epistles of *St. John*, they could neither be so famous, nor so speedily known, as those that were wrote to great Churches: There must be time to multiply the Copies; but when once they are publick, there's no further Doubt concerning them. In fine, let us suppose, That some Authors reject a Piece, because they find extraordinary

ordinary Things in it that they do not understand, as in the *Revelations*; or, because they meet with something that offends them, as in the Epistle of St. Jude. If afterwards those Difficulties be removed, and the Antiquity of those Monuments demonstrated, ought not that to remove the Doubt? This may be explain'd by the Example of other Works which are not Canonical. Tho' some Cotemporary Authors have called in Question the Works of Writers of their Time, or raised Objections against 'em, yet afterwards they have receiv'd them, and been persuaded that they were wrote by those Authors, either by the Agreement of Style, by new Testimonies they had of it, by Manuscripts they discover'd, or because the Objections which occasion'd their Doubt were remov'd. It was very possible then, as we have demonstrated, that some of the Apostles Writings, whereof some People doubted, and which some Churches did not at first receive, were afterwards receiv'd and acknowledg'd by all the Churches, and that subsequent Testimonies gave them a Canonical Authority, which they would not have had, if the Doubt had continued.

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## C H A P. II.

### Concerning the Authors of the *New Testament*, and the Books themselves.

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#### S E C T. I.

#### *Of the Names of the New Testament and Gospel, and of the Titles of the Gospels.*

**W**E have already explain'd in what Sense the Name *Διαθήκη*, which the *Latins* have translated into that of *Testament*, is taken when made use of to signify the Sacred Books; and we have shew'd that that Term is to be understood of a Promise and a solemn Alliance, by which God made known his Will unto Men. But we must add here, That this Name agrees in a more proper and particular Sense to the *New* than to the *Old Testament*: For, if we take it to signify an Alliance, that which God made with Men by Jesus Christ his Son, hath all the Conditions requir'd in a perfect Alliance: It is not only a solemn Covenant which he contracts with Men, but is moreover confirm'd by the Blood of Jesus Christ the Mediator of this New Alliance or Covenant. It may also be called a *Testament* in a more special manner than the old Alliance or Covenant; because in this the Death of him that order'd it interven'd: And 'tis for that Reason as the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* observes, *chap. 9. ver. 15, 16, 17.* that it is, properly speaking, a *Testament*, because it is the last Will of Jesus Christ, confirm'd by his Death.

The Epithet of the *New Covenant* or *New Testament*, is given it in the Gospel, and in the Epistles of the Apostles, in opposition to the Covenant which God made with Man by *Moses* a long time before this. That was the *First Covenant*, the *Ancient Covenant*, the *Old Testament*; and this, the *New Covenant*, and *New Testament*. It is new both in respect of the Time and Things, because the Laws of this Covenant, the Ordinances of this Testament, as well as the Rewards promised to those who shall observe them, are new, much greater, and more perfect. The Differences betwixt them are distinctly observ'd in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*.

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The Name of *Gospel*, which is given in general to all the new Law, and particularly to the History of the Life and Sermons of our Saviour, signifies literally, *Good Tidings*, (a). The Apostles and the Disciples of Jesus Christ made use of this Term to signify the Peaching of Jesus Christ, which was good Tidings to all the World. They called it the *Gospel*, or *Evangel of Peace*, the *Gospel of the Kingdom of God*. Expressions made use of among the *Hebrews* to signify Prosperity and Happiness. *St. Mark* begins his Narrative with these words, The beginning of the Evangel, or Gospel of Jesus Christ the Son of God; that is to say, the History of the blessed Preaching of Jesus Christ; because that is the principal Subject of his Narrative: Therefore it was the Primitive Christians took the word Evangel, to signify particularly the History of the Life of Jesus Christ, where his Sermons are related, and the Name of Evangelist, which was formerly given to all those that preached the Word of God, was only given to the four Historians of the Life of Jesus Christ; whose Histories were own'd as Authentick by the Primitive Christians, and called in the first Centuries the four *Evangels*. This *St. Justin* observes in his Apology to the Emperor *Antoninus*, the Apostles, says he, have taught us so (that the Eucharist is the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ) in their Writings that are called the *Evangels*.

Those Books bear in their Titles the Names of their Authors; but 'tis not certain that those Titles were wrote by the Authors themselves; it is more likely that they were not. For when the Authors put their Names at the Head of their Works, they inserted them in the Text it self, as the Prophets and *St. Paul* have done in their Writings: It is not the same as to the Names of the Evangelists, which have no connexion with the rest of the Discourse. It appears also by the beginning of the Gospel of *St. Mark*, that he did not call his Gospel by his Name, but by that of Jesus Christ. The same Title is found in some ancient Inscriptions of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*. *St. Chrysostom* observes in his first Homily on the Epistle to the *Romans*, That *Moses* did not put his Name to the Five Books that he wrote, no more than those did that wrote the History after him: That *St. Matthew*, *St. John*, *St. Mark*, and *St. Luke*, had not put their Names to the beginning of their Gospels, but that *St. Paul* had put his at the Head of all his Epistles, except that which was wrote to the *Hebrews*, where he designedly left out his Name, because he was odious to them: And the Reason that Father gives for this Difference is, that he first wrote to Persons that were present; whereas *St. Paul* sent Letters to those that were absent. But tho' those Titles that bear the Name of the Evangelists were not wrote by the Evangelists themselves, they were almost as ancient as the Evangelists; and tho' it were not so, the Testimony of the Ancients assures

(a) *Good Tidings*.] It is a Greek Word deriv'd from the Particle *eu*, which signifies well, and from the Verb *εγγελλω*, which signifies to tell, whence the word *Ευαγγελιον* is form'd. This word in *Homer* and other ancient Greek Authors, is taken for the Reward given to one that brings good News. It is also taken in that sense by the LXX, 2 *Kings* 4. 10. and *Cicero* makes use of it in the 3d Letter of his 2d Book to *Atticus*, where he writes, *O Suaves tuas Epistolas quibus Evangelia deberi fateor*. O those sweet Letters of yours, which I confess deserve a Reward. *Xenophon* uses it in a certain place to signify the Sacrifice offered up for good News. The Greek Translators of the Sacred Books of the *Old Testament* used it to explain the Hebrew word *Besora*, which ordinarily signifies good News, *Isa.* 52. 7. speaking Prophetically of the Reign of Jesus Christ, he makes use of this Term; *How beautiful upon*

the Mountains are the Feet of him that bringeth good Tidings of Good, that publisheth Salvation, that saith unto Zion thy God reigneth! Words quoted by *St. Paul*, *Rom.* 10. 15. as a Prophecie of our Saviours Preaching. Nothing is more common in the *New Testament*, than the word Evangel or Gospel, to signify the Preaching of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ, whether by the Mouth of *St. John*, of our Saviour, of the Apostles or of the Disciples. *St. Clement* in his Epistles to the *Corinthians* takes the word Evangel in that same Sense, for the Preaching of the Doctrine of Jesus Christ. In the *Acts* *St. Philip* the Deacon is called an Evangelist, *Acts* 18. 18. and *St. Paul* in the Epistle to *Timothy*, chap. 4. v. 5. prays him to do the Work of an Evangelist. *Opus fac Evangelista*; that is to say, to preach the Word of God. But Custom hath since appropriated that Name to the four Evangelists, who have wrote the History of Jesus Christ.



us in a convincing manner, of their Authors, as we have made it appear.

Tho' we may call the Gospels simply by the Name of their Authors, and entitle them the Gospels of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, St. *Luke* and St. *John*; it is however thought proper to express it otherwise, and to intitle them, *The Gospel according to St. Matthew*; *according to St. Mark*, &c. that we may not differ from the Apostles manner of speaking, and especially of St. *Mark*, who calls his Gospel, *The Gospel of Jesus Christ*. Therefore this Greek Preposition  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ , is religiously translated *Secundum*, according to the Latin Version: And some ancient Fathers, as *Tertullian*, have preserv'd the Greek Word. It is true, that according to the Sense of the Greek Phrase, the Gospel according to St. *Matthew*, signifies the Gospel of St. *Matthew*. But we may also give it this Sense, The Gospel of Jesus Christ, according to what hath been wrote by St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, &c.

## SECT. II.

*Of the ancient Gospels: That the Church never receiv'd any more than four as Canonical, and why? Symbols ascrib'd to the four Evangelists. Of the Harmony and Difference found betwixt the four Gospels. The Order in which they were compos'd.*

**I**T was so necessary to all Christians, to know the History of the Life and Preaching of Jesus Christ, that we are not to wonder that in the first Ages of the Church many Persons undertook the writing of it. This is what St. *Luke* tells us in the beginning of his Gospel. *Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in Order, a Declaration of those Things which are most surely believed among us, even as they deliver'd them unto us, which from the beginning were Eye Witnesses and Ministers of the Word. It seemed good to me also, having had perfect Understanding of all Things from the very first, to write unto thee in Order.* Divers Interpreters understand what St. *Luke* says in this Place, of the Gospels (a) forg'd by Hereticks, others apply them only to the Gospels of

(a) *Gospels forg'd.* ] *Origen* in his first Homily on St. *Luke* says, That as there were divers false Prophets in the *Old Testament*, there were also false Evangelists in the *New*; that the Church hath none but these four Gospels; and that the Hereticks have several others, as the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, that of the twelve Apostles, that compos'd by *Basilides*, that of St. *Thomas*, that of St. *Matthias*, and several others; in which we approve of nothing but what is in the four Gospels which the Church receives. He observes afterwards, That St. *Luke* made use of that Term [many have taken in hand,] to shew that others had only attempted the Work which he had brought to perfection. St. *Jerome* follows *Origen* in his Preface to his Commentary on St. *Matthew*. St. *Luke* says he, is Witness, in the beginning of his Gospel, that there were several Gospels; some of his Writings which are still remaining prove it. Those Gospels having been compos'd by divers Authors, gave rise to several Heresies; such are the Gospels according to the *Egyptians*, St. *Thomas*, St. *Matthias*,

St. *Bartholomew*, those of the twelve Apostles *Basilides* and *Appelles*. It's sufficient to say at present, That there were some who without having the Spirit and Grace of God, did rather attempt to make a Narrative, than to write the Truth of History; to whom these Words of the Prophet may be well applied; *Wo to those who Prophesie out of their own Hearts.* But the Church own'd only the four Gospels. St. *Epiphanius*, *Heref.* 5. says, That St. *Luke* in the beginning of his Gospel points at some Persons, who had attempted to write the Gospel; to wit, *Cerintus* and *Merintus*. St. *Ambrose* hath copied almost Verbatim *Origen's* Preface. *Titus* of *Bosfra* observes, That the Evangelist St. *Luke* speaks of those who had wrote the History of the Gospel, without having the Spirit of God; and says, 'twas for that reason he made use of the Word *taken in Hand*, or attempted: Which cannot be said of the Gospels of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, and St. *John*, which were wrote by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. He adds, That the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, and that of the twelve Apostles

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 23

of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark* that were composed when St. *Luke* wrote his: But it would seem to me, that a Medium might be found betwixt those two Opinions, which is that St. *Luke* speaks in General of all those who before him had undertaken the History of the Life and Sermons of Jesus Christ; for it seems probable enough, that many Christians wrote during the Lives of the Apostles themselves, and also after their Death, what they had learned of the Life and Doctrine of Jesus Christ from the Apostles and Disciples that had seen and heard him. We may then suppose that at the beginning of the Church there were many Evangelists or Gospels, but tho the Ancients knew & quoted those Gospels, the Church never own'd any other as Canonical and divinely inspired, but the Gospels of St. *Matthew*, St. *Mark*, St. *Luke* and St. *John*. 'Tis a Matter of Fact attested by the most Ancient Christian Authors: There cannot, says St. *Irenaeus*, l. 3. c. 11. be either more or fewer Gospels than Four, which are as the four Columns of the Church, whose Authority is so certain that the Hereticks themselves make use of them to confirm their Doctrine. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria* in the third Book of his *Stromata*, answering the Heretic *Cassienus*, who opposed to him a Passage taken from the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, declares immediately that he is not obliged to give any Credit to what it alledged, *Because it is not found in the four Gospels which we have received by Tradition*.

*Origen* in his first Homily upon St. *Luke* observes, ' That as amongst the Jews there were many Persons that call'd themselves *Prophets*, some of them were True and others False, as *Ananias* the Son of *Agot*; and that the People had the Gift of discerning the Spirits, by Vertue of which they put the one amongst the Number of the Prophets, and rejected the others as the Bankers reject false Money; so in the New Testament many undertook to write Gospels, but that all those Gospels were not received. You may (says he) learn from the beginning of the Gospel according to St. *Luke*, conceived in those Terms, *Many have taken in hand to give a History of those Things*, that

Apostles is of that Number, that there are likewise diverse others, but that the Church received only Four. St. *Augustin* in his fourth Book of the Agreement of the Evangelists, c. 8. says, that St. *Luke* by making use of that Term, *They have taken in Hand*, shews that he means some Persons who had not been able to compleat the Work they had begun, and that it is to be understood of those who have no Authority in the Church. *Maldonat*, on the contrary, thinks that St. *Luke* speaks of the Gospels of St. *Matthew* and St. *Mark*, which were already composed. Against this Opinion it is objected, that St. *Luke* speaks of imperfect Works, since he makes use of the Verb *ἡρξαμένην*, which signifies to attempt, essay, or begin, but this Objection is not of any great Force, because this is a General Term, and may be said of a perfect as well as of an imperfect one, which any Man undertakes; and according to the Greek Phrase, *To begin or undertake to do any thing, is to do it*: So in the first Chapter of the *Acts*, 'tis said, *The Things which Jesus Christ began to do and to teach*, that is to say, which he did and taught. 'Tis further objected, That St. *Luke* seems to speak with disdain of those who had wrote those Histories of Jesus Christ, but that is not very clear; on the contrary, he seems to put himself in the same Rank, when he adds, *It seemed good to me*. 'Tis said, in the third place, That he could not speak of the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, which was then only in Hebrew, nor of that of St. *Mark*, which is only an Abridgment of

the History: That's still weak. What can be said of most Weight is, that St. *Luke* speaks indeterminately of divers Persons, who had undertaken to write, that which they had learned of the Life and Sermons of Jesus Christ, from those who had seen him. But he would not have spoke in that Manner of St. *Matthew*, who had seen the Lord himself, and if he had spoke only of the Gospel of St. *Mark*, he would have named him, and not have made use of the Term *Many*, which does not so much as agree even to two Evangelists. 'Tis certain then, that he had a Design to speak of Many. We cannot say neither, That St. *Luke* speaks only of the Gospels of the Heretics that were full of Fallhood and Errors: For, 1. He would have tax'd them in harder Terms, and given Notice, that their Narratives were False and full of Errors, and deserved no Credit. He blames them not, but supposes them to be wrote by honest Men. 2. Almost all the Gospels of the Hereticks are of a later date than that of St. *Luke*. 3. The Gospel according to the *Egyptians* and the *Hebrews*, and some other Ancient ones were not Heretical; the Ancient Fathers made use of them; for though they were not of an infallible Authority, they might contain Truths. In fine, 'tis very probable, that besides those Gospels mentioned by the Ancients, many among the primitive Christians had wrote Memoirs of what they had learned of the Life and Sermons of Jesus Christ, which were lost in progress of time, but in being in St. *Luke's* Days.

\* there

' there were many Gospels, amongst which they chose and left to the Churches, by Tradition; the four that we have, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Jerom*, *Titus of Bosfra* and *St. Augustin*, make the same Reflection upon the Passage of *St. Luke*, and observe, that the Ancient Church received no more than four Gospels, because 'tis they alone that she thought deserv'd Credit, and that she believed to be wrote by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, and that she rejected the rest as being wrote by Authors that had no infallible Authority, or whose Writings were full of Falshoods and Errors. Many, says *St. Ambrose*, undertook to write the History of Jesus Christ, but they were destitute of the Grace of God, and fill'd their Gospels with poisonous Doctrine. There were diverse Persons, says *St. Jerome*, ' who without having the Spirit and Grace of God rather undertook a Narrative than to write the Truth of History, ' to whom may be applied those Words of the Prophet, *Wo to those who prophesie out of their own Heart, who follow their own Fancy, and say, Thus saith the Lord, though the Lord hath not sent them.* The Difference that *Titus of Bosfra* puts betwixt those Writers and our Evangelists is, that the former were not assisted by the Spirit of God to write their History, whereas the latter were. *St. Augustin* extends this Thought yet further, ' All the rest, says he, ' who have undertaken or dar'd to write any thing of the Actions of Jesus Christ or of the Apostles, were not Men of such Reputation in their time, ' as the Church could give Credit to their Writings, or receive them into ' the Number of the Books that have a Canonical Authority, either because ' they were such Men, as we were not necessarily obliged to believe what ' they related, or because they mixed Errors with their Writings, which the ' Rule of the Catholic and Apostolic Faith, and sound Doctrine rejected.

So that the positive Reason for which none but the four Gospels were received into the Churches, was because there were only those four that were constantly believed to be divinely inspired, and which all the Churches received as Divine and Canonical.

The Fathers fought for divers Mysteries in this Number of Four. *St. Irenaeus* says, That as there are four Parts of the World, and four principal Winds. It was also convenient, there should be four Gospels in the Church, as the four Columnes that maintain it, and four Breathings of Life to render it Immortal. *St. Austin* makes use of the same Allegory of the 4 Parts of the World: ' Perhaps, says he, the Reason for which there are four Gospels, is because there are four Corners of the World, into which the Church is spread. ' *St. Jerom* compares them with more likelihood to the four Rivers which issued out of the Terrestrial Paradise, and to the four Angles or four Rings of the Ark. But those sort of Allegories have no other Foundation but meer Fancy. The true Reason for which the Church hath only four Gospels, is because there are only those four that have at all times been own'd as divinely inspired. But why are there no more than four of that Nature? God would have it so. 'Tis in vain to seek any other Reason for it, than his own Will. All that can be said is to observe with *St. Chrysostome*, That it was fit there should be several Evangelists, that the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ should have the more Authority. ' Was it not enough, says that Father, that there ' should be but one Evangelist? Could not one alone relate all that is in the ' four? That might be: But four different Persons having wrote the same thing ' at different times and in different Places, without speaking to one another, ' and yet agreeing perfectly, are without doubt a much greater Proof of the ' Truth.

The Ancients thought they found the Figure of the four Evangelists in the beginning of the Prophecy of *Ezekiel*, and in the 9th Chapter of the *Revelation*, where mention is made of four Living Creatures, the first having the Face of a Man, the second the Face of a Lion, the third that of an Ox, and the fourth that of an Eagle. These are the Symbols that are usually given of



## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 25

of the four Evangelists : But the Fathers are not at one amongst themselves, to which of them each Symbol agrees, nor in the Reason why those Symbols agree to them (b) so that we can build nothing on their Conjectures, which are purely Arbitrary, nor necessarily determine to the four Evangelists, the Sense of the Visions of *Ezekiel* and *St. John*, which are very obscure. The Providence of God order'd it, that of the four Evangelists two should be Apostles, *St. Matthew* and *St. John*, Eye-witnesses of the Life and Actions of Jesus Christ, and two Disciples of the Apostles *St. Mark* and *St. Luke*, who wrote their Gospel upon the Relations of others, to the end it might be known, that there was no Difference betwixt that which the Apostles had wrote, and that which they preached *Viva Voce*.

The Differences, nay, even the Contrarieties found betwixt them, is so far from diminishing their Authority, that it serves to establish it, and shews that they wrote the Truth from an honest intent. 'For, as *St. Chrysostom* observes, 'if they agreed in every thing with too nice Exactness, even to the least Circumstances and Terms, our Adversaries would have believed, that they had met together and agreed to impose upon us. 'Twould never have been believed that so great a Conformity could be found amongst People that had acted with singleness of Heart ; whereas the seeming Contradiction that is found betwixt them in small things removes that Suspicion, and is a Proof of their honesty. If there be any Difference betwixt them as to Time and Place, that does no prejudice to the Truth. Observe, that there is not one as to the principal Points of our Faith, as those that God made himself Man, that he was crucified and buried, that he rose again and ascended into Heaven, that he will come to judge Men, that he hath given forth saving Commandments, that he did not bring a Law contrary to the former, that he is the only Son of God, of the same Substance, and upon other Points of that Nature. VVe find them all perfectly agreed as to those Articles. But if in that which relates to Miracles, they have not all related all of them, but some one and some another ; VVe are not to wonder at it ; for if one alone had related all, the rest would have been useless, and if all of them had wrote different and new Things, we should have had no proof of their Agreement. Therefore all of them have wrote Things which are common to them, and each of them relates things peculiar to themselves.

VVe will not here undertake to shew, that there is no real Contradiction in the Narratives of the Evangelists, to reconcile the Differences that are found there, or to make a Compleat History of the four Gospels, divers Ancient and Modern Authors have performed that with success. VVe shall only observe, 1. That the Omission or Addition of a Matter of Fact, being neither a Lye nor a Contrariety, the Narrative of the Evangelists can neither be accused of *Falshood* nor *Contradiction*, because some relate the Matters of Fact,

(b) Symbols agree to them.] *St. Irenaeus*, Lib. 3. ch. 11. assigns the Man to *St. Matthew*, because he describes the Generation of Jesus Christ, according to the Flesh, and speaks of him throughout as a Man. He assigns the Eagle to *St. Mark*, because he begins his Gospel with a Prophetical Spirit, which comes from on high. He assigns the Ox to *St. Luke*, because he describes the Priestly Race of Jesus Christ, and the Lion to *St. John*, because he considers Jesus Christ as God and King, and in the beginning of his Gospel observes the Grandeur of Jesus Christ. *St. Jerome*, in his Preface to his Commentary on *Matthew*, assigns the Man to *St. Matthew*, because he began his Gospel by the Genealogy of Jesus Christ as Man, the Lion to *St. Mark*, because he begins with the

Prophecie of *St. John*, who roared as a Lion in the Wilderness ; the Ox to *St. Luke*, because he begins his Gospel with the History of *Zacharias*, and the Eagle to *St. John*, because he advances the Godhead of Jesus Christ. *St. Austin*, Lib. 1. de Conf. Ev. C. 6. says, That those who assign the Lion to *St. Matthew*, the Man to *St. Mark*, the Ox to *St. Luke* and the Eagle to *St. John*, have hit it better, than those who assign the Man to *St. Matthew*, and the Lion to *St. John*, because we must not Judge by the beginning of their Gospels, but by what they contain, and that *St. Matthew* insists more upon what relates to the Royalty of Jesus Christ, *St. Luke* to his Pristhood, *St. Mark* to his Humanity, and *St. John* soars high like an Eagle to his Divinity. *Bede* is of the same Opinion with *St. Austin*.

that were omitted by others. 2. That the Difference of the Order in which they relate the Facts, being no way prejudicial to their Truth, it is not at all strange, that the Evangelists have not always observed the same Order. It is not a Proof that the Facts which they relate are not true: But it is one that they wrote naturally and in simplicity, without Cunning or Contrivance. 3. Though a Thing may be related in different Terms, it is not a Contradiction, though one relate a Saying of Jesus Christ, in one sort of Terms, and another express it in other Terms, tho' one enlarge his Thought upon it, and the other relate it in a more compendious Manner. 'Tis almost impossible for two Men to relate one and the same thing in the same Terms. Nay, it would be a hard thing for one Man to make the same Narrative twice, without changing any thing. In a word, I maintain it is morally impossible to find four different Persons, who write a History so full of wonderful things, accompanied with so many Circumstances and Events, fill'd with so many Precepts, Maxims, Sentences, and Points of Doctrine, as is that of Jesus Christ, betwixt whom there is not to be found as much apparent difference as betwixt the four Evangelists.

The Order according to which the four Gospels were composed, is (c) according to the Testimony of all the Ancients, that in which they are still placed: We will endeavour to observe more precisely the Order and the Occasion of 'em, by treating of each Gospel apart.

(c) St. Irenæus, Lib. 3. Heret. Fab. c. 3. Euseb. 1. Mar. & Lib. de vir. illust. Epiph. Harif. 51. Aug. Lib. 3. Hif. c. 24. Hieron. Pref. Comment. in 1. de Conf. Evang. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

### SECT. III.

*Of St. Matthew and his Gospel. In what Language he wrote it. If it differ from the Gospel of the Nazarens. Of the Authenticity of the Greek Text. Of some Additions made to the Text.*

ST. Matthew hath informed us himself in his Gospel, chap. 9. ver. 9. That he was a *Publican*, and that being sat (a) near the City of *Capernaum* at one of the Receipts of Custom, Jesus Christ said to him, *Follow me*: That he arose immediately and followed him into his House, where our Lord and his Disciples sat down at Table with Publicans and Sinners, which gave occasion to the Pharisees to murmur against him. St. Mark, ch. 2. ver. 34. and St. Luke, ch. 5. ver. 29. relate the same History with the same Circumstances, and agree on the same Time and Place, but they name the Publican call'd by Jesus Christ *Levi*, which makes divers Interpreters believe, that the Publican mentioned in

(a) *Near the City.* 'Tis certain, according to the three Evangelists, that Jesus Christ was at *Capernaum*, where he cured the Paralytic. St. Mark says it expressly, naming the Place, ch. 2. v. 1. and St. Matthew describes it by the Name of the City of Jesus Christ, that is to say, the City where he ordinarily made his abode. The Call of St. Matthew follows immediately in the three Evangelists, the curing of the Man sick of the Palsy; but St. Luke says, that after this Cure Jesus Christ went out of the City, and that he saw a Publican call'd Levi, sitting at the Receipt of Custom. St. Mark says, that after the Cure of the Paralytic, he went out again towards the Sea, and that all the People followed him; that

he taught them, and as he passed by, he saw Levi, the Son of Alphaeus, sitting at the Receipt of Custom. St. Matthew, after having related the Cure of the Paralytic, says, That Jesus Christ passing by saw a Man sitting at the Receipt of Custom, call'd Matthew. It appears by those Passages, That Jesus Christ was gone out, or a going out of the City of *Capernaum*, when he call'd St. Matthew, who was sat at the Receipt of Custom, and that he went towards the Sea of Galilee. 'Tis probable, that the Receipt of Custom, and the Receivers Houses were without the City on the Bank of the Sea, where Jesus Christ was, when *Jairus* came to seek him a little after to cure his Daughter, Mark 5. those

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 27

those two Evangelists was not the Apostle St. Matthew (b) but the Circumstances of the Time and Place of the History being the same, there's great likelihood that 'tis the same Man (c) who was called *Levi* before he was Christ's Disciple, and was afterwards called *Matthew*. St. Mark gives him the Name of *Levi*, the Son of *Alpheus*. He was in a little time after made one of the Apostles by our Lord, and after having been a witness of his *Sermons* and *Actions* and *Ascension*, he lived at *Jerusalem*, and received with the other Apostles the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ. This is all that the *Scripture* tells us of the Life of St. Matthew, and all that we can be sure of concerning it.

*Rufinus*, *Socrates* and most Authors say, that he preached the Gospel in *Ethiopia*. St. *Ambrose* makes him the Apostle of *Persia*. St. *Paulinus* says, he died in *Parthia*, of which the Greek Menologists make him the Apostle. The false *Abdias* makes him to have suffered Martyrdom in the City of *Naddaver* in *Ethiopia*, where *Fortunatus* of *Poitiers* says he is buried. The Martyrology ascribed to St. *Jerom*, and the other Martyrologies import, that he suffered in *Persia* or *Parthia*. *Metaphrastes* says, That he preached in *Syria*. *Isidore* of *Seville*, in his Book of the Life and Death of some Saints, assigns to St. *Matthew*, *Judea* and *Macedonia*, as the Place of his Apostleship. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, Lib. 2. de *pedagog.* c. 1. writes, that that Apostle practised a continual Abstinence during Life, and lived only on Roots, Lettice and other Herbs, without ever eating any Meat?

As to the Manner of his Death *Heracleon* the Disciple of *Valentine*, quoted by the same St. *Clement*, Lib. 4. *Stromat.* says, he was one of those Apostles who did not suffer Martyrdom. The Greek Menologists seem to be of the same Mind. On the contrary, *Nicephorus*, *Abdias* and the Latin Martyrologies, rank him amongst the Martyrs, and likewise describes the Kind and Circumstances of his Martyrdom. But what credit can we give to those Monuments.

(b) Was not the Apostle St. Matthew.] *Grotius* is of that Opinion; to give it some likelihood of Truth, he says, 1. That St. Matthew never gives himself the Name of *Levi*; that the two other Evangelists who relate this Story, don't give the Name of *Matthew* to this *Levi*; and that in the Catalogues of the Apostles, he is only call'd *Matthew*, though the Names of the other Apostles who had two, be there marked. 2. That *Heracleon*, an ancient Author quoted by St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, distinguishes St. *Matthew* from *Levi*; and that *Origen*, in his Books against *Celsus*, assures us, That *Levi* was not of the Number of the Apostles: 'Tis upon this Reason and upon those Authorities, that he founds the Conjecture, That perhaps *Levi* was the Man that farmed the Customs, and that St. *Matthew* was under him. But the Reason he alledges is very weak: For 'tis very natural that *Matthew* calling himself *Levi*, when he was converted, that the two Evangelists should give him no other Name when they speak of his Conversion, and perhaps out of some deference to him, they forbore observing that he was a Publican, and he out of Humility, was willing to reveal it. Be that how it will, having had those two Names, the keeping one of them concealed, is not enough to make us conclude, That those two Names are the Names of two Men. The Authority of *Heracleon*, follow'd by St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*; and that of *Origen* would be more considerable, did it appear that they had

examined the thing, or that they had any Proof that *Levi*, was another Person than *Matthew*. But it appears, That 'twas only the Difference of the Names, that occasioned their doubting, if he was the same Man. *Origen* himself in his Preface to the Epistle to the *Romans*, observes, that the Publican call'd *Levi* by St. Mark and St. Luke, is St. *Matthew* himself, all the other Fathers have also assured us, That *Matthew* and *Levi* were two Names of one and the same Man.

(c) There's great Appearance that he's the same Man.] The three Evangelists relate this History as happening immediately after the Cure of the Paralytic, as our Saviour was going out of *Capernaum*. They say, That he who was call'd by our Lord, was a Publican, that he was sat at the Receipt of Custom, that Jesus Christ said to him, *Follow me*; that he left all and followed him, that he received Jesus Christ and his Disciples into his House, that he entertained them at his Table with Publicans and Sinners, &c. There's nothing differs but the Name. 'Tis true, that St. *Matthew* says not positively, that 'twas in his House, as the others say plainly, that 'twas in the House of *Levi*, but that is understood, and 'tis certain by his Narrative, that it was in the House of that Publican, that he call'd, and into which he followed him: But 'tis a meer Conjecture to say, that he call'd two, and that two followed him.



We must therefore keep wholly to what the most ancient Christian Authors have related to us as certain. That St. *Matthew* having preached the Gospel for some Years in *Judea*, did there write his Gospel in *Hebrew*; that is to say, in the Language which the *Jews*, who dwelt at *Jerusalem* and in the Land of *Judea*, did then speak, which was the *Syriack*. This the Design of the Work demands that we should treat of more at large.

The greatest Question to be asked on this Subject, is concerning the Language in which that Gospel was compos'd by St. *Matthew*. All the Ancients assure us with one Consent, that he wrote in *Hebrew*; *Papias*, St. *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *Eusebius*, St. *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*, St. *Jerome*, St. *Epiphanius*, St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Augustin*, the Author of the Latin Commentary on St. *Matthew*, which is ascrib'd to St. *Chrysostom*, and the Author of the *Synopsis* of the Scripture, which carries the Name of *Athanasius*, are a Cloud of Witnesses, who depose that St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*, (d). Yet some Modern Authors call it in Question, and have dar'd to maintain, that it was never wrote but in *Greek*.

Before we examine their Conjectures we must clear another Question, viz. Whether the *Hebrew Tongue*, in which the Ancients say the Gospel was wrote by St. *Matthew*, is the ancient *Hebrew Tongue* of the Books of the *Old Testament*; or, the *Syriack*, which was spoken at *Jerusalem*, and is commonly called the *Hebrew* in the *New Testament*. It appears evident to us on this Head, That 'tis of the latter the Ancients speak when they assure us that St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*. For, 1. Almost all the Ancients say, That St. *Matthew* wrote for the *Hebrews*, or converted *Jews*, who dwelt in *Judea*. Now those *Jews* did not commonly at that time speak the *Hebrew* but the *Syriack Tongue*. 2. St. *Irenaeus* and *Eusebius* say positively, that he wrote in the Language of the Country, in the proper Language of the *Jews* who dwelt in *Judea*. *Idia dialektu mteu ydeshi*. It is certainly the *Syriack Tongue*. 3. The Reasons for which they say St. *Matthew* compos'd it, shews still that it was in the common Language of the *Jews* of *Palestine*. They all agree that

(d) St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew*. ] Their Passages in Latin are thus. *Papias* apud *Eusebium*, Hist. l. 3. c. 39. *Mattheus* quidem *Hebraico* Sermone divina scripsit oracula; Interpretatus est autem unusquisque illa prout potuit. *Irenaeus*, Lib. 3. adv. Hæres. cap. 1. Ita *Mattheus* in *Hebraicis* ipsorum *Lingua* Scripturam edidit *Evangelii*, cum *Petrus* & *Paulus*, *Rome* *Evangelizarent* & fundarent *Ecclesiam*. Idem, ibid. cap. 11. *Ebionæi* etenim eo *Evangelio* quod est secundum *Mattheum*, solo utentes, *Origines* apud *Eusebium*, Lib. 6. cap. 25. Primum scilicet *Evangelium* scriptum esse a *Mattheo* prius quidem publicano, postea vero *Apostolo* *J. C.* qui illud *Hebraico* Sermone conscriptum *Judeis* ad fidem *Conversis* publicavit. *Euseb.* Lib. 3. Hist. cap. 24. Nam *Mattheus* cum *Hebreis* primus fidem predicasset, inde ad alias quoque *Gentes* profecturus *Evangelium* suum patrio Sermone conscribens id quoque presentie sua adhuc superesse videbatur, Scripto illis quos relinquebat supplevit. *Cyrillus Hierosolym.* Catechif. 14. *Mattheus* scribens *Evangelium*, *Lingua Hebraica* illud scripsit. *Hieronymus* *Presb.* in *quatuor* *Evangel.* excepto *Apostolo* *Mattheo* qui primus in *Judea* *Evangelium* *Christi* *Hebraicis* *Literis* edidit. Idem *Presb.* *Commentariorum* in *Matth.* primus omnium *Mattheus* est publicanus cognomento *Levi*, qui *Evangelium* in *Judea* *Hebreo* Sermone edidit, ob eorum vel maxime *Causam* qui in *Jesusum* crediderant ex *Judeis*, & ne quidquam legis umbram succedente *Evangelii* veritate servabant. Idem

in Libro de viris illustribus *Mattheus* qui & *Levi* ex publicano *Apostolus* primus in *Judea* propter eos qui ex *Circumcisione* crediderant, *Evangelium* *Christi* *Hebraicis* *Literis* verbisque composuit quod quis postea in *Græcum* transferret, non satis certum est. *Epiphanius*, Hæres. 29. de *Nazaræis*. Est vero penes illos *Evangelium* secundum *Mattheum* *Hebraica* *Scriptum*, & quidem absolutissimum. Idem Hæres. 51. *Mattheus* igitur primus *Evangelii* scribendi primum nactus est . . . . Hic igitur *Mattheus* *Lingua* *Hebraica* *Scriptis* ac predicavit *Evangelium*. *S. Chrysostomus*, Homil. 1. in *Matth.* *Mattheus* accedentibus hiis qui ex *Judeis* *Christo* crediderant & rogantibus, *Hebreo* dicitur *Evangelium* scripsisse Sermonem. *Augustinus* de *Consensu* *Evangelistarum*, Lib. 1. cap. 2. Primum *Mattheus* horum sane quatuor solus *Hebrao* scripsisse perhibetur eloquiis. *Auctor* *Comment.* in *Mattheum* apud *Chrysostomum* in *Prologo*. Sicut referunt *Mattheum* conscribere *Evangelium* causa compulsi talis; cum facta fuisset in *Palestina* persecutio *Gravæ*, ut periclitarentur dispergi omnes ut carentes forte *Doctoribus* *fidei* non *Carentes* *Doctrina*, petierunt *Mattheum* ut omnium verborum & operum *Christi* conscriberet eis *Historiam*. Idem, Homil. 1. *Initio* *Mattheus* autem *Evangelium* *Judeis* *Hebraico* Sermone conscripsit, ut *Judeis* legentes edificarentur in *fide*. *Auctor* *Synopses* apud *Athanasium*. *Evangelium* secundum *Mattheum*, ab ipso *Mattheo* *Hebraico* *dialecto* conscripsit est, & editum *Hierosolymis*, & Interpretante *Jacobo* *Fratre* *Dominum* secundum *carne* *expositum*.

it was made for the use of the *Hebrews*; to the End, that in St. *Matthew's* absence they might read the Gospels that he had preach'd to them. He must then have wrote it in a Language that was common amongst them, and in that same Tongue wherein he had preached to them. 4. St. *Jerome* makes no doubt that St. *Matthew's* Gospel was wrote in *Syriack*; for in his Commentary upon the 12th Chapter of that Gospel, he says, That some believe that the Gospel of the *Nazarens* was the Original *Hebrew* of St. *Matthew*; and does not at all reject that Opinion as improbable. It is St. *Epiphanius* who says, That the *Nazarens* have the Gospel of St. *Matthew* wrote in *Hebrew*, and intire. Now St. *Jerome* in his 3d Dialogue against the *Pelagians*, says, That the Gospel of the *Nazarens* was wrote in *Chaldee* or *Syriack*, with *Hebrew* Characters. *In Evangelio juxta Hebreos quod Chaldaico quidem Syroque Sermo, sed Hebraicis literis Scriptum est, quo utuntur usque hodie Nazarei, Secundum Apostolos, sive ut plerique autumant, juxta Matthaeum.* It is then certain, that St. *Jerome* was persuaded that the Original of St. *Matthew* was wrote originally not in ancient *Hebrew*, but in common *Hebrew*; that is to say, in the Tongue that the *Hebrews* spoke then in *Palestine*. So it is we must understand the other Fathers when they say, that *Matthew* compos'd his Gospel in *Hebrew*.

I lay it down as a Thing certain, That the common Language of the *Jews*, who inhabited *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, was the *Syriack*; that is to say, a Dialect of the *Chaldee*, as it was spoke in *Syria*, mix'd with some *Hebrew* Terms, because this is clearly prov'd by many Places of the *New Testament*. For the Evangelists relate *Chaldee* Words very often, which they call *Hebrew*, as being the Terms commonly made use of in the Country. St. *Luke*, *Acts* 1. 10. says, That the Field bought by the *Jews*, with the Money that *Judas* brought, was in their proper Tongue, *τὴν ἰδία διαλέκτῳ αὐτῶν, Haceldama*; that is to say, the Field of Blood: This word is *Syriack*; those of *Bethsaida*, *Golgotha*, and *Gabbatha*, which St. *John* observes as *Hebrew* Names used in the Country, are also *Syriack* Words. The Inscription on the Cross in *Greek*, *Latin* and *Hebrew*, shows that those three Languages were in use in *Jerusalem* for the Natives of the Country, and the other two Languages for strangers. It is very likely that our Saviour when giving up the Ghost on the Cross, pronounc'd his last Words in the Language that he usually spoke. Now the Terms reported by the Evangelists, *Eli, Eli*, according to St. *Mark*, *Eloi, Eloi lamazababani*, are *Syriack*. It is said in the *Acts of the Apostles*, That St. *Paul* made a Discourse in *Hebrew* to the *Jews*; who listen'd to him with more Attention when they heard him speak in the *Hebrew* Tongue: That was the most common Language, and best understood by the People of *Jerusalem*. This is so true, that St. *Paul* having pray'd the Tribune or chief Captain to give him leave to speak, the chief Captain ask'd him if he would speak *Greek*? A Question which he would not have ask'd him, if *Greek* had been the ordinary Language of the *Jews*: But since they spoke *Syriack*, and that some of them did not understand *Greek*, he would know if St. *Paul* understood it, to the end he might speak in that Language. It is agreed, that there was at that time abundance of *Jews* at *Jerusalem* who could speak *Greek* and *Latin*; yet we cannot doubt but the *Syriack* was the common Language of the Nation. Therefore it is that *Josephus* assures us, That at first he wrote his History in the Language of his Country, which he calls the *Chaldee*, for those of his own Nation, to whom the *Greek* Tongue was unknown. The *Romans* when they made themselves Masters of *Judea* and *Jerusalem*, brought thither, as into other Countries, the knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue; and the Commerce the *Jews* had with the *Greeks* and other *Hellenist Jews*, oblig'd several of them to learn and speak that Language. But it is not possible, that the Language of the Country should be intirely forgot by its ancient Inhabitants. It's not to be doubted that, on the contrary, it remain'd common among the People, who spoke it for a long time, and that even after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

This matter of Fact being certain, if it be true as all Antiquity assures us, That St. *Matthew* wrote his Gospel for the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, and in their Language; it is most certain that he wrote it in *Syriack* or *Syro-Chaldaick*, which was the common *Hebrew*. This is the most common Opinion amongst the Interpreters of the Holy Scripture. Yet *Erasmus*, *Cajetan*, and many Protestant Commentators vary from it, and think they have Reason to reject the Opinion of the Ancients on this Head, and to lay down, that the Gospel of St. *Matthew* was wrote in *Greek*. We must examine if what they say be of Weight enough to ballance the Testimony of so many positive Authors, who assure us of the contrary.

They say in the first place, That many Hebrew or Syriack words, as *Emmanuel*, *Golgotha*, *Haceldama*, *Eli*, *Eli*, *Lamasababani*, are explain'd in the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, and that their signification is there set down in *Greek*. Which Explication cannot be the Authors if he wrote in *Syriack*; and there's no appearance that it is the Interpreters, who would have contented themselves to render the Syriack Terms in *Greek*. But it is easie to answer, That Interpreters usually preserve in their Version remarkable Words, and particularly proper or appellative Names, by joining an Interpretation thereunto. Many Examples of this are to be found in the Septuagint and Vulgar Translation, where the proper and appellative Names are related in *Hebrew*, and explain'd by the Interpreter, as in *Genesis* 31. 49. *Galaad*, that is to say, *the heap witness*, chap. 35. 18. *Benoni*, that is to say, *the son of my grief*, *Exod.* 12. *Phase*, that is to say, *the passage of the Lord*, and chap. 16. *Manbu*, which signifies *what is that*. 1 *Kings* 7. 12. The Septuagint have related the word *Abenezzer*, and explain'd it by those of a *stone of help*. In those Places and many others, the Interpreter could not dispence with omitting the proper Hebrew Name, otherwise the true Names of those he spoke of would not have been known; and to know the signification of them an Explication must have been added. It is the same as to the Examples adduc'd, which are taken from the Gospel of St. *Matthew*. The three first, *Emanuel*, *Golgotha*, *Haceldama*, are proper Names, and it was necessary to relate the Words of Jesus Christ on the Cross in their proper Terms, for making what follow'd to be understood: That those who heard him thought he called upon *Eli*. If the Syriack word *Eloi*, or the Hebrew *Eli*, had not been set down, that Allusion could not have been understood. We may add to the Objection just now propos'd, That there is in the Gospel of St. *Matthew* Latin words, which would rather seem to have been used by an Author that wrote in *Greek*, than by one that wrote in *Hebrew*, because the *Greeks* had more Commerce with the *Latins* than the *Hebrews* had, and that there's a greater Affinity betwixt their Languages. They also alledge what is said to St. *Peter* in the Gospel, *Tu es Petrus, & supra hanc Petram edificabo Ecclesiam*. This Allusion of the Word to the name *Peter*, which signifies a *Rock*, is only found in the *Greek* and *Latin*. The first Instance hath no Difficulty, these Latin Names, or Greek ones Latiniz'd, are the Interpreters; and the Example brought in the second place, can occasion no Difficulty to any but such as suppose that the Name which our Lord gave to *Simon* the Son of *Jonas*, was the Greek Name  $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , whereas there's reason to believe it was the Syriack Name *Cephas*, which the *Greeks* have translated into that of  $\pi\epsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma$ , because the Name *Cephas* signifies a *Rock* in *Syriack*.

It is objected in the second place, That it does not appear that the Fathers ever saw the Original *Hebrew* of the Gospel of St. *Matthew*; and that they only said it was wrote in *Hebrew*, because there was a Gospel of the *Nazareens* wrote in *Hebrew* or *Syriack* different from that of St. *Matthew*. That that is the Gospel which the Fathers, and even St. *Jerome* himself, took for the Original of St. *Matthew*, tho' it was corrupt, and differ'd very much from the Greek Copy we have, of whose Purity no Man can doubt. It is answer'd, That this cannot be said of the ancientest of the Fathers, as *Papias* and St. *Irenaus*:

And



## Chap. II. *of the Old and New Testament.* 31

And tho' the Gospel of the *Nazarens* differ'd from that of St. *Matthew* in some places, there was great likelihood that it was taken from the Original which had been alter'd and corrupted in many places.

A third Objection they make is, That the Passages of the *Old Testament* are quoted in the Gospel of St. *Matthew* according to the Version of the LXX. Whereas had that Gospel been wrote in *Hebrew*, what probability is there that they would rather have taken the Passages out of the LXX than from the *Hebrew Text*? What is alledg'd here is not altogether true, for there are in St. *Matthew* Passages quoted according to the *Hebrew Text*, as we have made it appear. And further, tho' they should all have been quoted according to the *Septuagint*, there would be no reason to wonder that the Greek Translator should have taken the Version of the Passages of the *Old Testament*, quoted according to the LXX's Translation, which was in use amongst the *Jews*, rather than make a different one.

It is said in the fourth place, That the Gospel of St. *Mark* is like that of St. *Matthew*, that St. *Mark* only follows and abridges St. *Matthew*, makes use of the same Terms that are in his *Greek*, and that therefore there's great probability that he wrote from a Gospel in *Greek*. It is not true, That the style of St. *Mark* is altogether like that of St. *Matthew*. St. *Mark* softens many *Hebrew* or *Syriack* Expressions that are rougher in St. *Matthew*. But further, The resemblance of the style betwixt those two Evangelists, is not a Proof that St. *Mark* wrote from St. *Matthew*'s *Greek* Copy. It may be that the Translator of the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, imitated and followed St. *Mark*. It may be they agreed in some things. In short, it may be, that St. *Matthew*'s *Greek* Version was made when St. *Mark* wrote his Gospel. This is what I believe to be the most probable.

In fine, many Conjectures are propos'd to make the System of the Ancients improbable. Is it possible, say they, that they would have suffered St. *Matthew*'s Original Gospel to have been lost in the Church? What probability is there that this Evangelist wrote in that Language, he who was a *Greek* or *Roman*, since he had the Office of a *Publican*, which is so odious among the *Jews*? Why should that Gospel rather have been wrote in *Hebrew* than the rest? The *Jews* did commonly understand *Greek*; *Jerusalem* was to be speedily destroy'd, and the *Jews* dispers'd. What necessity was there of giving them a Gospel in a Language that was speedily to be of no use? The Gospel was to be for all Nations, then why should it be wrote in a Tongue that was only known to one Nation, which was speedily to perish? These are nothing but Conjectures, that are not to be oppos'd to matter of Fact attested by credible Witnesses.

We may answer by other Conjectures. The Original *Hebrew* of the Gospel according to St. *Matthew* was lost, because the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* and *Judea* for whom it was made, being converted to Christianity, they ceased in a little time to speak *Chaldee*; and being Christians had much more Commerce with the converted Gentiles that spoke *Greek*, than with the *Jews* that continued in their hardness of Heart; and that after the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, the *Greek* Tongue was abundantly more common in *Judea*. Therefore this Original becoming useless, there was no Care taken to preserve it. It continued nevertheless in the Hands of the *Nazarens*, and came afterwards to the *Ebionites*, who corrupted and changed it, whilst the ancient *Greek* Version was preserved in the Catholick Churches without Alteration. And why St. *Matthew* compos'd his Gospel in *Hebrew*, the Ancients have given us a very probable Reason. He did it for the *Jews* of *Jerusalem* and *Judea*, tho' many among them understood *Greek*, the *Syriack* was however common among the People, as we have proved: St. *Matthew* had preached the Gospel to them in that Tongue; it was just then that writing his Gospel at their Desire, and for their Use, he should do it in that same Tongue. He might well foresee it would be speedily translated into *Greek*, and that that Translation would be

as useful to all Nations as if he had wrote the same in *Greek*. This is sufficient to shew the Weakness of those Conjectures which are alledg'd against the Testimonies of ancient and credible Authors.

*Eusebius* relates in his History, *Lib. 5. cap. 10.* That *Pantanus* having travelled to the *Indies*, found there the Gospel of *St. Matthew* wrote in Hebrew Characters, which *St. Bartholomew* had left among the Indians, and preserved until that time. *St. Jerome* adds, That *Pantanus* brought that Copy into the City of *Alexandria*. *Eusebius* doth not observe this Circumstance, nor does he assert the History as a thing certain: He contents himself to say, it was a common Report. We have observed elsewhere already, that there's no appearance that *St. Bartholomew* had left to the Indians a Gospel wrote in *Hebrew* or *Syriack*, and that this Gospel was preserved till the time of *Pantanus*. *St. Jerome* says further, That there was in the Library of *Cesarea* a Hebrew Copy of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, which *Pamphilus* the Martyr had wrote with abundance of Care. But what he adds, That this Copy agreed with that which he had of the *Nazarens*, shews us that it was not the true Gospel of *St. Matthew* in its Purity, but the Gospel according to the *Nazarens*, who had made several Additions thereunto.

*Theodorus Lector* says, That under the Empire of *Zeno* there were found in the Isle of *Cyprus* the Relicks of *St. Barnabas*, with a Gospel of *St. Matthew* upon his Breast, wrote with *St. Barnabas's* own Hand, and that the Emperor *Zeno* put it in the Chaple of his Palace. He says not, whether this Gospel was in *Hebrew* or *Greek*: But there's a great probability that it was in *Greek*, since the Author of the History of finding that Apostle's Body related by *Surius*, says they made use of it to read the Gospel out of on *Holy Thursday* in the Emperor's Chaple. Now 'tis not to be doubted but it was in *Greek* the Gospel was read; for, had it been in *Hebrew*, the Author of the Relation would not have failed to have observed it, as an extraordinary thing. The Gospel supposed to have been found in *St. Barnabas's* Tomb, must then have been that of *St. Matthew* in *Greek*: But I would not warrant the Truth of the History, which perhaps was an Invention of the Bishops of *Cyprus*, to maintain themselves in their Independency on the Patriarch of *Antioch*: For *Theodorus* says, That by this means they obtain'd that their Metropolis was its own Head, and no more subject to the Church of *Antioch*. Be that how it will, this History does not prove that the Original *Hebrew* of the Gospel of *St. Matthew* was still in being during the Reign of the Emperor *Zeno*; that is to say, towards the End of the 5th Century.

But we may discover the Fate of that Gospel by more certain Monuments. As *St. Matthew* wrote it for the *Jews* of *Jerusalem*, who were converted to Christianity, they preserv'd it till the ruine of that City, and carried it with them to *Pella*, whither they retir'd before *Jerusalem* was besieg'd. Most of the converted *Jews* having retain'd a part of their Judaism, they form'd a Sect call'd *Nazarens*, which afterwards degenerated into that of the *Ebionites*: But the former added thereunto several Histories which they had learn'd by Tradition, and believ'd to be true; and the latter cut and altered it in several Places.

This lets us see in what Sense the Gospel of the *Nazarens* was, and was not the Original of *St. Matthew*: It was his Original, because all his Gospel was therein contain'd without much alteration. This made *St. Epiphanius* say, That they had *St. Matthew's* Gospel whole and entire; and *St. Jerome* to say, That the Gospel of the *Nazarens*, which he had translated, was the Gospel of *St. Matthew*. But since there were many things added thereunto, they might also truly say, That it was not the Gospel of *St. Matthew* in its Purity. As to that of the *Ebionites*, it was a corrupt and alter'd Gospel, in which they had cut off abundance of things.

The ancient Fathers of the Church have preserv'd us many of those Additions made to the Gospel of the Nazarens or *Hebrews*, which *Origen* calls also *the Gospel of the Twelve*. The first who is quoted on this subject is *Papias*, who is supposed to have taken out of that Gospel the History of the Woman accused of Adultery before our Lord. But *Eusebius* does not say, That *Papias* took it out of the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*; he only observes that *Papias* related this History, and that 'tis found in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. It may be that *Papias* related it, as knowing it by Tradition; and that afterwards the *Nazarens*, who had added divers Histories of that Nature to the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, did likewise add this. It is not known, whether it be that of the adulterous Woman which is at present in the Gospel of St. *John*, and was not formerly found in many Copies; which made several Critics think, that it was transcrib'd from the Gospel of the *Nazarens* into that of St. *John*. Be that how it will, there's no Evidence that it was originally in the Gospel of St. *Matthew* in *Papias's* time; but we know, that in time of *Eusebius* and St. *Jerome* it was in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*.

It is the same as to that Passage taken from St. *Ignatius's* Epistle to the *Smyrneans*. I saw him (Jesus Christ) in the Flesh after the Resurrection, &c. and of those other Words which they make our Saviour say after the Resurrection, Touch me, and see that I am not a Demon without a Body; related by the same St. *Ignatius*. Those Passages were indeed, according to the Testimony of St. *Jerome*, in the Gospel of the *Nazarens*; but St. *Ignatius* does not say they were taken out of it. *Eusebius* says, Hist. lib. 4. cap. 22. That *Hegeſippus* sometimes quoted the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*: But, perhaps, he thereby understands the Original of St. *Matthew*.

St. *Clement of Alexandria* is the first who positively quotes the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*; whence he takes this Sentence, He who shall have admiration, shall Reign; ad he who shall Reign, shall be at rest. Which he relates in the 2d Book of his *Stromata*; where, he says, it is wrote in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*.

It is alledg'd also, That *Tatian* made use of this Gospel in his Harmony of the Evangelists, and that 'tis upon this Account that some call it the Gospel of the Five: But it is a meer Conjecture, of which there's no manner of Assurance.

St. *Jerome* says, That *Origen* frequently made use of the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*. We find a Fragment of it in his eighth Treatise upon St. *Matthew* in those Terms. It is wrote in a certain Gospel, Intituled, According to the *Hebrews*; if People would receive it; not to give it Authority, but to illustrate the Question proposed. One of the rich men said to Jesus Christ, Master what shall I do, that I may live well? Jesus Christ says to him, Do that which the Law and the Prophets command. He answered, I have done it. He replied to him, Go sell all that you have, distribute it amongst the poor, and follow me: Then the rich man began to scratch his head, and that did not please him. The Lord said to him, How say you, that you have fulfilled that which the Law and the Prophets command, since it is wrote in the Law, you shall love your neighbour as your self? And behold, there are many of the Children of Abraham covered with mire, and who starve for hunger, whilst your house is full of wealth, and you give nothing to them. And being returned, he said to Simon his Disciple, who was very near him, It is more easie for a Camel to pass through the eye of a Needle, than for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. In the 2d Tome of his Commentaries upon the Gospel of St. *John*, he cites another Passage taken out of that Gospel, where the Holy Ghost is called the Mother of Jesus Christ. Some, says he, may produce the Gospel of the *Hebrews*, where our Saviour says, My Mother, the Holy Ghost, took me by one of my Hairs and carried me up to the great mountain *Tabor*. He also relates that Sentence of Jesus Christ several times from that Gospel; Be ye good Bankers.



But, of all the Fathers, there's none gives us more Light, as to the Quality and Additions to the Gospel according to the *Hebrews* or the *Nazarens* than *St. Jerome*, who not only saw and read, but also translated it into *Greek* and *Latin*; which the *Nazarens* of *Berea*, a City of *Syria*, furnished him, as he assures us in his Book of Ecclesiastical Writers. He supposes, that originally this Gospel was the Original of *St. Matthew*. He observes, that it was wrote in *Chaldee*, *Syriack* and *Hebrew* Characters, and that the Passages of the *Old Testament* quoted in that Gospel, were related according to the *Hebrew* Text, and not according to the Version of the *LXX*. He instances in this Passage, *I have called my Son out of Egypt*; and in that, *he shall be called a Nazaren*. He hath inserted besides, in his Commentary upon *St. Matthew*, and in his other Writings, many considerable Additions which are found in that Gospel.

He relates one upon the Baptism of *Jesus Christ*, in his 3d Book against the *Pelagians*, and in his Commentary upon the 11th of *Isaiah*. The Contents are as follow. *The Mother of Jesus and his Brethren said to him, John the Baptist baptised for the remission of sins, let us go and receive his Baptism. Jesus said to them, Wherein have I sinned, to go and be baptised by John? If it be not that what I just now said is Ignorance. And after, Jesus being come out of the Water, the source of the Holy Ghost descended upon him, rested on him, and says to him, My Son, I expected you in all the Prophets, to the End that being come, I should rest upon you; for you are my Rest and my first-born Son, who reigns for ever.*

He reports another matter of Fact, as to the History of the Cure of the Man who had the wither'd Hand, related in the 12th of *St. Matthew*. There they make this Man to say, *I was a poor Mason, who gain'd my livelihood by the labour of my hands: I pray you, Jesus, restore my health, that I may not be obliged shamefully to beg my living.*

There was likewise an Addition in the 8th Chapter, to what *Jesus Christ* says as to forgiving our Enemies. *St. Jerome* gives us an Account of it in his 3d Book against the *Pelagians*. It is as follows: *If your Brother sin against you in Word, and satisfie you, receive him seven times a day. Simon his Disciple said unto him, Seven times a day? Yes, answered our Lord; and added, I say to you, Seventy and seven times.*

In the 27th Chapter, where 'tis said, That the Veil of the Temple was rent when our Lord died. *St. Jerome* observes, That in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, it was said, That the middle of the Gate of the Temple, which was of a prodigious bigness, was bruised and broken in two.

He relates, in fine, in his Book of Illustrious Men, a considerable Passage concerning *St. James*, taken out of that Gospel. What he quotes of it is as follows: *The Lord having given a Shift to the High Priests servant, went to find James, and appeared to him; for James had sworn that he would eat no Bread from the time he had drank of the Lord's Cup, until he saw him raised again from the dead. And, a little after, the Lord says, Bring a Table and Bread. Bread was brought, and he blessed and brake it, and gave it to James the just, and says to him, My Brother, eat your Bread, because the Son of Man is raised again from the dead.* We may easily perceive that this History is a Tradition of the Christians of *Jerusalem*, who had *St. James* for their Bishop. And it may be said in general, That most of the Additions the *Nazarens* made to that Gospel were of the same Nature. They thought simply, that they might insert into *St. Matthew's* Work, the Stories which they had heard from their Fathers, and that they believed to be true, because they were commonly spread about through *Judea*. Tho' they have not the same certainty as those wrote by the Evangelists, yet we cannot say, that they were absolutely false, because it may be, that in *Judea* they knew by Tradition many Circumstances of the Life of *Jesus Christ*, which were not wrote by the Evangelists. But we cannot approve the Liberty that the *Nazarens* took to themselves, of adding to the Original Text

of

of *St. Matthew*. In the mean time that does not hinder, but they may be consulted on other Places, and profitably made use of for understanding the *Greek*. Thus it is that *St. Jerome* hath recourse to this Gospel for explaining the Term *ἐσθυσον*, which is in the Lord's Prayer in the 6th of *St. Matthew*, where he observes, that the Word which is found in the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, signifies *to morrow*, and that therefore the Sense of the Passage is, *Give us this Day Bread for to morrow*; that is to say, The Bread of every Day, as it was in the ancient Vulgar, and as *St. Jerome* hath preserved it in *St. Luke*, chap. 5. *St. Jerome* also made profitable use of this Gospel to solve a considerable Difficulty concerning *Zachary*; of whom *Jesus Christ* says, *Matth. 23*. That he was killed betwixt the Temple and the Altar. He is called in the *Greek Text*, the Son of *Barachias*. In the mean time, this no ways agrees to this *Zachary*, but to *Zachary* the Son of *Josada*; the manner of whose Death agrees with what *Jesus Christ* says of it. This Difficulty is removed by the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, which has, as *St. Jerome* observes, *Zachary the Son of Josada*, and not *Zachary* the Son of *Barachias*.

*St. Epiphanius* says, That the *Nazarens* had the Gospel of *St. Matthew* wrote in Hebrew and intire, and that they had certainly preserved it until his Time: He adds, That it was wrote in Hebrew Characters, and that he knows not whether they had not cut off the Genealogy of *Jesus Christ* from the time of *Abraham*: He assures us on the contrary, That the Gospel of *St. Matthew* which the *Ebionites* made use of, which they called, The Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, was not entire, but corrupt and alter'd; that the Genealogy of *Jesus Christ*, and what preceded the Baptism of *St. John*, were cut off from it: Which he began with these Words; *There was a Man called Jesus, of about 30 Years old, who hath chosen us, who coming to Capernaum, and entering into the House of Simon Peter, said, As I went along the Lake of Tiberias, I made choice of John and James the Sons of Zebedee, of Simon, Andrew and Thaddeus, of Simon Zelotes and Judas Iscariot, and you Matthew I called you, when you sat at the receipt of Customs, and you followed me; I will then that you be twelve Apostles to give Testimony to Israel.* After this Title begins the Gospel it self in these Terms; *It happened in the time of Herod the King of Judea, under the Prince of the Priests Caiphas, that a certain Man called John, baptized the Baptism of Repentance in Jordan: They said he was of the Race of Aaron, Son of Zachary and Elizabeth, and all went out to receive his Baptism, &c.* *St. Epiphanius* observes that afterwards it is said, That *St. John's Food* was wild Honey, which tasted like Manna, and like a Cake baked with Oil. Changing the *Greek Word* *ἀνέλιξ*, which signifies Locusts, into that of *ἐνελίξ*, which signifies Cakes. The Baptism of *Jesus Christ* was related in that Gospel in manner following: *The People being baptized, Jesus came also and was baptized by John; and being come up out of the Water, the Heavens opened themselves, and he saw the Spirit of God descending and entering into him, in the form of a Dove: And a Voice was heard from Heaven, which said, You are my well-beloved Son, in whom I have set my delight. John thereupon casting himself at his Feet, I pray you Lord, says he, Baptise me.* This Relation of the Baptism of *Jesus Christ* differs much from that which *St. Jerome* relates, as taken out of the Gospel of the *Nazarens*. Which makes it evident, that the *Ebionites* had changed the Gospel of the *Nazarens*. This Testimony of *St. Epiphanius*, makes us still to know, that they had cut off abundance of things from it, and that they had changed and corrupted the same in many Places to favour their Error. Therefore 'tis, when *St. Jerome* says, that the *Nazarens* and *Ebionites* make use of the same Gospel of *St. Matthew*, that it is to be understood in a certain general Sense, and not precisely, nor rigorously of the same Gospel in every respect.

From what we have related hitherto, may be infer'd, That the Gospel of *St. Matthew* wrote in *Chaldee*, did not continue long in its Purity, that the *Nazarens* made several Additions thereunto, and that afterwards the *Ebionites* alter'd



ter'd and changed it. That the Copies of which *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *Origen* and *St. Jerome* made use, were those of the *Nazarens*, that *St. Epiphanius* saw a Copy of the *Ebionites*, and that the Original of *St. Matthew* it self was not existent in its Purity in their time. We have not now in being that Gospel augmented by the *Nazarens*, or alter'd by the *Ebionites*, and the Versions that *St. Jerome* made of it in Greek and Latin, have not descended so low as our Times. We have two Versions of the Gospel of *St. Matthew* in Hebrew, the one by *Tilius*, and the other by *Munster*; but it is certain, that 'tis neither the Original of *St. Matthew*, nor that of the Gospel of the *Nazarens*. The *Syriack* publish'd by *Widmanstadius*, is neither the Original of *St. Matthew*, which was lost long ago, nor the Gospel of the *Nazarens* or *Ebionites*, since none of those Additions or Alterations, observed by the Fathers, are found therein; and besides, it appears that the Text was translated from the *Greek*.

The Greek Version of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, which to us supplies the Place of the Original, is very ancient, and concur with the Apostles, as *St. Jerome* and *St. Augustin* observe. It is not known who is the Author of it. *Papian* seems to say, That it was composed by several of the first Christians, for he observes that every one translated it as he could. *St. Jerome* says, 'Tis not known who is the Author of that Translation. *quod quis postea in Græcum transtulerit, non satis certum est*. If those Fathers had not had any knowledge of the Author of the Greek Translation of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, how could Writers that are much later know whose it was? Yet there are some who have made no scruple to name the Author. It is said in the Abridgment of the Scripture ascrib'd to *St. Athanasius*, that it was made by *St. James* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; *Theophilus* ascribes it to *St. John*; and *Anastasius* the *Sinaites* to *St. Luke* and *St. Paul*. But all this is spoke without ground. It is certain that the Version we have is as ancient as the time of the Apostles, that it was publish'd from the beginning of the Church in all Christian Nations, that it was look'd upon as good as an Original by the *Greeks* and *Latins*, that it was preserved without any Alteration, and always look'd upon to be Authentick and Canonical. Whereas the Original *Hebrew* continued not long the same that it was left by *St. Matthew*: That several Additions were immediately added thereunto, and afterwards Alterations; and that in the fourth Age there was no part of it in its Original Purity. Therefore 'tis when *St. Jerome* had corrected the Latin Translation of that Gospel, he did it from the Greek, and not from the *Syriack* Copy of the Gospel of the *Nazarens* that he had in Hand, which he look'd upon as another Gospel, because of the Additions it contain'd.

All the Ancients agree as we have already observed that the Gospel of *St. Matthew* is the first of the four in order of Time, but it's hard to say positively in what Year 'twas composed. The Ancients have indeed observ'd, that the Author wrote it whilst he was in *Judea*, but they don't mark the Year. The Author of the imperfect Work upon *St. Matthew*, which falsely bears the Name of *St. Chrysostom*, says it was composed before the Apostles left *Jerusalem*. The time of their leaving it is not certain, and it is no way likely that 'twas all at once, or by a premeditated Design. *St. Irenæus* assigns the Gospel of *St. Matthew* the first Place; and yet he says, That he did not compose it, till the time that *St. Peter* and *St. Paul* preached at *Rome*, and settled the Gospel there. If those Words be taken in their rigour, the Gospel of *St. Matthew* could not have been composed till towards the Year 63 or 64. It is observed in some Greek Manuscripts of the *New Testament*, that the Gospel of *St. Matthew* was published at *Jerusalem* eight Years after Christ's Ascension; but as we are not certain of the Antiquity of those sorts of Remarks, we are not to insist upon it, no more than upon the Testimony of *Nicephorus*, and of the Chronicle of *Alexandria*, who say, that this Gospel was composed 15 Years after our Lord's Passion. So that nothing positive can be said, as to the Year when this Gospel was wrote and published.

We



## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 37

We have already observed, that there was in the Hebrew Gospel of the Nazarens a considerable Addition to the History of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, related in the third Chapter of the Gospel according to *St. Matthew*; but we must further observe here, that the Greek and Latin Copies have also had some variation in this Place; for formerly instead of those Words, *This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased*, some Copies had the Words of the 2d Psalm, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. This Variation is very ancient, since *St. Austin* read it so, as it appears by this Place of his Dialogue against Tryphon. The Holy Ghost, says he, descending upon Jesus Christ in the form of a Dove, a Voice was heard from Heaven; which was also that of the Prophet David, saying, as in his Person, what ought to be said one day by the heavenly Father, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*. Which makes it plain, that in the time of this ancient Father, those Words were referr'd to the Baptism of Jesus Christ. *Methodius* thus reads also the History of the Baptism of Jesus Christ in the Gospels which he had. Nothing, says he, agrees better with that which we have said, nor more clearly shews the Truth of it, than the ancient Oracle directed from the Father to Jesus Christ, when he was baptised in Jordan; *Thou art my Son, it is this day that I have begotten thee*. *St. Hilary* reports them also in his Text in this Place of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, and explains them of the Baptism of Jesus Christ, both in his Commentary on that Passage, and in the 11th Book of the Trinity, where, he says, *'Tis visible that Jesus Christ received the Unction of the Spirit, and of the Power of God, when upon his coming up out of Jordan this Voice of his Father was heard; Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*.

*St. Augustin* observes in his 2d Book of the Concord of the Evangelists, chap. 14. that those Words, *Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee*, are found in divers Copies of the Gospel of *St. Luke*; and tho' it be said, that they were not in the oldest Greek Copies; he adds nevertheless, That if they can prove by Copies worthy of Credit, that those are the Evangelists Words; we must say, that both those Sentences were heard from Heaven. What *St. Augustin* observes of the Gospel of *St. Luke*, is as true of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, since *St. Hilary* relates those Words in his Text, and that *Juvencus* in his Paraphrase on that Evangelist, gives us these Words, and not those which our Copies bear.

*Tunc vox missa Dei longum per inane cucurrit,  
Ablutumque undis Christum flatuque perunctum  
Alloquitur: te Nate hodie per gaudia testor,  
Ex me progenitum, placet hac mihi Gloria prolis.*

That same Author Paraphrases an ancient Addition, which is found in that same Place of the Gospel of *St. Matthew* in the Latin Editions, and which is still to be found in a Manuscript of the ancient Vulgar, in the Library of the Abbey of *St. German de Prez*, *Et cum baptizaretur Jesus, lumen magnum fulgebat de aqua, ita ut timerent omnes qui congregati erant*. Whilst they were baptizing Jesus, there issued a great Light out of the Water, so that all that were there were astonished at it. This *Juvencus* Paraphrases likewise upon thus:

*Hac memorans vitreas penetrabat fluminis undas,  
Surgenti manifesta Dei presentia claret.*

There is another far more considerable Addition in the 20th of *St. Matthew*, which *Juvencus* hath also put in his Paraphrase, and is to be found in the Greek Copy of Cambridge, in some ancient Copies of the Vulgar Latin, and in the Anglo-Saxon Version; for after those Words of the 28th Verse, *The Son*

of Man came not to be ministred unto, but to minister, and to give his Life a Ransom for many. This Sentence is found added. [But you seek from less to grow more, and of great to become little] Which is not in any Place of the Gospels. Afterwards the following Words are added, whose sense is in the 14th of St. Luke; [But when you enter, being invited to a Feast, don't take the chief Places; lest some one who is higher than you come, and he who invited you to the Feast come to you, and say, Sit lower, and you be thereby put to shame. Whereas if you take a lower Place, and there be found a Person inferior to you, he who invited you will say, Sit up higher; which will be more to your Honour.] It seems that St. Hilary had that Addition in his Copy, for in his Titles of the 20th Canon upon St. Matthew, after the Title of the Sons of Zebedee, *de Filiis Zebedei*, comes this other of the chief Place, *de primo accubitu*, which only agrees to this Addition: And he explains himself in his Text, in these Terms: 'For the Glory of Humility, our Lord instructed them by the Example of a Feast, and advises them, That he who is thereunto invited, ought not to set himself down in the chief Place, for fear that one of a higher Dignity should come; and in that case, the Master of the Feast should oblige him to leave the Place he had taken to himself: Whereas if he put himself in an inferior Place, and that a Person below him happen to come, he shall be honoured by being moved to an higher Place. The same thing is implied in the Addition, and almost in the Terms in which it is conceiv'd in the ancient Vulgar. *Juvencius* found it also in his Copy, and put it in Verse as follows:

*At vos ex minimis opibus, transcendere vultis,  
Et sic e summis lapsi, comprehenditis imos.  
Si vos quisque vocat cœnæ convivia ponens,  
Cornibus in summis devitet ponere Membra,  
Quisque rapit veniet forsân si Nobilis alter  
Turpiter eximio cogetur cedere cornu,  
Quem tumor inflati cordis per summa locarat  
Sin contentus erit mediocria prendere loca  
Inferiorque dehinc si mox conviva subibit  
Ad potiora pudens transibit strata tororum.*

St. Leo, in his 79th Epistle to the Empress Pulcheria, after having quoted these Words, Let him amongst you who would be the chief, be your servant; for the Son of Man came not to be ministred unto, but to minister: He adds, These things were proposed to Persons who of little had a mind to become great, but not to go up from a low Place to an high one. *Hæc illis insinuabantur qui de pusillo volebant crescere & de infimis ad summa transire.* Which agrees to the first words of the Addition thus expressed in a Manuscript of the Abbey of St. German des Prez: *Vos autem quæritis de pusillo crescere & de minore majores fieri.* Whereas the 2d Part of that Sentence is expressed in another manner, both in the Greek and in the Latin of the Cambridge Manuscript: *Vos autem quæritis de minimo crescere, & de magno minui.* In that of Corbie in these Terms: *Vos autem quæritis de pusillo crescere, & de majore minores fieri.* And in that of the Monastery of St. Andrew in the manner following: *Vos autem quæritis de pusillo crescere & de magnis majores esse.* It is observable, That there's nothing but that Sentence added in the Manuscript of St. Germain des Prez, and that all the rest of the Addition is wanting there.

The Testimonies of St. Hilary, St. Leo, and *Juvencius*, leave us no room to doubt that that Addition was anciently in some Latin Copies, but we have no Greek Fathers that mention it. Therefore 'tis we don't believe that they can say, it was formerly in the Greek Copies of the Gospel of St. Matthew: We believe on the contrary, that 'tis an Addition made by the Latins, that the

Writer

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 39

Writer of the *Cambridge* Copy, or some other, hath translated it into *Greek*, and inserted it in his Text. We don't believe neither, that this Addition was in all the Copies of the ancient *Vulgar Latin*, since many of the *Latin Fathers* don't receive it; that *St. Jerome* makes no mention of it; that it was never known in the Church of *Africk*; that 'tis expressed differently in several Copies; and that there are some where the greatest part of this Addition is not to be found. In a word, we are persuaded that this Edition ought to be held of no Authority. In the first place, because the ancient *Greek Fathers*, as *Origen*, *St. Chrysostom*, &c. never take Notice of it; and that, by consequence, it was not in the most ancient *Greek Copies* of the *New Testament*. Secondly, Because the greatest Part of the *Latin Church*, did not approve it. Thirdly, Because the new Sentence they put in our Saviour's Mouth, hath almost no Sense, as 'tis expressed in the *Cambridge Manuscript*. Fourthly, Because 'tis visible enough, That the greatest Part of this Addition is taken out of the Gospel of *St. Luke*; whose Text they have altered in a very gross manner. Fifthly, Because the Occasion on which *Jesus Christ* pronounced those Words, is quite different from that to which they ascribe this Addition: For *St. Luke* says, That *Jesus Christ* had this Discourse at *Jerusalem*, in the House of one of the chief *Pharisees*, where he was about to refresh himself, after having cured a Man that was sick of the Dropsie; on which Occasion those that were invited made choice of the uppermost Places: Whereas in the Addition, they make our Saviour say the same Thing on occasion of the Request of the Mother of *Zebedee's Children*, a little before his Passion without *Jerusalem*, being on his Way thither. The Time, Place, Occasion, and Circumstances are wholly different; and there's no Man but must needs see, that the Comparison is in its proper Place in the Gospel of *St. Luke*: Whereas it is wrong plac'd, and nothing to the purpose in that of *St. Matthew*.

In the 24th of *St. Matthew*, ver. 36. where 'tis said, That *no man knows any thing of the day of Judgment, no not the Angels in Heaven*. There's those words added in the *Cambridge Manuscript* which are found in the Gospel of *St. Mark*, chap. 13. v. 32. *Nor the Son*. *Origen* follows this reading in his Commentary upon this Place of *St. Matthew*; *St. Chrysostom* and *Theophilact*, explain also those Words in their Commentaries upon that Evangelist; *St. Jerome* observes that they are found in some *Latin Copies* of *St. Matthew*, but that they were not in most part of the *Greek Copies*, and particularly in those of *Origen* and *Pierius*. *St. Hilary*, *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Augustin* read also those Words in *St. Matthew*, as in *St. Mark*. In fine, the Manuscripts of the ancient *Vulgar Latin* of the Gospel according to *St. Matthew*, do also bear these Words. Nay, 'tis more probable that they were razed out of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, than added to that of *St. Mark*, or transferred from the latter to the former.

In that same Chapter, ver. 41. after those Words, of two Women grinding in a Mill, *one shall be taken and the other left*; there is also in the *Cambridge Manuscript*, and some others, an Addition taken out of *St. Luke*, ch. 17. v. 34. of two Persons who shall be in one Bed, *one shall be taken and the other left*, *Lucas Brugensis* hath found it in divers *Latin Manuscripts*. It is in the *English Saxon Version*. *Origen*, *St. Hilary* and *St. Chrysostom* explain it in this Place: But *Theophilact* takes no Notice of it. In the Manuscripts of the ancient *Vulgar*, it is found in the Place of the Words which we have related of *two Women who shall be grinding at a Mill*. And there be also *Greek Manuscripts* wherein these Words are not found.



## S E C T. IV.

*The Life of St. Mark : Concerning his Gospel : Of the Truth of the last whole Chapter of it.*

THE Ancients inform us, That the Evangelist St. Mark was St. Peter's Disciple and Interpreter : Therefore it can't be doubted, but 'tis he whom he calls *his Son*, in his first Letter wrote from *Babylon*, (a). But there's great probability that he is a different Person from *John*, Surnamed *Mark*, the Son of *Mary*, the Companion of St. Paul and of St. Barnabas, who is frequently spoken of in the *Acts* (b); who is, it may be, also this *Mark* the Cousin of *Barnabas*, who is mentioned in the Epistles of St. Paul. The Evangelist is nowhere called by the Name of *John*, which was the proper Name of this Person. He was St. Peter's Disciple, and kept close to him, at the time when the other was with St. Paul and St. Barnabas. Some Authors have been of Opinion, that the Evangelist was one of the 72 Disciples of our Lord, (c). There's

(a) Whom he calls his Son in his first Letter, 1 Pet. 5. 3.] The Church of *Babylon* salutes you and my Son *Mark*.

(b) John, surnamed Mark, the Son of Mary, who is often spoke of in the Acts, chap. 12. v. 12. It is said, That Peter being come out of Prison, went to the House of Mary the Mother of John, surnamed Mark, v. 25. That Barnabas and Saul returned from *Jerusalem*, having taken with them John, surnamed Mark, chap. 15. v. 37. That St. Paul and Barnabas having agreed at *Antioch* to return and Visit their Brethren in the City, where they had preached the Word of our Lord, Barnabas would take with him John, surnamed Mark; but that Paul pray'd him to consider, that it was not fit to take him with them who had left them in *Pamphilia*, and not accompanied them in their Ministry: That a Controversie happened thereupon betwixt them, which occasioned their separating, and that Barnabas took Mark with him, and took Ship to go for *Cyprus*. The strict Union of this Mark with Barnabas, makes it believ'd that he is the same who is called his Kinsman in the Epistle to the *Colossians*, c. 4. v. 10. where St. Paul says, and Marcus Sisters Son to Barnabas, touching whom ye received Commandments, if he come unto you, receive him. And in his 2d to *Timothy*, chap. 4. v. 12. Take Mark and bring him with thee, for he is profitable to me for the Ministry. He makes mention of him again in his Epistle to *Philemon*, as being one of those who assisted him. If he of whom St. Paul speaks in those three Places, be the same who is mentioned in the Acts, he must needs have been agreed again with St. Paul, after his having gone off from him with St. Barnabas. Some have confounded this John, surnamed Mark, the Son of Mary, with St. John the Evangelist. St. Chrysostom in his 26th Homily on the Acts, does not give him the Surname of Mark, but calls him simply John. He demands who that John is, and says that perhaps 'tis he who was always with the other

Apostles; and that 'tis on that Account he added his Surname. So that tho' this Surname be not at present in the Greek Text of St. Chrysostom, it appears, however, by those last Words, that tis an omission. *Oecumenius* adds a Negative, and says, 'twas not he that was always with St. Peter and the other Apostles; that is to say, that 'was not the Evangelist: And the Reason St. Chrysostom gives for it, makes it plain, that we must so read his Text. The Evangelist cannot be the Mark mentioned in the Epistles of St. Paul, because he was then in *Egypt*; and even the 2d to *Timothy* is supposed to have been wrote after his Death. Some have believed, nevertheless, that he who is mentioned in the Epistles of St. Paul was the Evangelist; and, amongst others, the Author of the Dialogue of *Adamantius* against the *Marcionites*.

(c) Some have been of Opinion, that the Evangelist was one of our Lord's 72 Disciples. St. Epiphanius says so, *Heref. 51*. where he relates, That having left our Lord, after the Discourse that he had on the Eucharist, St. Peter made him return. The Author of the Dialogue of *Adamantius* against the *Marcionites*, reckons him amongst the 72 Disciples. *Procopius* and some other Modern Writers are of the same Opinion. But *Papias* says plainly, That St. Mark the Evangelist neither saw nor followed our Lord; and that he wrote what he learned from St. Peter, *Euseb. Hist. l. 3. cap. ult.* St. *Irenaeus* says not that he had seen Jesus Christ. *Tertullian* puts him in the Rank of Apostolical Men. St. *Jerome* contents himself to allow him the Quality of a Disciple and St. Peter's Interpreter. St. Chrysostom, *Hom. 19.* on the Acts, St. *Augustin de Consensu Evangelico*, l. 1. c. 17. against *Fauslus*. *Theodoret* in his Preface upon the History of Solitaries, and *Bede* upon St. Mark say, That he was not an Eye Witness of the Things that he wrote, but that he learned them from those that had lived and conversed with our Lord.

more likelyhood that he did not receive the Gospel from Jesus Christ himself, but from the Apostles, and particularly from St. Peter, who calls him *his Son*; perhaps, because he had begotten him in Jesus Christ. The style of his Gospel shews us that he was Jew, and rather a natural Hebrew than an Hellenist. The Name of *Mark* is not indeed an Hebrew Name, but it was apparently a Name that answer'd to the Hebrew Name he bore, or a Roman Surname he had assumed to himself, according to the common Custom of that Time. It is an ancient and certain Tradition, That the Evangelist St. Mark was the Founder of the Church of *Alexandria*: The other Circumstances of his Life and Death, related in his *Acts*, and by new Authors, are uncertain or fabulous, (d).

The Ancients neither agree as to the Time nor Place where St. Mark compos'd his Gospel; St. Irenaeus says, 'twas after the Death of St. Peter and St. Paul, (e). If it be so, we must place the Death of St. Mark in 67, with the Author of the Oriental Chronicle; or in 68, according to his Acts. In which Case he must have survived those two Apostles for two or three Years, and compos'd his Gospel in that Interval: But, if with Eusebius we place his Death in 62, before the Death of St. Peter, we cannot defend this System.

St. Clement of Alexandria, in his *Hypotyposis*, supposes that St. Mark wrote his Gospel whilst St. Peter was alive: For he says, ' That that Apostle having preached the Word of God, and published the Gospel in the City of Rome, many of the People pray'd St. Mark, who had been a long time his Disciple, and remembred his Words, to write what he had learned from his Master: That he then wrote his Gospel, and gave it to those that desired it of him: That St. Peter having understood that he was about it, he would neither hinder nor exhort him to go on with it. Papias says also, That St. Mark wrote what he had learned from St. Peter. Eusebius and St. Jerome add to those Authorities, That St. Peter approved that Gospel when 'twas finished, to the End it might be received in the Churches. Tertullian is Witness that it was look'd upon as a certain Thing, that the Gospel published by St. Mark was from St. Peter. *Licet & Marcus quod edidit Petri affirmetur*, l. 4. *contra Marc.* c. 5.

St. Gregory Nazianzen in his Poems, 33, 34. wrote, that St. Mark compos'd his Gospel for Italy upon St. Peter's Relation. The Author of the *Synopsis* ascrib'd to St. Athanasius says, That that Apostle dictated his Gospel to him: But that does not agree with St. Clement and Papias. All those Authors suppose that it was at Rome, and on the desire of the Christians of that City that St. Mark compos'd his Gospel. On the contrary, St. Chrysostom in his first Homily on St. Matthew, believes that 'twas in Egypt, and for the Christians of that Country that he compos'd it. It would seem that this Contradiction may be solv'd by saying, That St. Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome a little before St. Peter's Death, that that Apostle approved it, and that St. Mark after his Death being gone from Rome, carried and published it in Egypt. By this means all the Authors are reconcil'd in supposing that St. Mark did not come to Alexandria till after St. Peter's Death; that is to say, in 66, and that he did not die till 67 or 68. What St. Irenaeus says, That he did not publish his Gospel till after the Death of St. Peter, will also be found true; for though he

(d) The other Circumstances of his Life and Death related in his Acts, and by new Authors, are uncertain or fabulous. ] Rollandus hath given us the Acts of St. Mark in Greek and Latin. It is the Work of some Egyptian Christian of the 7th or 8th Age, which was followed by the Author of the Oriental Chronicle, by Bede and by the Martyrologists. Those Acts are visibly full of Fables, and all those Modern Authors are but of small Authority. Palladi-

us in his History, Lausiac and Eutychius make him a Martyr; but neither Eusebius nor St. Jerome say any thing of it.

(e) After the Death of St. Peter and St. Paul. ] The Greek of St. Irenaeus in Eusebius is *μετά τὴν θάνατον τῶν Ἀποστόλων*. The Latin of the ancient Interpreter, *post vero horum discessum*; that is to say, after their leaving the World. Those that say we must read *in domo*, change the Text without Reason.

might have done it some little time before the Death of that Apostle, it was not however made publick till some time after it. It is observed in *Euthymius* and some Manuscript Notes of the *New Testament*, that the Gospel of *St. Mark* was composed 10 Years after the Passion of our Lord, that is to say, in the 43d Year of the Christian Era. But that cannot be, if it was done at *Rome* whilst *St. Peter* was there, since *St. Peter* did not come to *Rome* till a long time after, as we have shew'd in another Place. Besides, those sorts of Remarks are not worth our insisting upon.

It would seem there's no room left to doubt but *St. Mark* wrote his Gospel in *Greek*, and that the *Greek* which we now have is the Original. All the Ancients who have observ'd it as a particular thing, That the Gospel of *St. Matthew* was wrote in *Hebrew* or *Syriack*, never said any such thing of *St. Mark*. They must needs have supposed then that it was wrote in *Greek*, as the other Books of the *New Testament*. *St. Jerome*, *Ep.* 123. and *St. Augustin*, *Lib.* 1. *Consens. Evang.* c. 2. have also assured us, That all the Books of the *New Testament*, excepting the Gospel of *St. Matthew* and the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, were originally wrote in *Greek*. Besides those Authorities, there is in the Gospel of *St. Mark* abundance of Grecisms, which make it plain that it was wrote in *Greek* and not in *Latin*, as Cardinal *Baronius* would maintain, but upon Reasons of so little weight, that they deserve not be insisted upon, (f).

*St. Mark* hath followed the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, and many times hath only abridg'd it, either by contracting his Narrative, or by leaving out some things, especially what relates to Doctrine. This occasioned *St. Augustin's* calling him the Abbreviator of *St. Matthew*. There are nevertheless Histories that he relates more at large, and of which he observes some Circumstances that are omitted by that Apostle. He relates few things which are not only in the Gospel of *St. John*, and yet fewer which are not only in that of *St. Luke*; the whole is almost taken from the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, whose Order he follows for the most part, and very often makes use of the same Terms; which makes me believe that *St. Mark* rather wrote from the *Greek* Version of the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, than from the Original *Syriack*. *St. Jerome* observes in his Letter to *Hedibia*, that the last Chapter of the Gospel of *St. Mark* (be-

(f) Upon Reasons of so little Weight, that they deserve not to be insisted upon. ] He says, 'Tis not to be believ'd that *Mark*, writing to the *Romans*, would compose his Gospel in any other Language than that which was in use at *Rome*. It is true, that *Latin* was the natural Language of the *Romans*; but the *Greek* was also common amongst them; so that tho' we should suppose *St. Mark* to have wrote precisely for the *Romans*, he might have wrote in *Greek*, as *St. Paul* did the Letter that he directed to them. But it is not certain that *St. Mark* wrote to *Rome*, and for the *Romans*; and tho' it should be true, it is not so, that his Gospel was for the *Romans* alone. There were at *Rome* converted *Jews*, to whom *St. Peter* had preach'd, and for whom *St. Mark* also wrote: Those *Jews*, as *Grotius* observed, understood little *Latin*, but they understood and spoke *Greek*. All the Authorities quoted by *Baronius*, to shew that *Greek* was not common at *Rome*, prove nothing: It is certain that the *Romans* studied *Greek*, that People of Fashion understood and spoke it; nay, their Women spoke and understood *Greek*. The Authors he brings to maintain his Opinion, are the Author of the Pontifical of *Damasus*, *Eutychius*, and some *Syrians*. These are Witnesses of small Credit in a Matter so ancient; and besides, they don't

speak clearly. *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, whom he cites again, does not say, that the Gospel of *St. Mark* was wrote in *Latin*; he only says, that 'twas wrote for the People of *Italy*. He pretends that there are Latinisms in *St. Mark's Greek*: That may be without his having wrote in *Latin*: It's sufficient that he had dwelt among the *Latins* and spoke *Latin*, to mix *Latin* Words *Græcis'd* with his *Greek*. There are Interpreters who say, That *St. Mark* wrote his Gospel in *Latin* and *Greek*; but this is spoken without Proof. It is certain, that the *Latin* Gospel we have is not *St. Mark's*, and that it hath been translated from the *Greek*. It is said, That the Emperor *Charles IV.* found at *Aquileum* a Gospel wrote with *St. Mark's* own Hand in 7 Bundles or Quires. The *Venetians* pretend to have at *Venice* that Original brought from *Aquileum*, which they keep in the Church of *St. Mark*, with another Gospel that they believe to have been wrote by *St. Chrysostom*: But they take a great deal of Care to keep those two Books shut, and suffer no Body to open them, lest the Truth should be discover'd. *Cornelius a Lapide* says, he understood at *Venice*, that the Letters of the Gospel of *St. Mark* were much effac'd, and that it was wrote in *Greek*, and not in *Latin*.

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## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 43

ginning at the 9th Verse of our last Chapter) was only in few Copies, and that almost all the Greek Copies wanted it. *Aut enim non recipimus Marci Testimonium quod in raris fertur Evangeliiis, omnibus Græcis Libris hoc Capitulum in fine non habentibus.*

St. Gregory Nyssen in his 2d Oration upon the Resurrection says, That in the most correct Copies, the Gospel of St. Mark ended with those Words; *for they were afraid*: That nevertheless what follows is found added in some Copies. Euthymius makes the same Observation, which is also found in some Greek Copies of the New Testament. There are none at present in which the Chapter of St. Mark is not found entire. But in a Manuscript of the King's Bibliothek we read after those words *ἐπορεύθη δ*, this Remark, which is also found in Welkel's printed Greek Bible: *They told in a few words to Peter what had been commanded 'em; and afterwards Jesus published by their Ministry from the East unto the West, that holy and incorruptible preaching of eternal Salvation.* This we may easily find to be an Addition made by the Hand of some Stranger, who supposed that this was the End of the Gospel. Nevertheless, there follows afterwards in this Manuscript, and wrote by the same Hand, *On trouve aussi apres ces mots*: There is found also after these words, *ἐπορεύθη δ*, *ce qui suit*, that which follows *ἀναστὰς δ*, and the rest unto the end of the Gospel: But there is not in the Margin the Letters of the Alphabet to mark the Section. In the Cambridge Manuscript, the 9th Verse and the following to the 16th, are wrote by the same Hand; but the 16th and the following are wrote by a later Hand. Nevertheless, there are many Reasons to prove that we ought to own that Chapter to be Genuine in all its Parts.

In the first place, the eight first Verses were never called in Question. For when St. Jerome says, That the last Chapter of St. Mark is not in many Greek Copies: By Chapter he understands only the 11 last Verses; the Sections or Chapters being then less than our Chapters are at present. Besides, it cannot be said, that St. Mark did not speak of the Resurrection of our Lord. 2. Tho' these 11 last Verses were not in many Greek Copies in St. Jerome's and St. Gregory Nyssen's time, they were nevertheless in some Greek, and in all the Latin, Syriack and Arabian Copies. 3. The most ancient Fathers own'd them as true. St. Irenæus in his 3d Book against Heresies quotes the last Verse but one: St. Mark, says he, *relates at the close of his Gospel, that our Lord, after having spoke, entered into Heaven, and that he is sat down at the right hand of God.* The Apparition to Magdalen is quoted by Tertullian in his Book *de Anima*. St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, the Author of the *Synopsis*, the Author of the *Concord* ascrib'd to Ammonius, Cassian, &c. quote also the last Verses of that Chapter. St. Jerome himself and St. Gregory Nyssen explain them, and reconcile them with the other Evangelists. 4. Its easie enough to be seen, that the Reason for which they have been cut off in some Copies, is the seeming Contradiction that is found in that place betwixt St. Matthew and St. Mark. But we see no Reason why they should have been added, nor from whence they could have been taken. In a word, the last Verses are of the same Style, wrote with the same Simplicity, and relate to what the other Evangelists have wrote, but so nevertheless that it may be plainly seen, that they were taken from them. There's no Ground then to doubt of their Antiquity or Truth.

It is not the same of an Addition St. Jerome speaks of in his 2d Dialogue against the Pelagians, which came after those Words of the 14th Verse. Jesus Christ appeared to the Eleven whilst they were at Table, and upbraided them with their unbelief and hardness of Heart, because they believed not them that had seen him after he was risen. The Addition is this, They answered him saying, 'This Age is the substance of Iniquity and Unbelief, which hinders by means of unclean Spirits, that they don't embrace true Vertue; therefore

fore discover your Justice. St. Jerome says, That, those Words were found in some Copies, and particularly in the Greek, but he makes no great Account of that Addition; which, in all appearance, was taken from some Gospel that was forg'd or falsified by the Hereticks.

## SECT. V.

*The Life of St. Luke: Of his Gospel: How it was corrupted by the Marcionites. Of the Truth of Jesus Christs sweating Drops of Blood. Of the Alterations and Additions in the Cambridge Manuscript.*

**S**T. Luke was a Native of Antioch, the Metropolis of Syria (a), and a Physician by Profession, (b). He was not our Lord's Disciple, and one of the 72, as some of the Ancients believed (c): Nay, there's no likelihood that he was a Jew (d). He was rather a Gentile, and uncircumcised. He was St. Paul's Disciple, he accompanied him almost in all his Travels, and (e) assisted him con-

(a) St. Luke was a Native of Antioch, the Metropolis of Syria. Enschinus says so, *Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 4. Lucas vero domo Antiochenus*; and St. Jerome in his Treatise of Illustrious Men, says, *Lucas Medicus Antiochenus*.

(b) A Physician by Profession. St. Paul says so *Col. 4. 14. Luke the Physician salutes you*. None of the Ancients doubted but this was the Evangelist. Nicephorus and the modern Greeks make him a Painter; and there are in many Places Images of the Virgin, which are given out to be the Workmanship of St. Luke: But these are Fictions that have nothing of Truth nor Likelihood.

(c) He was not our Lord's Disciple, nor one of the 72, as some of the Ancients believ'd. This appears plainly from the beginning of his Gospel, where he does not say, that he wrote that which he had seen, but that which he had learn'd from others. St. Irenaeus contents himself to bring his Testimony, as that of a Man who had learn'd from the Apostles what he wrote, without producing him as an Eye-Witness to the Truth of those Things. Tertullian assures us of it as a certain thing, That he was not Christ's Disciple, but that he learn'd from the Apostles, and particularly from St. Paul, what he had wrote. *Porro Lucas non Apostolus, sed Apostolicus: Non Magister, sed Discipulus; nique Magistro minor, certe tanto posterior, quanto posteriori Apostoli saluator*, Lib. 4. contra Marcion. cap. 2. Ensch. *Hist. lib. 3. cap. 4.* says, he wrote his Gospel upon the Relation of others, and the Acts upon what he had seen himself. St. Jerome assures us of the same thing in his Treatise of Illustrious Men, and in his Preface on St. Matthew. St. Ambrose in the beginning of his Commentary on St. Luke, St. Augustin in his Book de Conf. Evang. l. 1. c. 1. Theodoret in his Preface to the Lives of the Fathers. These Testimonies ought to be prefer'd to those of the Author of the Dialogue against Marcion ascrib'd to Origen; to that of St. Epiphanius, who had taken it from that Author; and to

those of some Modern Authors, who wrote that St. Luke was one of the 72 Disciples of our Lord.

(d) There's no appearance that he was a Jew. St. Paul in his Epistle to the Colossians, after having named Aristarchus, Mark, and Jesus called Justus, says that they were of the Circumcision: *Qui ex Circumcisione sunt*; that they were the only Persons who were then with him: Then immediately after he speaks of Epaphras of Demas, and of Luke. He seems by that to distinguish them from those that were circumcised. St. Chrysostom followed this Opinion. St. Jerome in his Questions on Genesis, calls St. Luke a Profelyte: He was not then a Jew by Birth.

(e) He was the Disciple of St. Paul, and attended him continually in his Travels. St. Irenaeus in his 3d Book against Heresies, c. 14. says, That he was St. Paul's inseparable Companion, and Fellow-Labourer in the Gospel. St. Paul puts him also amongst his Fellow-Labourers in his Epistle to Philemon, v. 24. *Marcus, Aristarchus, Demas and Lucas, my Fellow-Labourers*; and he calls him the Beloved, in his Epistle to the Colossians, chap. 4. 14. *Luke, the beloved Physician, salutes you*, 2 Tim. 4. 11. He says, he was the only Person staid with him: *Lucas est mecum solus*. The History of the Acts informs us, that he follow'd St. Paul when that Apostle went from Troas to Macedonia. For this is the first time that he spoke as being with St. Paul. We endeavour'd, says he, immediately to go into Macedonia, Acts 16. 11. So St. Irenaeus enumerating the Journeys that St. Luke made with St. Paul, makes this the first, according to the Cambridge Manuscript. St. Luke was with St. Paul at Antioch in the Year 43, but 'tis not certain enough to be relied on. Having passed from Troas in Macedonia, he staid there some days with St. Paul. There's no more spoken of St. Luke in the Acts till the 20th Chapter, where 'tis said, That St. Luke was with St. Paul when they went into Asia through

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 45

continually in the Ministry of the Word, as we learn from the History of the *Acts*, and the advantageous Testimonies which St. Paul gives of him in his Letters. It is also believ'd, that 'tis of him the Apostle speaks, without naming him, when he signifies to the *Corinthians* (f), 2 Cor. 8. 18. That he hath sent them a Brother, whose Praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches: *Cujus laus est in Evangelio per omnes Ecclesias*. There's no Reason to confound him with Lucius (g), whom St. Paul also mentions in his Epistle to the *Romans*. We find in St. Jerome's Book of Illustrious Men, that he lived in Celibacy, that he died in *Achaia*, aged 84 Years, and that his Relicks were translated thence to *Constantinople*: But this Passage is very doubtful, (h). St. Epiphanius says, he preached the Gospel in *Dalmatia*, in *Gaul*, in *Italy* and *Macedonia*, (i). Other Authors say, he preached in other Countries: There is nothing certain in this Matter, nor yet of the Manner and Place of his Death, (k).

St. Luke himself in the beginning of his Gospel, gives an Account of the Motive that made him undertake it, and of the Design he had therein; for he says, That many having undertaken before him to write the History of Jesus Christ and of his Preaching, he believed that after having been exactly in-

through Macedonia, he parted with him at *Philippi* and went to *Troas*. He accompanied St. Paul to *Jerusalem*, he followed him afterwards from *Cesarea* to *Rome*, when he was carried thither; he staid there with him, as appears by the Epistles to *Philemon* and the *Colossians*. He was still with St. Paul when he wrote his 1<sup>st</sup> Letter to *Timothy*.

(f) It's thought that 'tis of him the Apostle speaks without naming him, when he signifies to the *Corinthians*, &c. ] Authors are divided about this anonymous Person to whom St. Paul gave this Elogium; The Brother whose Praise is in the Gospel throughout the Churches. ] *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Ambrose*, ascribe this to St. Luke. *St. Chrysostom* says, That some think it to be St. Luke, and others take it for *Barnabas*. He leaves the Matter at an uncertainty, and is sometime for the one, sometime for the other. Some understand this of St. *Silas*, because of those following Words, Who was also chosen of the Churches to travel with us. Which agrees to *Silas*. It seems the Reason of his ascribing it to St. Luke, is the word Gospel, in that Place, which they take for a written Gospel. But 'tis a weak Conjecture, for the Gospel of St. Luke was not then composed, and those words are rather to be understood of the Gospel preached; that is to say, That Brother who has acquired a Reputation in all the Churches by the preaching of the Gospel.

(g) There's no Reason to confound him with Lucius. ] *Origen* thought him to be the same, and hath wrote so in his Notes upon the Epistle to the *Romans*. He could have no other Reason but the likeness of the Name: But that proves the contrary, for had the Name of *Lucas* been either *Græciz'd* or *Latiniz'd* they would rather have augmented than abridg'd it, as of *Demas* they have made *Demetrius*; of *Appellus*, *Apollodorus*; of *Epaphras*, *Epaphroditus*; of *Cleopas*, *Cleopatra*; of *Artemas*, *Artemidorus*; of *Antipas*, *Antipater*; of *Harpocras*, *Harpocrates*; of *Rufus*, *Rufinus*. This *Lucius* is plac'd by St. Paul amongst the Number of his Kinsmen. *Timothy* my fellow-labourer salutes you, and *Lucius*, and *Ja-*

son, and *Sospater*, my Kinsmen. It seems that by the word Kinsmen he understands in general, those of the Jewish Nation, as he says *Romans* 9. 3. For I could wish that my self were accursed from Christ, for my Brethren my Kinsmen according to the Flesh. So this *Lucius* is join'd with the Jews. St. Luke was not a Jew.

(h) The Passage is very doubtful. ] That which concerns Celibacy and the Age of St. Luke, is neither found in the Greek nor in the best Latin Manuscripts. The Greeks and Latins agree that St. Luke died very ancient: But *Isidore*, *Bede*, and some others, don't assign him above 74 Years. What concerns his Relicks, is taken from *Philostorgus*, and does not at all look like St. Jerome.

(i) He preach'd the Gospel in *Dalmatia*, in *Gaul*, in *Italy*, and in *Macedonia*. ] What St. Epiphanius says of his Preaching in *Gaul* is spoke without Ground. It may be understood of *Galatia* or *Gallia-Cisalpinga*. *Metaphrastes* and *Fortunatus* seem to think that he preach'd in *Egypt*. *Nicephorus* says, he return'd from *Rome* into *Greece*, and that he preach'd the Gospel there: That is more probable.

(k) There's nothing certain in this Matter, neither as to the Manner nor Place of his Death. ] *Philostorgus* and the Addition to the Books of Illustrious Men wrote by St. Jerome say, That the Relicks of St. Luke were brought from *Achaia*, where he had been interr'd. *St. Gaudentius* says he died at *Petræ*, a City of *Achaia*. *Nicephorus* says at *Thebes* in *Greece*; *Isidore*, *Bede*, *Usuard*, *Ado*, and the Roman Martyrology say *Bithynia*. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* reckons St. Luke amongst the Martyrs in his 3<sup>d</sup> Oration: But *Elias* of *Crete* commenting on that Place, maintains that *Gregory* gives the Name of *Victims* in general to all those who suffer'd and labour'd for Jesus Christ, and that St. Luke died in Peace as well as the Apostle St. *John*. It's said, That St. Paulinus gives him the Title of Martyr, Ep. 3. & Nat. 9. But that Term may be taken in a more general Sense: Nor is it clear that it is to St. Luke that he assigns this first Passage.



form'd of all those Things from the beginning, by those who had been Witnesses of it, and Ministers of the Word themselves, he ought also to put it in Writing, to the End that *Theophilus*, to whom he directed (1) that Work, might know the Truth of what he had preach'd. As he was a Disciple, and almost an inseparable Companion to *St. Paul*, it is not to be doubted but he made use of his Knowledge and Instructions in composing his Gospel, and that he wrote what he had learn'd from him. Thus all the Ancients have observ'd (m), and some of 'em have pretended that it is of the Gospel of *St. Luke* this Apostle speaks when he makes use of those Terms according to *my Gospel* (n). *St. Jerome* says, he composed it in *Achaia* or *Baotia*: In *Achaia Baotique partibus*. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* says also, that it was for the Christians of *Achaia* that he composed it. If it were in the time that *St. Paul* was at *Corinth*, towards the Year 53, it is certain that the Gospel preceded the Book of the *Acts*, and that this was wrote two Years after *St. Paul's* arrival at *Rome*; that is to say, in 63, since the History of that Book concludes precisely at that time: Perhaps he publish'd both the one and the other in *Achaia*, whither he returned at the end of the two Years that *St. Paul* was detain'd at *Rome*, after having composed them in that City. *Euthymius* and some Notes of Greek Manuscripts say, that it was composed 15 Years after our Saviours Resurrection; and some Inscriptions of that Gospel in *Syriack* and *Persian* add, that it was at *Alexandria*. The Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* supposes that *St. Luke* had made a Journey into *Egypt*; which *Metaphrastes* and other modern *Greeks* have followed. But none of those Monuments deserving any Credit, we must keep to what *St. Jerome* hath said of it, as being the most reasonable.

The Gospel of *St. Luke* is better wrote in *Greek* than the rest, as *St. Jerome* observes, because that Evangelist was an able Physician and wrote for the *Greeks*: *Lucas igitur qui inter omnes Evangelistas Graeci Sermonis eruditissimus fuit; quippe ut Medicus & qui Evangelium Graecis scripserit*. *Epist. 145. ad Damasum*. Nay, he understood *Greek* better than *Hebrew*, according to the Testimony of that same Father on *Isaiah*, chap. 6. There are however some *Hebraisms* or *Syriacisms* in his Discourse, yet 'tis not doubted but he wrote in *Greek*.

The Gospel of *St. Luke* is the only one that *Marcion* and his Disciples receiv'd; but they had retrench'd divers things in it, and corrupted it in several Places, as *St. Irenaeus*, *Tertullian* and *St. Epiphanius* have observed. But the Falshood of the Gospel of *Marcion* was evident, because that of the Catholick Church was the more ancient. *Marcion* alledg'd to no purpose, that his was the true one, it being convicted of Forgery and Corruption by the Antiquity of that of the Church. 'I maintain that my Gospel is true, saith *Tertullian*;

(1) *Theophilus* to whom he directs it.] *Origen*, *St. Ambrose*, *Salvian*, *St. Epiphanius*, believe that it is a general Name; but *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Augustin*, and most of the new Commentators believe, with more Reason, that 'tis a proper Name; as the Epithete of *king's*, which is joined thereunto, shews. The Author of the *Recognitions* speaks of one *Theophilus*, who was a rich and potent Man at *Antioch*. The *Greeks* give him the Title of Governor; and *St. Jerome* says, that *St. Luke* composed his Gospel for the *Greeks* particularly, or for the converted *Gentiles*.

(m) It is what all the Ancients have observ'd.] (That he had wrote what he learn'd from *St. Paul*.) *St. Irenaeus* says, that he wrote the Gospel which *St. Paul* preach'd, lib. 3. cap. 1. *Tertullian* observes, that some made *St. Paul* the

Author of this Gospel, because it is reasonable to ascribe to the Master the Works publish'd by the Disciple, lib. 4. cont. *Marcion*, cap. 5. *St. Gregory Nazianzen* says, that he wrote it upon the Confidence he had in his Master *St. Paul*. The Author of the *Synopsis* believes that *St. Paul* directed the same to him.

(n) Some have pretended that it is of the Gospel of *St. Luke* the Apostle speaks, when he says, according to *my Gospel*.] Those words of *St. Paul* are *Rom. 2. 16*. *Eusebius* explains this of the Gospel of *St. Luke*, and *St. Jerome* follows him, but we need no more than to read what comes before and follows after, to understand that the Apostle speaks not in this Place of a written Gospel, but of the Gospel or the Doctrine that he preached.

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 47

' *Marcion* says his is so ; Who shall judge betwixt us ? It shall be the Order of Time that shall give Authority to the eldest, and make it evident that the latest is corrupted : For Falshood being a depravation of Truth, Truth must of necessity go before Falshood. But it is so true, that ours is the most ancient, that *Marcion* himself believed it before he separated from the Church. In correcting our Gospel he confirms it, and shews that 'twas the more ancient ; and we have no Reason to doubt, but that which was received as Sacred by the Apostolical Churches, is that which the Apostles gave by Tradition.

*Marcion* had cut off from his Gospel, all the beginning of the Gospel of *St. Luke*, as far as these words ; *The fifteenth Year of the Reign of Tiberius Caesar* ; that is to say, our first two Chapters. He also cut off and alter'd many things in the Body of the Gospel ; all which *St. Epiphanius* hath collected in his 42d Herefie, which is that of *Marcion*. We shall not stay to report them, and shall be far from justifying them, as a late Author hath done.

*St. Epiphanius* observes in *Ancorat. n. 21.* that there were Copies of *St. Luke* where they had cut off what was said of Jesus Christ's weeping, *chap. 19. 42.* But he adds, That this was found in the most correct Copies, and makes use of *St. Irenaeus's* Authority, who relates this Passage in his first Book against Heresies, *cap. 21.* to shew that 'tis true. He believes that it was some of the Orthodox who had left out those Words through scrupulousness, as fearing that it might appear to be Weakness in Jesus Christ.

It is, perhaps, for the same Reason, that in some Greek and Latin Copies of the Gospel of *St. Luke*, the History related, *cap. 22. v. 43.* and 44. of the Angel which appeared to our Lord in the Garden of Olives, of his Agony, and sweating Blood, is left out. *St. Hilary* says, that that Passage was not found in many Greek and Latin Copies. *Nec sane ignorandum nobis est in Graecis & Latinis codicibus complurimis, vel de adveniente Angelo, vel de sudore sanguineo nihil scriptum reperiri.* *St. Jerome* also quoting this Place in his 2d Book against the *Pelagians*, says only, that 'tis found in some Greek and Latin Copies : Which supposes that it was not in divers others. But we are to have more regard to the Testimonies of *St. Justin*, *St. Irenaeus*, and other ancient Fathers who quote it, than to some Manuscripts from whence some Christians might perhaps have retrench'd it, because they were afraid of ascribing to Jesus Christ Marks of humane Weakness.

The *Cambridge* Manuscript differs much more from our Copies in this Gospel than the rest ; but it is visible, that they are either Paraphrases, Explanations, Transpositions, or Additions taken from other Gospels. Amongst those Differences there be two which are most considerable. The first is in *cap. 3.* where the Genealogy of Jesus Christ, until *David*, is reformed according to that of *St. Matthew* ; to which they have added the Kings *Achazias*, *Joash*, and *Amasias*, that are not in *St. Matthew*, but in the Book of the *Kings*. It cannot be said, that this is the ancient reading of the Text of *St. Luke*, and that that which we have is corrupted, since the Gospels of *St. Matthew* and *St. Luke* were from all Antiquity different in the Genealogies of Jesus Christ, as we are inform'd by *Africanus* and *St. Irenaeus*. The Pagans, the Marcionites, and Manichees, have upbraided the Christians with this seeming contrariety, who never answer'd them, that the Copies of *St. Luke* were false in this place. Since this Answer had been the most ready and easie, they would not have omitted it had there been any Foundation for it : Or, at least, they would have observed that there were Copies wherein those Genealogies agreed. Yet never any of the Ecclesiastical Authors, nor Commentators knew any thing of this Observation ; which makes it evident, that not only this Conformity of the Gospel of *St. Luke* with that of *St. Matthew* in the Genealogies is not ancient, but also that 'twas not common, and that it hath been peculiar to this *Cambridge* Copy.

The

The second considerable Difference of that Copy in the Gospel of St. Luke is an Addition which is found, *ch. 6. v. 5.* in those Terms, That same Day Jesus having seen a Man who worked on the Sabbath-Day, he say'd to him, *My Friend, if thou knowest what thou doest, thou art happy; but if thou dost not know, thou art unhappy, and a Transgressor of the Law.* This Addition is not found in any other Copy: None of the Ecclesiastical Authors have made mention of it: Nor can we understand the Sense of it: For if our Lord would say to that Man, That he should not sin by Working on the Sabbath-Day, if he knew that he was not forbid to work on that Day, 'tis a manifest Error, because 'tis certain, that the Jews were obliged to observe the Sabbath, since God had commanded it them by *Moses*, and that they were not yet discharged from the Obligation to observe the Law. This may give us Ground to believe that it was an Addition of the Marcionites or Manichees, Enemies to the Law, which had crept into the Cambridge Copy: Nevertheless St. Epiphanius does not place it amongst the Passages added or altered in the Gospel of St. Luke by the Marcionites. We don't read, that those Hereticks made use of it, nor that the Fathers explained it, or observed that they found it in any Copies. 'Twas not then in many Greek and Latin Copies of the first Ages of the Church.

## S E C T. VI.

*The Life of St. John. Concerning his Gospel. The History of the Woman taken in Adultery.*

ST. John the Evangelist, a Native of Bethsaida in Galilee, Son of Zebedee, a Fisherman, and of Salome (*a*), was called by our Lord (*b*), with his Brother James, at the time when they were mending their Nets on the Bank of the Sea of Galilee. They forthwith left their Father, and their way of Living, to follow Jesus Christ, who having ranked them amongst his Apostles, gave them the Name of *Boanerges*, that is to say, Sons of Thunder, perhaps because of their fiery and vehement Zeal, of which they gave a certain Evidence, when they demanded Fire from Heaven upon the Samaritans, who would not receive them. St. John was then very young (*c*). He was his Master's beloved Disciple, and describes himself by that Name (*d*) in his Gospel, *Chap. 13. v. 23. c. 19. v. 26. c. 20. v. 2. & c. 21. v. 20.* He was willing to give his Master a Proof of his Zeal, by preventing a Person who was none of his Disciples, from casting out Devils in the Name of Jesus Christ. He assisted with his Brother at the Transfiguration, *Luke 9. 51, 56.* He was sent to St. Peter to prepare the last Passover for our Lord. During Supper, he leaned upon his Breast, and took the Liberty to ask him, *Who it was that should betray*

(*a*) And of Salome.] The Name of the Mother of Zebedee's Children, is known by comparing *Matthew 27. 55.* with *Mark 15. 40.* for 'tis said in the first Place, *That the Mother of Zebedee's Children was near the Cross;* and in the second Place, 'tis said, *That Salome was one of those that stood by.* This Salome must be the Mother of Zebedee's Children, of whom St. Mark makes no mention.

(*b*) He was called by our Lord.] There are some who pretend, that John came to seek our Saviour before, and that he is the Disciple of St. John Baptist, who came with St. Andrew, *John 1. 40.* St. Chrysostome, *Hom. 17. on John, St.*

*Epiphanius, Heref. 51. Cap. 14.* are of that Opinion; but this is not proved.

(*c*) Was then very young.] The Time of his Death is a convincing Proof of it.

(*d*) He describes himself by that Name.] We cannot doubt of it, because in the last Chapter, *v. 20.* 'tis said, *That Peter turning about, saw the Disciple whom Jesus loved, who leaned upon his Breast at Supper, and said, Lord, who is he that shall betray thee?* And by the Consequence, it appears, that it was of John, the Author of the Gospel, that this is said, *Ver. 24. This is the Disciple which testifieth of these Things, and wrote these things.*

him:



him : Which St. Peter dared not to do. He accompanied our Lord to the Garden of Olives, with St. Peter and St. James. He followed him alone to his very Cross (e), where our Lord recommended his Mother to him, by saying to her, Woman, behold thy Son ; and to that beloved Disciple, Behold your Mother : After which time St. John took her Home to his House (f), and took Care of her till the time of her Death. Being told by Mary Magdalen, that they had carried away his Master's Body, he ran to the Sepulchre with Peter, and came to it first. He was the first who knew our Lord, when he appeared to his Apostles upon the Bank of the Sea of Galilee. Some Days after St. Peter having asked Jesus Christ, what should become of that beloved Disciple, he received this Answer, If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee ? Then went this Saying abroad among the Brethren, that that Disciple should not die : Yet Jesus said not unto him, he shall not die, but if I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee ? When our Saviour was ascended into the Heavens, he dwelt at Jerusalem with the other Apostles. After the Descent of the Holy Ghost, he preached Jesus Christ with St. Peter, and was thrice put into Prison. He was sent with St. Peter to Samaria to give the Holy Ghost to those that Philip the Deacon had converted. He preached in that Country. Afterwards he assisted at the Assembly of the Apostles in Jerusalem, about the Observation of the Law. This is what the History of the Gospels, and of the Acts, informs us of the Life and Actions of St. John.

That which follows is not supported by the like Authority, but is reported however by the Ancients. He went into Asia Minor, (it is not known when, perhaps about the Year 70) (g) there he found divers Churches, and gover-

(e) He followed Jesus Christ to his Cross.] 'Tis said in the Gospel, That all the Apostles fled when Jesus was apprehended. Yet St. Chrysostome pretends, Hom. 85. that St. John did not flee. He was of Opinion, as well as St. Jerome, that 'twas he who followed Jesus Christ to Cajaphas's House, and got St. Peter let in ; but that is not certain. St. Ambrose says on Ps. 36. that St. John was that young Man who fled away naked for fear of being taken with Jesus. St. Gregory follows this Opinion in his Morals, Lib. 14. so Bede, and many others. Nevertheless this hath no manner of Probability. It was probably some Person in the Neighbouring House, who being awak'd by the Noise, fled out of his Bed naked.

(f) St. John took her Home to his own House.] The Greek has it, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, the Latin in sua, some Copies have it in suam, but it is a Fault, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν, in the Greek of Esther 5. 10. and 6. 12. is put instead of the Hebrew Word, which signifies into his House, In Acts 21. 6. to signify that the Believers who accompanied St. Paul to the shore, returned to their own Houses ; the Greek has it ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν. St. Epiphanius understands this Place so, and makes use of it to prove that the Virgin was not married, For if she had, says he, she would have gone Home to her own House, and not with a Stranger. St. Ambrose says in his Book of the Education of Virgins, Cap. 7. That there was no Body with whom she could better live, than with him whom she knew to be her Son's Heir, and a Faithful observer of Chastity. In the Council of Ephesus it is said, in speaking of the City of Ephesus, ἐνθα, ὁ θεῶς καὶ ἡ παρθεὶς καὶ ἡ θεοτοκος καὶ ἡ ἀγία Μαρία, where St. John the Divine and the Virgin, the Mother of God, the Holy Mary. Some supply the Verb, dwelt,

others reposed ; but however it be understood it follows that the Virgin went with St. John to Ephesus, and dwelt with him. Nonnius says also in his Paraphrase, that St. John received the Virgin into his House. The ablest of the Modern Interpreters, are of the same Opinion. 'Tis not however necessary to suppose that St. John had a House to himself.

(g) He went into Asia Minor : 'Tis not well known when ; perhaps 'twas towards the Year 70.] 'Tis certain, that Asia fell to his share ; he took particular Care of it, as St. Polycarp, Polycrates, St. Irenaeus, Origen and Tertullian assure us. The latter in his Books against Marcion, calls those Churches, Joannis alumnas Ecclesias, Eusebius and St. Jerome followed those Ancients, but none of them have observed the precise Time of his going to Asia. 'Tis certain, that 'twas before the Persecution of Domitian ; and 'tis probable 'twas after the Death of St. Peter and St. Paul, as the Acts of St. Timothy bear. He was not there when St. Paul left Timothy to govern, which makes some believe, that that did not fall out till 64, which we place in 57 or 58. Timothy did not die till after St. Paul. His Acts says that 'twas in 97. If that were certain, it must be that St. John came thither whilst Timothy was alive, and that Timothy should have been Bishop of Ephesus until the Return of St. John. 'Tis certain, that in his Absence there was a Bishop at Ephesus, if the Revelation was wrote from the Isle of Patmos : But it is not certain, that it was Timothy, and that he was still alive. I am apt to believe that Timothy was dead, when St. John came to Ephesus. — Be that how it will, St. John governed that Church, and other Churches of Asia, until the Time of Trajan, as all the Ancients are agreed.

ned them a long time in Peace, until that under the Empire of *Domitian*, he was brought to *Rome*, during the Persecution in the 95th Year of our Lord. He was (if we may believe *Tertullian*) thrown into a Vessel of boiling Oyl, without receiving any hurt, but came (b) out more healthful and vigorous than when he went in. He was afterwards banished to the Isle of *Patmos*, to work in the Mines there (i), if we may believe some of the Ancients. He returned to *Ephesus* after the Death of *Domitian* in 97. continued to take Care of the Churches of *Asia*, and lived till the time of *Trajan*, when he died the last (k) of the Apostles, in the 101 Year of the Common Era, aged certainly above 90 Years, and according to some near 100. The Ancients assure us, that he never married (l), *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus* says, that he carried a Plate of Gold on his Forehead, as Priest of Jesus Christ. He assures us also, that he celebrated the Passover with the Jews. *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* tells us a considerable Story of a Robber that he converted. *Appolonius* assures us, that he raised a certain Man from the dead at *Ephesus*. *Tertullian* observes, that he reprov'd a Priest who had forged the Acts of *St. Paul* and of *St. Thecle*. *St. Irenaeus* an unexceptionable Witness, assures us, That they had it by Tradition from *St. Polycarp*, that *St. John* having entred a Bath to bathe himself, and understanding that *Cerintus* was in it, he retired speedily without bathing himself, saying 'Let us escape, lest the Bath fall upon us, because *Cerintus*, an Enemy to the Truth is in it. *St. Jerom* says in his Commentary on the Epistle to the *Galatians*, that that Apostle in his old Age, was reduced to such Weakness that his Disciples were forced to carry him to Church; and that not being able to make long Discourses, he said nothing else in those Assemblies but this Sentence, *My little Children, love one another*; that those that heard him, being weary with his constant Repetition of the same thing, said unto him, 'Master, why do you always say that? and that he made them this Answer worthy of *St. John*, 'Tis because it's a Precept of the Lord, which alone is sufficient if it be executed. This is all that we have from any Authors of Credit, concerning the Life and Actions of *St. John*.

*St. John* wrote his Gospel the last at *Ephesus*, apparently after his Return from the Isle of *Patmos* (m), at the Desire of the Christians and Bishops of *Asia*

(h) *Thrown into a Vessel of boiling Oil, without receiving any Hurt by it.* This is attested by *Tertullian* in his Prescriptions, Chap. 36. by *St. Jerome*, Lib. 1. in *Jovin* and in his Commentary upon the 20th of *St. Matthew*. *Eusebius* indeed says, *Hist. Lib. 3. cap. 18.* that he was banished into the Isle of *Patmos*; but he speaks nothing of his Journey to *Rome*, nor of his Punishment. All the Greek Authors are also ignorant of that Fact, *St. Jerome* only relates it upon *Tertullian's* Credit.

(i) *To dig in the Mines there.* *Victorin* Bishop of *Petavia*, and *Primasius* in their Commentaries on the Revelations say, that he was Condemned to the Mines.

(k) *In the Reign of Trajan, under which he died.* *Polycrates*, *St. Irenaeus*, *Tertullian*, *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Chrysostome*, the Council of *Ephesus*, and all the Ancients assure us, that he died and was buried at *Ephesus*. This death is plac'd by *Eusebius* in the third Year of the Empire of *Trajan*, the 101 of Jesus Christ 68 Years, or thereabouts after his Resurrection; he could not be less than 94 or 95 Years of Age, supposing that our Saviour call'd him at the Age of 24 or 25 Years. This is the Age, *St. Epiphanius* assigns him. Others as *Bede*, say he was 98 or 99. The Chronicle of *Alexandria* says, he died in the 104th or 107th Year of

his Age, others assign him 106, and some raise them to 110, some thought that he was put into the Sepulchre, but not dead, as *St. Augustin* Observes in his Treatise 124 upon *St. John*, but he rejects that opinion, as taken from Apocryphal Books. Others advanc'd that he was dead and rais'd again, this is the Sentiment of the counterfiet *Hyppolitus* of the most part of the Modern Greeks, and also of some Latins, his Opinion hath no other Foundation but the passage at the end of his Gospel, which he answers himself, saying that our Lord did not say this Disciple shall not die, but if I will that he tarry till I come what is that to thee, for we must read according to the Greek *ἵνα* and not *sic*, as it is in some Latin Copies.

(l) *He continued unmarried during his Life.* This is not in the Scripture *St. Irenaeus* and *Eusebius* say nothing of it, but they quote *Tertullian* as a witness of this, and *St. Jerome* maintains it in his Treatise against *Jovinian*. *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Chrysostom*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Paulinus* and *Cassian* assure us of it. *St. Augustin* looks upon it as a Problem.

(m) *After his return from the Isle of Pathmos.* *St. Irenaeus* Lib. 3. chap. 1. says indeed that he publish'd his Gospel at *Ephesus*, but does not say whether 'twas before or after his Exile. But *St. Epiphanius* says it plainly Herefie 51. The Author



*Asia* (n). The Ancients give two Reasons for his undertaking it : The first alledged by *Eusebius*, in his History, *Lib. 3. Cap. 24.* and by *St. Jerome* in his Book of illustrious Men, is that having read the three other Gospels, he found there was nothing, but what was exact Truth in them, and approved them, but that there was wanting the History of the beginning of Jesus Christ's Preaching, until the Imprisonment of *St. John* the Baptist; and therefore to supply that Omission, he wrote his Gospel, in which he hath applied himself particularly to relate that History. The second is because he would confound the Errors of *Cerintus* and the *Ebionites*, of the *Nicolaitans* and *Gnosticks* then beginning to spread, by asserting the Godhead of Jesus Christ, and declaring in the beginning of his Gospel, That Jesus Christ was the Word that was God. This Reason is proved by *St. Irenaeus*, *Lib. 3. Cap. 11.* by *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, in *Euseb. Hist. Lib. 6. Cap. 14.* by *Victorin* upon the *Apocalips*, by *St. Jerome* in his Preface on *St. Matthew* and his Treatise of Illustrious Men, by *St. Epiphanius*, *Hereſie 51.* and many others. This made *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* call his Gospel the *Spiritual Gospel*; and it is on this Account that *St. Jerome* said of the Evangelist, that he wrote of our Saviour's Divinity, in a very sublime Manner; and that he raised himself, so to speak by a Temerity, more happy than bold unto the Word of God it self. There be Pagan Philosophers who have admired the Height of this Gospel (o): *St. Irenaeus* observes, That the *Valentinians* made use of the Gospel of *St. John* to justify the Combinations and Generations of their *Aeons*; but that Gospel is so far from establishing them, that it convinces them of Falshood. *St. Epiphanius* tells us of a Sect of Heretick he calls *Alogians*, that rejected all the Writings of *St. John* and particularly his Gospel, and ascribes them to *Cerintus*, in which they are foully mistaken, since there's no Gospel more opposite to that Hereſie, which taught that Jesus Christ was a meer Man, than that of *St. John*, who teaches throughout, *That Christ is the Word which was made Flesh*.

Tho' *St. John* was a Jew and of a low Condition, yet he wrote in very good Greek, according to *St. Dennis* of *Alexandria*. This Author says, That he was also very elegant in his Terms, his way of Arguing, and Construction: That there was nothing barbarous in his Discourse, and that there were neither Solecisms nor Idiotisms to be found in it, because God had given him both Knowledge and Eloquence: But at the same time we must confess, that he wrote with a great deal of Simplicity: If we seek for Elegancy in his Words, we don't always find it: There are diverse Syriac Phrases in his Discourse: His Style is not coherent enough, and he oftentimes repeats the same Names, without making use of the Articles that were not customary to the Hebrews.

The History of the Woman taken in Adultery, related in the 8th Chapter, that is to say, in the 11 first Verses of that Chapter, and the last of the preceding, were not explained by *Origen*, *St. Chrysostome*, *St. Cyrillus* of *Alexandria*, *Nonnius*

Author of the *Synopsis* ascrib'd to *St. Athanasius*, and the Author of the imperfect Work upon *St. Matthew* ascrib'd to *St. Chrysostom* believe that he compos'd it in his Exile and publish'd it after his return.

(n) At the desire of the Christians and Bishops of Asia. *St. Jerome* in his preface to his Commentaries on *St. Matthew*, says, that *St. John* was oblig'd to write his Gospel by the Prayers of all the Bishops of Asia, and by deputations from many Churches. *Eusebius*! *Hist. Lib. 3. chap. 24.* says only that he was prais'd to do it by his Friends. *St. Jerome* adds that he would not undertake it, but on condition that they should appoint a publick fast, to implore the assistance of God, and that the Fast being ended, *St. John* being fill'd with the Holy-

Ghost, broke out into those Words. In the beginning was the Word, &c.

(o) There are Pagan Philosophers who have admir'd his Gospel. *The Platonist Amelius* related by *Eusebius* *Prep. Evang. Lib. 11. chap. 19.* having read the beginning of it, found it conformable to the Doctrine of *Plato*, and cried out, O Jupiter this Barbarian believes with *Plato* that the Word is the beginning, *St. Augustin* *Lib. 10. de Civitate Dei* relates that a Platonist said that what is in this Gospel concerning the Word of God, deserv'd to be wrote in letters of Gold. The Emperor *Julian* accuses *St. John* of having brought in Novelties into the Christian Religion in making Jesus Christ pass for a God which neither *St. Paul* nor any of the other Evangelists dar'd to do. *Cyrl. Lib. 10. against Julian.*



nor *Theophilact* in their Commentaries upon the Gospel of *St. John*, which shews, that it was not in the Copies they made use of. *Eusebius*, as we have already said, observed, that *Papias* related that History, which was found at his time in the Gospel according to the *Nazarens*. *St. Jerome* alledging this History in his third Book against the *Pelagians*, contents himself to say, that 'tis found in abundance of Greek and Latin Copies of the Gospel of *St. John*. *St. Augustin* in his third Book of Adulterous Marriages, believes that it may be, that some Persons of little Faith, or rather Enemies of the true Faith, had razed it out of their Copies, fearing that it might harden Women in their Crimes in hopes of Impunity. *Nonnulli modica fidei, vel potius inimici vera fidei, credo metuentes peccandi impunitatem dari mulieribus suis; illud quod de adultera indulgentia Dominus fecit, auferrent de codicibus suis.* This Father owns it to be true, and explains it in his Commentary on *St. John*. *St. Ambrose* hath wrote a Letter on purpose upon this History: 'Tis also found in the Evangelical Harmonies ascribed to *Ammonius* and *Tatian*. The Author of the Synopsis ascribed to *St. Athanasius*, owns this History. *St. Chrysostom* quotes it for an Example in his 60th Homily on *St. John*: But since he doth not explain it in its proper Place, 'tis supposed that this Example is added in this Homily. *Euthymius* is the only Person of the Greek Commentators who hath explained it; but he observes at the same time, that it is not found in the exact Copies, or that it was marked in them with an Obelisk, which shows, says he, that it was wrote afterwards. And it is a Proof of this, that *St. Chrysostom* hath made no mention of it. Neither is it in the Syriac Version. In short, there are abundance of Greek Manuscripts, and those of the most Ancient, where those two Verses are not found, or in which they are marked with an Obelisk, or added afterwards. There are nevertheless many other Copies, where they are found inserted at first, and others in which they were added afterwards. It is observed, that they were in Ancient Copies. *Sixtus of Sienna* and *Grotius* believed, that that History was taken from the Gospel of the *Nazarenes*, and inserted afterwards in that of *St. John*. Others pretend, that 'twas the *Novatians* who had raz'd it out of *St. John's* Gospel. *St. Augustin*, as we have just now seen, thinks they were good Orthodox People, that struck it out for fear their Wives should make use of it, to prevent that Chastisement, which their disloyalty might deserve. 'Tis more natural to say, that from the first Centuries of the Church, there were Copies of *St. John's* Gospel, wherein that History was not, and others in which it was.

Some Criticks have thought, that the Gospel wrote by *St. John*, ended at the 20th Chapter, in those Words, *Jesus did many other signs in the Presence of his Disciples, which are not written in this Book; but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing, ye might have Life thro' his Name.* They pretend that those Words are the Conclusion of the whole Book, and that the following Chapter was added after the Death of *St. John*, by the Church of *Ephesus*. This hath no Foundation as to a great Part of this Chapter, but only for the 24th Verse, which saith 'This is the Disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things, and we know that his Testimony is true. This way of speaking seems to intimate a third Person, who speaks of the Author of the Gospel that preceeds. Mean time, it may be said, that those Words, *We know that his Testimony is true*, are said by *St. John* himself, in his own Name and the Name of others. We know *ὡς αὐτὸς*, may also be put instead of *ὡς αὐτὸς*, I know, *St. John* made use of that same Phrase before, though in the singular Number, chap. 19. v. 35. *He that saw it, bare Record, and his Record is true, and he knoweth that he saith true.* This sort of Declarations are Proofs of the Candor of the Simplicity and of the belief the Christians had in *St. John's* Fidelity. 'Tis not then necessary to say, that there is any thing added to the Gospel of *St. John*.

S E C T. VII.

Of the Books of the Acts of the Apostles.

**S**T. Luke declares himself to be the Author of the *Acts of the Apostles* in the beginning of this Work, which he dedicates or directs to the same *Theophilus*, to whom he dedicated his Gospel. I spoke, says he, in my first Book, of all that Jesus did and taught. The Gospel is his first Book, the Acts are the second; the one contains the Miracles of Jesus Christ, and the other those of the Holy Ghost. In the first he wrote such Things as he had from the Relation of others; and in the second, those of which he had been in part an Eye-Witness. It is Intituled *Acts*, Πράξεις, of the Apostles, because it contains the History of what the Apostles did at *Jerusalem*, and at *Judea*, after the Ascension of Jesus Christ. He continues this History until the time that they dispersed themselves to preach in different Provinces, and afterwards gives an Account of the Sermons, Travels and Actions of St. Paul, until the time he was carried to *Rome* in the Empire of *Nero*. There we see the beginning of the Church in *Judea*, and in what manner the Light of the Gospel was afterwards communicated to the Gentiles, and carried by St. Peter and St. Paul into the remotest Countries. He says nothing of the Travels and Sermons of the other Apostles, because he had not been Witness of them, and could not learn them from his Master St. Paul. The time in which he finished his History shews us, that he wrote it at *Rome*, and published it at the end of the two Years that St. Paul dwelt there in his hired House; that is to say, in the 63d Year of the Christian Era. So that this Book contains an History of thirty Years, or thereabouts. It is wrote with Eloquence and Art. The Narrative of it is Noble, and the Discourses inserted therein Eloquent and Sublime. St. Chrysostom complains, That in his time Christians neglected that Book; and St. Jerome says, That all the Words of that Work, composed by one who was a Physician by Profession, are as many Cures for a sick Soul. *Acta Apostolorum nudam quidem videntur sonare Historiam, & nascentis Ecclesie infantiam texere: Sed si noverimus Scriptorem eorum esse Lucam Medicum cujus Laus in Evangelio fuit; animadverteremus pariter omnia verba illius anime languentis esse Medicinam.* Hieronym. in Lib. de Vir. Illust.

S E C T. VIII.

*The Life of St. Paul: Of the Time, Occasion and Subject of his Letters: That the Epistle directed to the Hebrews is St. Paul's: In what Language it was wrote.*

**S**T. Paul was called *Saul*, or rather *Saül*, from his first Name. He was an Hebrew, born of Hebrew Parents of the Tribe of *Benjamin* (a), of the City of *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, and in that Quality a Roman Citizen. His Father, who

(a) Of the Tribe of Benjamin in the City of Tarsus. ] He says himself, that he was of the Tribe of Benjamin, an Israelite and an Hebrew of the Hebrews, Rom. 11. 1. Philip. 3. 5. Acts 21.

8c 29. He says to the chief Captain that took him, that he was a Jew of Tarsus, a Citizen of that City of Cilicia. He repeats the same thing to the People, chap. 22. 3. where he says positively

who was a *Pharisee*, sent him to *Jerusalem*, where he was bred and instructed by *Gamaliel* the famous *Pharisee*, in the most exact manner of observing the Law. It is not known if it was at that time, or after, that he learn'd to make Tents. He was zealous for the Law of the *Jews*. He was one of those who rose up against *Steven*, and consented to his Death. It was he at whose Feet, the Witnesses who ston'd this Proto-Martyr laid their Cloaths. This happened the first Year of our Lord's Passion, the 34th Year of the Vulgar (b) Era : *St. Paul* was then very young.

After *St. Steven's* Death there arose a great Persecution against the Christians of *Jerusalem*, in which *St. Paul* discovered his Zeal against them. He went into the Houses, drew Men and Women out of 'em by force, made them be put into Prisons, and loaded them with Chains. He went into the Synagogues to get them punish'd, he forc'd them to Blaspheme, and made them be condemned to Death.

This Persecution having scatter'd the Faithful into divers Places of *Judea*, they preach'd the Word of God where ever they went. *Saul* full of Threats, and breathing forth nothing but the slaughter of the Lord's Disciples, he persecuted them even in Foreign Cities. It was for this Design he sought Letters from the High-Priest to the Synagogues of *Damascus*, to the End that if there were found any of that Sect, he should carry them Prisoners to *Jerusalem* to be punish'd there. Being gone to put this Order in execution, when he drew near *Damascus* in the beginning of the 35th Year of the Vulgar Era, he was converted in that miraculous manner related *Acts* 9. 22, and 26. He was baptised by *Ananias* at *Damascus*, and afterwards without having any regard to Flesh and Blood, which would have called him back to *Jerusalem*, he went into *Arabia*, as he says himself in his Epistle to the *Galatians*, chap. 1. v. 15. and having staid there some time, he return'd to *Damascus*, and there preach'd Jesus Christ in the Synagogues. As he confounded the *Jews*, they had a design to kill him ; and having for that End applied themselves to him who was Governor of *Damascus*, under King *Aretas*, at that time Master of that City, they engaged him to set Guards at the Gates of the City to apprehend *Paul*. But the Disciples let him down by Night in a Basket through a Window in the Wall, as he says himself, 2 *Cor.* 11. 32. and as it is related *Acts* 9. 25. He came from thence to *Jerusalem* (three Years after he left it) to see *St. Peter*, who was returned into that City, after having laid Hands upon, and given the Holy Ghost to the Christians of *Samaria*. He would have joined himself to the Disciples, but they were all afraid of him, not believing that he was a Disciple, because until that time he had staid in *Arabia* or *Damascus*. But *Barnabas* having made him known, and brought him to the Apostles, he stay'd 15 days with *Peter*, and preached boldly to the *Grecians*, who sought an occasion to kill

tively that he was born at *Tarsus*. Therefore he declares to the Tribune, that he was a Roman Citizen by Birth, *Ibid.* v. 25, 27, & 29. Some did formerly advance, That *St. Paul* and his Family were of *Giscala*, a little Town of *Galilee*, as *St. Jerome* observes upon the Epistle to *Philemon*, and follows that Sentiment himself in his Books of Ecclesiastical Writers, and that he was transported to *Tarsus* when that Country was ravaged by the *Romans*. But *St. Paul* says positively that he was born at *Tarsus*, and in that Quality a Roman Citizen by Birth : This City being honoured with that Privilege by *Augustus*, in acknowledgment of its Loyalty to *Julius Cesar* and his Party against *Cassius*. *Giscala* could not be taken and ravag'd but under *Pompey* and *Titus*. The first conquered that Country a long time before the Birth of *St. Paul*, and the second after his

Death. The Year of *St. Paul's* Birth is not known : It is said in the *Acts*, That he was a young Man when *St. Steven* suffered Martyrdom, in the 34th Year of our Era. He might be then about 23 ; so that he was born much about the same time with our Saviour. We may judge from thence, what Age he might be of when he died in 65. The Author of an Oration upon *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, which is in the 6th Volume of *St. Chrysostom*, assigns him 68 Years.

(b) The 34th Year of the Vulgar Era. ] I put *St. Steven's* Death after the Passion of our Lord, and the Conversion of *St. Paul* in the beginning of the following Year, because it seems to me that all that is related in the *Acts*, cannot in any probability have been transacted all in one Year.

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## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 55

him. The Brethren having Notice of it, brought him to *Cesarea*, and sent him to *Tarsus*. He preached the Gospel in *Cilicia*, and afterwards in *Syria* for three Years; after that he returned to *Tarsus*, where St. *Barnabas* sought him to bring him to *Antioch*. They instructed there so great a Number of Persons, that it was then the Name of *Christians* was first given to the Disciples. At the same time the Prophet *Agabus* being come from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, foretold the Famine that was speedily to happen, in the fourth Year of the Emperor *Claudius*, before the death of King *Agrippa*. *Barnabas* and *Saul* were sent to *Jerusalem* to carry thither the Alms of the Christians of *Antioch*, and arrived there in the Year (c) 44, at the time when that Prince persecuted the Disciples; therefore it was they saw none of the Apostles, and return'd to *Antioch*, having taken with them *John* surnamed *Mark*. When they were return'd to *Antioch* they were separated and sent by the Order of the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel. They converted in the Isle of *Cyprus* the Pro-Consul *Sergius Paulus*, and 'tis believed that 'twas from him that *Saul* took the Name of *Paul* (d), because that's the first time St. *Luke* calls him so. After having preached the Gospel in many Places, they returned to *Antioch* in 48, where the Question about observing the Precepts of the Law being started, they were sent to *Jerusalem* to consult the Apostles and Elders on that Subject. This was the third time that St. *Paul* came to *Jerusalem*, 14 Years after the first time that he came thither after his Conversion (e), as he says in his Epistle to the

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(c) They came to Jerusalem in the Year 44. ] It is certain that St. *Paul* and St. *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem* after the Prediction that *Agabus* made of an approaching Famine, which was to happen under *Claudius*, and that they carried the Alms of the Christians of *Antioch* for the Relief of the Disciples at *Jerusalem*. There were two Famines in the Reign of *Claudius*, one in the 2d Year of his Empire, and another in the 5th, the 45th of the Vulgar Era, at the time of *Agrippa's* Death. The Famine afflicted *Judea* in particular, as *Josephus* relates it, lib. 20. cap. 3. 'Tis rather this than the first of which *Agabus* prophesied. *Agrippa* reigned three Years, and died about Easter in the 4th Year of *Claudius*; that is in 44, when he began to persecute. St. *Paul* and *Barnabas* came to *Jerusalem* in the time of the Persecution, and at *Agrippa's* Death, and by Consequence in 44.

(d) In the Isle of Cyprus they converted the Pro-Consul *Sergius Paulus*, and it's believ'd that 'twas from him *Saul* took the Name of *Paul*. ] Until this time St. *Luke* calls him always *Saul*; and it's only in this place that he gives him two Names, *Acts* 33. 9. Then *Saul*, who is also called *Paul*. After that he only calls him *Paul*, and the Apostle makes use of no other Name in the beginning of all his Letters. It was the Custom of the Romans to give their Names thus to Strangers. *Josephus* for Example receiv'd the Name of *Flavius* as an Honour from the Emperor *Vespasian*. St. *Jerome* upon the Epistle to *Philemon* is also of Opinion, that St. *Paul* took this Name from the Pro-Consul, as a Mark of the Victory he had gained over him; as *Scipio* was surnamed *Africanus*, after the taking of *Carthage*. But this is only a Conjecture, and it may be that he did not take the Name of *Paul* instead of that of *Saul*, but because the Name of *Paul* was better known and more used among the Greeks and Latins than that of *Saul*; and since there was but one Letter to

change, *Saul* having become the Apostle of the Gentiles, made that change in his Name that he might be the more acceptable to them. St. *Chrysostom* thinks it was God who changed his Name when he was ordered to *Antioch*, as he changed that of St. *Peter* when he called him: But we must have Scripture Authority to believe it. Nothing is more absurd, than what is said on this Subject by the Author of the 31st Sermon ascrib'd to St. *Ambrose*, viz. that St. *Paul* changed his Name at his Baptism; for at that time no new Names were given to those that were baptized: And he is called *Saul* by St. *Luke* after his Baptism. This is also against those who say he changed his Name, because he had changed his Profession of Religion, as St. *Asterius* believes. St. *Augustin* says, that he took the Name of *Paul*, which signifies little, out of Humility: But this is a playing with Words. *Origen*, or rather *Rufinus*, in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, believes that St. *Paul* had both those Names from the beginning: There's no appearance of this, because they are so like that we may easily see the one is taken from the other. I should believe then that there was no other Mystery in this Change, than a Design to render his Name common amongst the Gentiles by a small Inflection, as from *Σαυλ*, the Hebrew Name given him by St. *Luke*, when he relates the Voice of God, who calls that Apostle, *Acts* 9. 4. that of *Σαῦλ* was form'd, which hath a Greek Termination: After that, of *Σαῦλ* was form'd *Παῦλ*, a Name Customary amongst the Latins, when he began to converse with them at the time he converted the Pro-Consul *Sergius Paulus*.

(e) Fourteen Years after the first time he came thither since his Conversion. ] This is what appears more conformable to the Text of the Epistle to the Galatians: For, after having said in the 1st Chap. of this Epistle, γ. 17. 18. that after

*Galatians*; and, by Consequence, towards the end of the Year 51. The Council being finished, St. Paul and St. Barnabas returned to *Antioch* with *Judas* and *Silas*. 'Twas at this time that St. Paul did freely reprehend St. Peter there, because he separated from the *Gentiles*, for the sake of those *Jews* which St. James had sent from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*. A little time after fell out the Difference which he had with *Barnabas*, on the Occasion of *Mark*, that caused their separation. St. Paul having taken *Silas* with him, travelled into *Asia* and *Greece*, preaching Jesus Christ every where, till he returned to *Jerusalem* the 4th time, Anno 58. He was seized there by the chief Captain *Lyfias*, and carried to *Felix* the Governor of *Judea*, who kept him Prisoner for two Years at *Cesarea*, and when he went off, left him Prisoner to please the *Jews*. His Successor *Festus* being come to *Jerusalem*, three days after his arrival the *Jews* accused *Paul* before him. *Festus* being returned to *Cesarea* gave him Audience. But as he was designing to bring him to *Jerusalem* to try him, *Paul* appealed from him to *Cesar*. He was heard again some days after before King *Agrippa*, and afterwards went to *Rome*. Having suffer'd Shipwrack, he spent three Months of the Winter in the Isle of *Maltha*, and arrived at *Rome* in the beginning of the Year 61 (f): He left it about two Years after. Many were of Opinion, that he travelled into *Spain* at that time; but we have shew'd elsewhere that this is very uncertain. It is more likely that he returned into *Asia* and *Greece*. Be that how it will, it is certain that having return'd to *Rome* with St. Peter, he was beheaded there during the time of *Nero's* Persecution, and probably in the 65th Year of Jesus Christ, as we have shewed elsewhere.

We have 14 of St. Paul's Epistles, which all of 'em, that to the *Hebrews* excepted, carry the Name of that Apostle. They are not placed in the *New Testament* according to the Order of Time in which they were wrote. Those are placed first that were wrote to whole Churches, and afterwards those which are directed to particular Persons. Amongst the former, that which is wrote to the *Romans* has the first Place, either because of the Dignity of that Church, or because of the Subject. The Epistle to the *Hebrews* is the last, because it does not bear the Name of St. Paul, and that 'twas doubted of old whether it was his. Nevertheless, the Author of the *Synopsis* ascrib'd to St. *Athanasius* puts it in the 10th Place; that is to say, the last of those which are wrote to whole Churches, and before the four directed to particular Persons. He also puts the Canonical Epistles before those of St. Paul; but the Order in which those Epistles are placed at present, is the most common in Antiquity, as may be proved by St. *Jerome*, by the ancient Commentators, and by all the Greek and Latin Manuscripts. We will follow this Order, but observing, nevertheless, the Time when these Letters were wrote, to the End the Subject and Occasion of 'em may be the better known.

The Epistle to the *Romans* is wrote from *Corinth*, as *Origen* proves by many Reasons: For, in the first place, it was sent by *Phebe*, a Servant of the Church of *Cenchrea*, the Port of *Corinth*. Secondly, St. Paul names his Host, *Caius* cap. 16. v. 24. who dwelt at *Corinth*, as appears by the first Chapter of the first

after his Conversion he went into *Arabia*, and afterwards return'd to *Damascus*, and that three Years after he return'd to *Jerusalem* to visit *Peter*, he describes what had passed in that Journey; and so begins the following Chapter: *Fourteen Years after I went again to Jerusalem*. This after relates more naturally to his first Journey, of which he had been just speaking, than to his Conversion.

(f) Arrived at *Rome* in the beginning of the Year 61. Felix, Governor of *Judea*, was recalled, and succeeded by *Portius Festus* in 60. *Festus* immediately after his arrival, heard *Paul*,

who appealed to *Cesar* and went to *Rome* that same Year. He arrived at the Isle of *Crete* when Navigation began to grow dangerous, the time of the Fast being over. That Fast was the great Fast of the *Jews* on the Days of Expiation, the 7th of their Month, which answers to the Months of *September* and *October*. He was Shipwrack'd 14 days after, and cast upon the Island of *Maltha*, whence he did not go till three Months after, the Winter being over in the Month of *February*. He arrived then at *Rome* in the Month of *March*, An. 61.



## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament.

57

Epistle to the *Corinthians*, v. 14. Thirdly, Because amongst those whose Salutations he sends, chap. 16. he names *Timothy* and *Sosipater*, who were in his Company when he came from *Achaia* to *Jerusalem*, Acts 20. 4. *Caius* and *Erastus* who were at *Corinth*. Fourthly, Because he says in that Epistle, chap. 15. v. 25. That he is going to *Jerusalem* to carry the Saints the Alms he had collected. Now it is certain, that at his leaving *Ephesus*, he went by *Macedonia* and *Achaia* to go to *Jerusalem*, Acts 19. 20. and that after having been sometime in *Macedonia* he came into *Greece*, and apparently to *Corinth*, where he staid three Months, Acts 2. v. 2, 3. and afterwards he went up to *Jerusalem*. It was probably during this stay of three Months that he wrote his Letter to the *Romans*, towards the End of the Year 57, or in the beginning of the 58th of our Era, after the two Epistles to the *Corinthians*, since he exhorts them in the 2d to get ready that Alms or Contribution that was design'd for the Christians of *Jerusalem*. In that Letter he gives Notice to the *Corinthians*, that he was about to come and see them the third time, c. 13. v. 1. He came then to *Corinth*, and spent part of the three Months there which St. Luke said he staid in *Greece*, Acts 20. 2.

This Epistle is wrote to the Church of *Rome*, composed of *Jews* and *Gentile* Converts, on occasion of the Difference that might be betwixt them upon the Account of Preference. The *Jews* boasting that God had given them the Law and the Prophets, that they had adored the true God, that 'twas to them the Messiah was promised, and that he was descended of their Nation. The *Gentiles* on the contrary maintaining, That tho' they were not so much enlightned by God as the *Jews*, yet their Philosophers knew him; that if the Messiah had been promised and given to them, they had rejected him; and that the greatest part of them continued Unbelievers. St. Paul makes it plain, that neither the one nor the other have any Cause of Glory; the *Gentiles*, because the wisest among them having known the true God by the Light of Nature, had not honoured him, but gave themselves up to Idolatry: And the *Jews*, because they had not kept the Law, nor made use of the Advantages which they had thereby; and he confounds both of them, by shewing that they are only justified by Faith in Jesus Christ; to which God in his Mercy had called both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, without any Merit in either of them. After having treated this Question in the 11 first Chapters, in the five last he gives Instructions to the Christians, to whom he writes.

The first Epistle to the *Corinthians* is wrote from *Ephesus*, as appears by chap. 16. 18. (and not from *Philippi*, as 'tis observed in some Greek Inscriptions) in the time when he went to go for *Macedonia*. Ibid. v. 5. and some time before *Pentecost*, in the Year 57. He speaks there of the Fight he had maintain'd against Beasts at *Ephesus*; which made some modern *Greeks* believe he had been exposed to wild Beasts. But this Expression of St. Paul is Figurative, and he means thereby, that at *Ephesus* he had Men to fight with that were as cruel as Beasts. As when he says in the Epistle to *Timothy*, that he was delivered out of the Mouth of the Lion, to signify the Cruelty of *Nero*: In that same Sense that St. Ignatius says also in his Epistle to the *Romans*, that he fought continually with Beasts from *Syria* to *Rome*; that is to say, that the Guards sent with him, were as cruel to him as wild Beasts. It is so likewise that *Tertullian*, St. Chrysostom, Theophilact, Oecumenius, the Author of the Commentary ascrib'd to St. Ambrose, Sedulius, and many others, understand that Passage. St. Jerome in the third Book of his Commentary on the *Ephesians*, explains these Words of St. Paul, of the Devil, and of his Guards; but that is not natural. St. Chrysostom understands this positively of the Tumult raised against St. Paul at *Ephesus*, by the Goldsmith *Demetrius*. If that be true, this Letter should have been wrote a little time before his departure, for he did not stay there long after that Tumult: But 'tis more likely that 'twas wrote some time before, since he speaks in the 2d Epistle to the *Corinthians*,

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of the Evils he had suffered; and that he changed the Design he had of going straight into *Achaia*, before he went over into *Macedonia*. So that his Fight with Beasts must be understood of some other Persecution.

The Occasion of St. Paul's writing this Letter, was his understanding by *Stephanus*, *Fortunatus* and *Achaicus*, who came from *Corinth* to see him at *Ephesus*, and by the News he had received from the Family of *Chloe*, that there were Disputes amongst the *Corinthians* on the Account of *Apollo*, the converted Jew, who had been to preach at *Corinth* after St. Paul left it. There they had form'd to themselves several other Heads of Parties besides St. Paul: Which occasioned some of them to say, I am of *Paul*; and others, I am of *Apollo*; and a third, I am of *Cephas*.

St. Paul reproves them for this Affectation, and teaches them that they must not say, I am of this or that Man, but I am of Jesus Christ. That Ministers ought not to boast, or to ascribe to their own Eloquence or Knowledge, the Conversion of the People. He shews that God did not convert the World by this humane Wisdom, but by the Preaching of the Foolishness of the Cross. He reprehends them for entertaining amongst them an incestuous Person, and for going to Law one with another. He answers the Questions they had proposed to him, concerning Marriage, Celibacy, and Meats offered to Idols. He speaks afterwards of his own Impartiality in the Ministry, of Christians being united in one Body, of the last Supper of our Lord, and of the Disposition we must be in for eating of that Supper, of the Veils which the Women were to wear, of the different Gifts of the Holy Ghost, of the Excellency of Charity, of the Gift of Tongues, and of Prayer in a known Tongue, of the Truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and of the Resurrection. In fine, he recommends to them the preparing of Alms, and promises to see them in a little time.

Some Authors have concluded from a Passage of this Epistle, chap. 5. v. 10, 11. that St. Paul had wrote a Letter to the *Corinthians* before this, because in the place just now quoted he says to them, *I have wrote to you in my Letter, not to keep Company with Fornicators, &c.* But, as St. Chrysostom observes, the Letter he speaks of in that place, is the same he was then writing, and the Sense is, When I just now bid you in this Letter, not to keep Company with Fornicators; I don't understand it of the Fornicators that are amongst the *Gentiles*, but of those that are accounted Brethren; that is to say, Christians. For the prohibition of entertaining any Commerce with Fornicators, mentioned in this place, is in the beginning of this very Chapter.

St. Paul before he wrote his first Letter to the *Corinthians*, had sent *Timothy* into *Macedonia*, Acts 19. 22. and recommends him to the *Corinthians*, in case he come to them, 1 Cor. 16. 11. He had returned again to St. Paul when that Apostle wrote his 2d Letter to the *Corinthians*: It's in the Name of both. He was then in *Macedonia*, for he excuses himself in the beginning of that Letter, that he went to *Macedonia* before he came to *Corinth*; and he says, that being come to *Troas* to preach the Gospel there, he was troubled that he did not find *Titus* there, whom he had sent to *Corinth*, and who had passed that way into *Macedonia*; where he adds, That he was comforted by the arrival of *Titus*, who had brought him News from *Corinth*, and signified the desire they had to see him again. He had understood by him, that some of the Christians of *Corinth* complained of his not coming to see them as he had promised, that they had put away the incestuous Person, and were resolved to contribute to the Saints at *Jerusalem*. St. Paul being informed of those things, thought he ought to write a 2d Letter to them, by which he excuses his not coming directly to *Corinth*, for fear of occasioning their Sorrow. He commended the Zeal they had shew'd against the incestuous Person, and allowed them to be reconciled to him. He justifies his Conduct in the Ministry of the Gospel, and speaks of the Dignity, Obligations, Vertues and Persecutions of the Ministers  
of

## Chap. II. *of the Old and New Testament.* 59

of the same. He exhorts them by the Example of those of *Macedonia* to contribute liberally and cheerfully. He declaims against the false Apostles, who seduced the *Corinthians* and estranged them from him. He is obliged in his own Defence to Glory of his Revelations of his Sufferings, and of his not seeking his own things. In a word, he speaks to them with Authority, and testifies that he was as firm and bold as ever. He sent this Letter by *Titus*, whom he pray'd to return to *Corinth*, accompanied by two of his Brethren. It is directed to the Church of God which is at *Corinth*, and to all the Saints which are in *Achaia*; and wrote from *Macedonia*, perhaps a City of *Philippi*, as the Inscription has it, towards the middle of the Year 57.

The Epistle to the *Galatians* was wrote some time afore, nay, even before the first to the *Corinthians*, where, chap. 16. 1. he recommends to them, as to the Contribution which was gathering for the Saints at *Jerusalem*, that they should use the same Method he had appointed to the other Churches of *Galatia*; which seems to refer to what he had wrote to the *Galatians*, chap. 13. 25, & 26. to do good when they had opportunity, but especially to the Household of Faith. This points clearly enough at the Christians of *Jerusalem*, and by Consequence this Letter was wrote at the time when they collected that Charity towards the end of the Year 56 or 57. *Tertullian* thinks 'twas wrote a long time before; but there's no probability of it. *Theodoret* on the contrary, and some Greek Inscriptions, suppose that it was much later, and wrote from *Rome*: But that cannot be, since *St. Paul* speaks nothing of his Bonds; which he does ordinarily in the Letters he wrote at that time; and that he supposes the *Galatians* had not been long converted, since he reprehends them for suffering themselves to be so speedily seduced. It's then more probable, that it was wrote from *Ephesus*, as some Latin Inscriptions have it.

*Galatia* is a Province of *Asia Minor*, where *St. Paul* had preach'd the Gospel, after having left *Barnabas*, *An.* 51, *Acts* 16. 6. and in the Year 54, *Acts* 18. 23. Those whom he had converted were troubled a little time after by false Teachers, who would persuade them that the Gospel would be of no use to them, unless they were circumcised and observed the Law. Those false Teachers endeavoured to render suspected the Authority of *St. Paul*, who had taught them the contrary, by saying that he was no Apostle, that he had not seen Jesus Christ, and that the other Apostles were not of his Opinion: This is that which makes *St. Paul* vigorously assert at first the Truth of his Apostleship, and the Sincerity of his Doctrine, known and authorized by the Testimony of the other Apostles. He declares, that he was obliged publickly to reprove *St. Peter*, for his too great Condescension to the *Jews*. He brings afterwards divers Proofs, to shew that Christians are no more Slaves to the Law, but that they ought to enjoy the Liberty of the Children of God. He concludes with many Moral Instructions. *St. Paul* had wrote that Letter with his own Hand, as he observed, chap. 6. v. 11.

The Epistle to the *Ephesians* is wrote whilst *St. Paul* was a Prisoner at *Rome*. We cannot doubt of it, when we read what he says of his Prison and Chains, chap. 4. v. 1. & c. 6. 20. But we are not certain whether it is in the time of his first or 2d Journey; that is to say, in 62 or 65. That which makes us believe it to be wrote during his first Journey, is that he sends it by *Tychicus*, who also carried that to the *Colossians* wrote in that time. But we understand by the 2d Epistle to *Timothy*, wrote certainly during *St. Paul's* last Imprisonment, that he had then also sent *Tychicus* to *Ephesus*, chap. 4. v. 12. There's also one Reason which may induce us to believe that 'twas not wrote at the same time with the Epistles to the *Colossians* and *Ephesians*, sent in 62; that is, that it doth not, as those two, bear the Name of *Timothy* join'd to that of *St. Paul*, but that 'tis wrote in the Name of *St. Paul* alone. This Letter is directed to the Christians of *Ephesus*, the Metropolis of all the Diocess of *Asia*: And there are still Greek Copies in which the Name of *Ephesus* is forgotten in the Greek,  
and

and where we read, *τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*. To those who are Saints and Believers in Jesus Christ; instead of, *τοῖς ἀγαπῶσι τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*. To the Saints that are at *Ephesus*, and to the Faithful in Jesus Christ. This Omission is visibly a Blank, as St. *Jerome* hath observed. But the Title shews that the Letter is not only directed to those of *Ephesus*, but also to other Believers: And there's room to believe that 'twas a Circular Letter directed to the Church of *Ephesus*, for all the Churches of *Asia*: Perhaps it is because of this that *Marcion* had intituled it, *The Epistle to the Laodiceans*, as we understand from *Tertullian* and St. *Epiphanius*.

St. *Paul*, who had laboured more than any other in the Conversion of the *Ephesians*, and dwelt three Years for that End in that City, as he went from *Macedonia*, pray'd *Timothy* to stay at *Ephesus*, and to signify to some that took upon them to Preach in that Church, not to teach a Doctrine different from his, and not to amuse themselves with Fables and endless Genealogies. He was informed afterwards, that the Believers of that Church continued in the Faith and in Charity; but fearing that they should suffer themselves to be surprized at last, either by the Fables of the false *Gnosticks*, or by the Discourses of the converted *Jews*, who would oblige the Christians to observe the Law, he wrote this Letter to them to encourage them to continue firm in the Doctrine which he had taught them. To induce them to love and respect it, he sets before their Eyes the extraordinary Graces which they had received by the Redemption of Jesus Christ, and by the Faith which they had in him; and he afterwards gave them Precepts to live like Christians in all Conditions.

The Epistle to the *Philippians* is wrote in the Name of St. *Paul*, To all the Saints in Jesus Christ which are at *Philippi*, with the Bishops and Deacons. *Philippi* was one of the chief Cities of *Macedonia*, where St. *Paul* had preached the Gospel, when 'twas signified to him by a Vision in the Night, that he must go into *Macedonia*, Acts 16. He returned thither afterwards, many times, and receiv'd from the Christians of *Philippi*, on several occasions, Marks of their Affection; chiefly, when being Prisoner at *Rome*, the first time, they sent him abundantly to supply his Necessity, as they had done twice before when he was at *Thessalonica*, chap. 4. 10. and the following. St. *Paul* in acknowledgment of their Charity, wrote to them by *Epaphroditus*, who had brought him their Presents, a very affectionate Letter, in which he speaks of the Fruit of his Bonds, of the Love, of the Sufferings and of the Humility of Jesus Christ; which they ought to propose as a Model of theirs. He exhorts them to appear as the true Children of God, and as Stars among the Pagans that encompassed them. He strengthens them against the Doctors of Judaism, and exhorts them to continue always subject to Jesus Christ, to be Enemies to Disputes, Friends to Prayer, humble and charitable among themselves, firm in their Afflictions, and full of Peace and Joy. It is wrote in the first Journey of St. *Paul* to *Rome*, at the end of the 61st or 62d Year, since he put them in hopes, chap. 2. 26. that he shall see them again.

The Epistle to the *Colossians* was wrote some time after in 62. The City of *Colosse*, to the Inhabitants of which 'tis directed, was in *Phrygia* near *Laodicea*, (g). St. *Paul* had not preached in that City (h), but they had been instructed in the Faith by *Epaphras*, who came to see St. *Paul*, and being also made

(g) The City of *Colosse* was in *Phrygia*, near to *Laodicea*.] St. *Chrysostom* and St. *Jerome* are of that Opinion. It appears by that Letter, that the City where those inhabited to whom he writes, was near to *Hierapolis* and *Laodicea*. *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, *Xenophon* and *Strabo* place one City of *Colosse* in *Phrygia*. *Theophilactus* says, that in his Time 'twas called *Cones*. Those who say that this Letter is wrote to

the *Rhodians*, called *Colossians*, because of the *Colossus* of the Sun which was in their Island, advance a ridiculous Proposition.

(h) St. *Paul* had not preached in that City.] This is what may be infer'd from those Words of the first Verse, chap. 2. I would that ye knew what great Consol't I have for you, and for them at *Laodicea*, and for as many as have not seen my Face in the Flesh. St. *Chrysostom* and almost



## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 61

made Prisoner there himself, had informed him concerning that Church. This holy Apostle writes to them to testify the Joy which he had at their Conversion. He advises them at the same time to continue firm in the Faith in Jesus Christ, and to take heed that they did not suffer themselves to be seduc'd with the Reasonings of humane Philosophy, by superstitious Practises in making differences of Meats and Days, and by the worshipping of Angels. He gives them afterwards an Abridgment of the principal Maxims of the Christian Life. This Letter was sent by *Tychicus* and *Onesimus*, in the 62d Year of the Vulgar Era.

In the end of this Letter, chap. 4. 15, 16. St. Paul recommends to the *Colossians*, to salute in his Name the Brethren at *Laodicea*; and adds, that when his Letter shall be read amongst them, they should also read that of the *Laodiceans*. The Greek has it *ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ*, that which was wrote from *Laodicea*. The ambiguity of the Latin, which is rendred that of the *Laodiceans*, made some People believe that St. Paul had wrote a particular Letter to the *Laodiceans*. But according to the Greek Text, it is not a Letter wrote unto the *Laodiceans*, but from *Laodicea*. In effect, if St. Paul had wrote at the same time to the *Laodiceans*, he would not have charged the *Colossians* to salute them in his Name. Some have understood it of a Letter of St. Paul's wrote from *Laodicea*, and there are those who think it is one of the Epistles to *Timothy*. Others think it to be an Answer which the *Laodiceans* made to the *Colossians* upon St. Paul's Letter. It is more natural to understand it of a Letter which the *Laodiceans* had wrote to St. Paul, which this Apostle judged might be useful to the *Colossians*; so it is, that St. Chrysostom, Theodoret, Photius and Oecumenius have explain'd this Passage: It is in this Sense that it is called in the Vulgar, *The Letter of the Laodiceans*. Yet Philaster, St. Gregory, and some Latins, believ'd that St. Paul had wrote to the *Laodiceans*. Formerly there was a Letter forged from St. Paul to the *Laodiceans*, which St. Jerome looks upon to be a Piece certainly forged, and rejected by all People: *Quæ ab omnibus exploditur*. Tho' Philaster thinks it Genuine, he confesses that it was not read in the Churches, because the Hereticks had added some things to it. There's one at present to be found in St. Anselm, and in the others, that Sixtus of Sienna relates, and which is in some of the German Bibles. This differs from that spoke of by the Fathers, for it contains nothing Erroneous, whereas the ancient one was full of Errors, according to Philaster. That which St. Epiphanius quotes was composed of many Sentences out of the Epistle to the *Ephesians*. That which we have is not of St. Paul's Style: It is very short, yea shorter than the Epistle to *Philemon*, and hath no certain Argument. It is a Piece visibly forged. The first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* is also the first of all the Epistles of St. Paul. This Apostle having preached in Anno 52 the Gospel in *Thessalonica*, the principal City of *Macedonia*, was forced thence by a Tumult that the Jews raised against him, and went to *Berea*, and from *Berea* to *Athens*, Acts 17. *Silas* and *Timothy* dwelt at *Berea*, and returned to *Macedonia*, during his Journey to *Athens*. At his departure from *Athens* St. Paul came to *Corinth*, where *Timothy* and *Silas* being returned from *Macedonia*, came to see him, Acts 18. v. 5: It was from thence then that he wrote his first Letter to the *Thessalonians* in his Name and in the Name of *Silas*, (who is called *Silvanus* in the beginning of the Letter) and of *Timothy*, to congratulate the fervency of their Faith and Charity, of which he had heard by *Timothy*, and to put them in remembrance of his pure and disinterested Method of preaching the Gospel amongst them, and of the Commands he had given them. He exhorts them to Con-

most all the Greek Commentators infer from thence, that those of *Colosse* and *Laodicea* had not seen St. Paul. But Theodoret understands this Place otherwise, in this Sense. I have a great Care not only of you, but also of those who have not seen me. That is not however the natural Sense of the Text. It is true, that St. Paul preached in *Phrygia*; but, perhaps, he had not entred into the Cities of *Laodicea* and *Colosse*.

stancy in their Persecutions, teaches them to mourn for their Dead in a Christian manner, and gave them excellent Instructions for leading a Christian Life.

The second Epistle to the *Theſſalonians* was wrote a little after the first, tho' *Grotius* thought that it precedes it, because *St. Paul* makes mention in this of a Letter that he had already wrote to the *Theſſalonians*: Keep, says he, the Traditions which you have learned from us, whether it be by Word or by our Letter. It carries also the Name of *Timothy* and *Silvanus*, which shews that it was wrote not long after the first. He had promised to the *Theſſalonians* in his first Letter, that he was coming to see them; and not being able to do it, he makes it up by this second Letter: And because some took occasion from what he had said of the Day of Judgment in his first Letter, chap. 4. 15. or rather, from a Letter forged in his Name, to make People believe that the Day of the Lord was at hand, 2 *Theſſ.* 2. v. 2. he gives them warning not to suffer themselves to be so seduced by those false Doctors; and assures them, that tho' the Mystery of Iniquity was working then, the Day of Judgment however should not come, until the Man of Sin was come and destroyed. He likewise severely reproves those among 'em that were idle, disorderly and busie Bodies; and orders them not to keep Company with them, but to rebuke them. In short, upon suspicion that a Letter was counterfeited in his Name, that they might not be deceived, he observes to them, that he had sign'd this with his own Hand; which was the Token in every Epistle.

The Letters directed to private Persons follow those that are wrote to whole Churches. The two to *Timothy* are put in the first Place, as being the most considerable. *Timothy*, whom *St. Paul* calls his dear and true Son in the Faith, was a Native of *Derbe* or *Lystra*, a City of *Lycaonia*, where *St. Paul* met with him in the 50th Year; his Father was a Gentile, and his Mother called *Eunice* was a Jewess: He had a Grand-Mother called *Lois*. Those two Women had embrac'd the Faith before *Timothy*, and had instructed him in the Scripture during his Youth. The Brethren of *Lystra* and *Iconium* having given an advantageous Testimony to *St. Paul*, he desired he might come with him, and circumcised him because of the *Jews*. He was afterwards that Apostles Assistant in Preaching, and his Companion in his Travels. After having accompanied him in his Travels, and been sent on his Account into different Places, he was at last left at *Ephesus*, in the last Journey that *St. Paul* made thither as he travelled into *Macedonia*, to the end he might take Care of the Churches of *Asia*. These Matters of Fact are founded upon the Authority of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Epistles of *St. Paul*, but the rest of his Life and of his Martyrdom being founded only upon modern and uncertain Acts or Writings, there's no relying upon them.

*St. Paul* did not write his first Epistle to him till after he had left *Ephesus*, in his way to *Macedonia*, as he says himself in the third Verse of the 1st Chapter. We read in the Acts of three Journies of *St. Paul* into *Macedonia*, in the first, Acts 16. and in the second, Acts 17. *Timothy* was with him, and he staid at *Berea* whilst *St. Paul* went to *Athens*. In the third Journey, Acts 20. he had sent *Timothy* before him, Acts 19. 20. 22. *Timothy* accompanied him into *Asia*, Acts 20. 4. It is not then of any of those Journies that *St. Paul* speaks in this Letter, it must be a 4th, after his first Imprisonment at *Rome*. It may be said, however, and I am almost of that Opinion, That *St. Paul* left him at *Ephesus*, when staying at *Miletum*, he sent to call the Elders of the Church at *Ephesus*, Acts 20. 17. for we read that as *St. Paul* went to go into *Asia* by way of *Macedonia*, *Timothy* was one of those that accompanied him to *Asia*, chap. 20. 4. and we find *Timothy* no more in his Company, neither at *Jerusalem*, nor during his Imprisonment at *Cesarea*. If it be so, *Timothy* was settled by *St. Paul* to govern the Churches of *Asia* in 58. and his first to *Timothy* should have been wrote, either during *St. Paul's* Journey to *Jerusalem*, or when he arrived

at

## Chap. II. *of the Old and New Testament.* 63

at *Jerusalem* before his Imprisonment; for besides, that he speaks nothing of it, he puts *Timothy* in hopes that he will come to see him speedily; and that nevertheless, lest he should be hindered from doing it so soon, he writes him this Letter, to the End he might know how to behave himself in the House of God, which is the Church of the Living God, *chap. 3. 15.* This is the Occasion and Subject of this Letter, which contains excellent Instructions for those who are intrusted with the Charge of People, both as to the Duties of their Office and their particular Behaviour.

The 2d Epistle to *Timothy* was wrote whilst *St. Paul* was Prisoner at *Rome*, and rather during his 2d Imprisonment than his first; for it appears plain enough by the Terms he makes use of, that he looks upon himself to be near his End, and as a Victim ready to be sacrificed, that his departure was at hand, and that he was in a little time to receive the Fruit of his Labours, *chap. 4. 6, 7, 8.* He speaks also of his first Defence, in which he was delivered out of the Mouth of the Lion. *At my first answer, says he, no Man stood with me, but all Men forsook me; notwithstanding, the Lord stood with me and strengthened me, that by me the preaching of the Gospel might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear, and I was delivered out of the Mouth of the Lion.* *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Chrysostom*, in some Places, and *Theodoret*, understood this first Defence of his first Journey. *St. Chrysostom* seems to be of another Mind in other Places, and understands it of *St. Paul's* first appearance before *Nero* in his 2d Journey: But the other Opinion is better founded, and seems to be authorized by the more natural Sense of the Text. For *St. Paul* says, that in this first Defence he was delivered from the Mouth of the Lion; that's to say, he escaped the Cruelty of *Nero*; which he could not have said, if after this Defence he had still continued in Prison, and been in danger of being speedily condemned to die. He adds, That the Lord assisted him, that by him the preaching of the Gospel might be fully known, and that all the *Gentiles* might hear; which supposes that after this Defence he had been to preach the Gospel elsewhere than at *Rome*. This Letter then was certainly wrote in his last Prison, a little before his Death in 64. There he gives further Instructions to *Timothy*, he exhorts him to preserve the Purity of the Faith, and to avoid Janglings and vain Questions, he fortifies him against Persecutions, foretells him that false Prophets will come, and describes the Mischiefs they will do the Church.

*Titus*, to whom *St. Paul's* following Letter was directed, was a *Gentile* converted apparently by *St. Paul*, and his Disciple. This Apostle brought him to the Council of *Jerusalem*, where some false Brethren would oblige him to circumcise him. He sent him from *Ephesus* to *Corinth* in 56. He came to see *Paul* again in *Macedonia*, from whence that Apostle sent him back to *Corinth*. This is all that is said of him in the *Acts*. The Letter which *St. Paul* writes to him informs us, that this Apostle left him, that he might set in Order the things that were wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, *chap. 1. 5.* We know not when that was done. We don't read in the *Acts* that *St. Paul* had been in the Isle of *Crete*, but when he was carried Prisoner from *Jerusalem* to *Rome*: There's no likelihood that that was the time when he left *Titus* there. It is more likely, that it was in the last Journey that he made to *Greece* after he left *Rome*, and that as he return'd thither he wrote that Letter to him at the end of the 63d Year, to instruct him as he had done *Timothy*, in the Qualities and Duties of a Bishop. He informs him in that Letter, that he came to see him at *Nicopolis*, a City of *Macedonia*, where he was to pass the Winter; which makes it evident that he was in that City, or rather in his way to go thither. *Titus* came there and went with him to *Rome*, from whence he was sent back into *Dalmatia*, as is observed in the 2d Epistle to *Timothy*, 4. 10. It's believ'd that he return'd into *Crete* and died there.

The Letter to *Philemon* is the shortest of all *St. Paul's* Letters, and wrote upon a particular Subject. *Philemon*, who was a considerable Inhabitant of *Colosse*,



*losse* a City of *Phrygia*, had been robb'd by his Servant *Onesimus*, who fled to *Rome*. *Onesimus* met *St. Paul* in that City who instructed and converted him, and after having kep'd him sometime with him, wrote, when he sent him back to his Master, a Letter full of Tenderness and Art to reconcile him to his Servant. He directs his Letter to *Philemon*, to his Wife *Appia*, to *Archippus* and to all the Church which was in the House of *Philemon*. This *Archippus* was one of the Ministers of the Gospel at *Colosse*, as appears by *Colof.* 4. 17. He prays *Philemon* to receive *Onesimus*, whom he had begot in his Bonds not as a wicked Servant, but as a beloved Brother. He offers to satisfy for him, and presses him in very affectionate Terms to grant him that Favour. He tells him, that he would have kep'd him with himself, that he might have served him in his Bonds; but that he would do nothing without his Consent. *Onesimus* by this Letter easily obtained his pardon with *Philemon*. He was sent back to *St. Paul*, and carried a Letter to the *Colossians*. 'Tis said in the Constitutions of the Apostles that he was afterwards made a Bishop. He is probably another Person than *Onesimus* Bishop of *Ephesus*, of whom *St. Ignatius* makes mention. This Letter was wrote from *Rome* in 61.

The Epistle to the *Hebrews* does not bear *St. Paul's* Name in the beginning as the rest of the Epistles do. This is no Proof however that 'twas not wrote by that Apostle, since he might have Reasons for concealing his Name, particularly because his Name was odious to the Jews, to whom that Letter is directed. This however is probably the Reason, why some of the Ancients doubted if *St. Paul* was the Author of it, and also whether it was Canonical. It was always owned by the Churches of the East, and quoted by the most Ancient Fathers of the Greek Church. Some however, have doubted whether it was *St. Paul's*: *Origen* in a Passage of his Homilies on this Epistle related by *Eusebius*, *Hist.* l. 3. c. 25. says, 'That the Stile of that Letter seems to be more polite than that of *St. Paul*, who owned himself to be rude and plain in Speech. That this Letter appears also more elegant for the Stile of the Greek as they who know any thing of that Nature, will easily perceive. That it contains however admirable Thoughts, which are not unworthy the Writings, of that Apostle, as all those who have read them will easily judge. That for his own part he is of Opinion that the Thoughts are that Apostles, but that the Stile and Composition was that of some other Person, who was willing to collect the Apostle's Sayings, and to compose a Work of what he heard his Master say. Therefore 'tis, adds he, that if any Church think it to be the Writing of *St. Paul*, we have reason to approve of their Opinion, because it is not without ground, that our Ancesters have taught us by Tradition, that it was *St. Paul's*; though none but God knows who wrote it. This is what History informs us of it. Some say, that *Clement* the Bishop of *Rome*, wrote this Letter, and others say it was *St. Luke*. *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* assures us also, in his Hypotheses, that the Epistle to the *Hebrews* was *St. Paul's*, but he said, 'that that Apostle wrote it in *Hebrew*, and that *St. Luke* translated it into Greek for the Greeks, and therefore 'tis that the Stile of that Letter resembles that of the Acts of the Apostles. He added, that *St. Paul* had reason not to put his Name to the Inscription, because writing to the *Hebrews*, who had a long time born a prejudice against him, and judging that he should become suspected to them, he acted prudently in not putting his Name to the beginning of his Letter. This Passage is likewise related by *Eusebius*, *Hist.* l. 6. c. 14. *St. Jerome* assures us in his Letter to *Evagrius*, 'that all the Greeks received the Epistle to the *Hebrews*; and in his Letter to *Dardanus*, that not only all the Churches of the East, but also all the Ancient Greeks Writers acknowledged it to be *St. Paul's*, tho' most of them believed it to be wrote by *St. Barnabas* or *St. Clement*. *Non solum ab Ecclesiis Orientis sed ab omnibus retro Græci sermonis Scriptoribus quasi Pauli Apostoli suscipitur, licet plerique eam vel Barnabæ, vel Clementis Arbitrentur.* If *St. Jerome* understand

stand by this *pleriq;* the Greek Authors of whom he was just speaking; it looks to be a sort of a Contradiction to what he advanc'd just before; for he says at first, that all the Greeks believe it to be wrote by *St. Barnabas* or *St. Clement*. But it is easie to reconcile this seeming Contradiction, by saying, that there were Greek Authors who believed them to be *St. Paul's* as to the Matter or even to the Original *Hebrew*, and *St. Luke's*, *St. Barnabas's* or *St. Clement's*, as to the Terms or the Greek Version. All the Greek Fathers who have wrote since, have quoted the Epistle to the *Hebrews* as being *St. Paul's* and Canonical, and it was plac'd amongst the Canonical Writings of that Apostle in the Canon of the Council of *Ladoicea*, and in all the other Catalogues of the Canonical Books of the Greek Church. In process of time, the Arians perceiving that that Epistle was made use of against them, they rejected it; but the Catholicks defended it as may be seen in *St. Epiphanius* and in *Theodoret*, and the first Arians themselves quoted it against the Orthodox, as appears by *St. Hilary* and *St. Athanasius*. As to the Latin Church *St. Jerome* observes in his Epistles to *Dardanus* and in his Commentary upon the 6th of *Isaiah*, that it was not commonly received by many, *Quam Latina Consuetudo, non recipit inter Scripturas Canonicas*. He says nevertheless in another Place in his Epistle to *Evagrius*, that all the Greeks received it and some of the Latins. 'Tis certain that *St. Clement*, who is the most ancient Author of all that have wrote in the West, received and acknowledged it, since he quotes Passages taken from this Epistle, and *Gobarus*, as quoted by *Photius*, owns it. *St. Irenaeus* who wrote also amongst the Latins made mention of it, and quoted Passages in a Book which contain'd many Disputes, as *Eusebius* observes, *l. 5. c. 26. Tertullian* quotes it, but as the Work of *St. Barnabas*: 'I will (says he, in his Book of Chastity) bring *ex superabundanti*, a Testimony of a Companion of the Apostles, proper to confirm the Discipline of his Masters. We have the Epistle of *St. Barnabas* to the Hebrews. He relates afterward some Verses taken from the 6th Chapter of the Hebrews. *Eusebius* writes in his History, *l. 6. c. 10.* 'that *Caius* a Presbyter of *Rome* in his Book against the Cataphrygians, reckoned only 13 of *St. Paul's* Epistles, not putting that directed to the Hebrews amongst the rest. He adds that there are some Romans who don't believe that 'tis *St. Paul's*. *Eusebius* observes also in another Place, that some have rejected the Epistle to the Hebrews, because they say that the Church of *Rome* did not receive it, nor really believe it to be *St. Paul's*. *Gobarus* related by *Photius*, Cod. 132. says, that *St. Hyppolite* and *St. Irenaeus* maintained, that that Letter was not *Paul's*. As to *St. Irenaeus*, *Eusebius*, more credible than *Gobarus*, assures us, that he had quoted and revised it; perhaps he believed with *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, that though the Original was *St. Paul's*, the Greek Translation was another Man's. For *Hyppolitus* we know not what his Opinion of it was. *St. Cyprian* did not quote it expressly for the two Passages, which are mark'd as taken from that Epistle in the Engl. Edit. are in other Places of the Scripture. Nay, there is a Passage in the Treatise of Martyrdom, where that Father seems to exclude it from the Number of *St. Paul's* Epistles: 'For speaking of the Number of 7, he says, the Apostle *St. Paul* who mentioned that Number as Legitimate, and certain wrote only to 7 Churches. *Apostolus Paulus qui hujus legitimi numeri & certi meminit, ad septem Ecclesias scribit*. Those 7 Churches are the Romans, the Corinthians, the Galatians, the Ephesians, the Philipians, the Colossians and the Thessalonians: If they had reckoned the Epistle to the Hebrews amongst the Number of the Apostles Letters, he should have wrote to 8 Churches. In the mean time it would seem that this Passage it self proves, that *St. Cyprian* owned the Epistle to the Hebrews as *St. Paul's*. For there he assures us, that that Apostle made mention of the certain and legitimate Number of 7. Now there's no other Place in his Epistles, where mention is made of it, but in the 11th Chapter of the *Hebrews*, verse 30. *Victorinus* in his Commentary on the *Apocalips*, reckons also no more than 7

Churches to whom *St. Paul* directed his Epistles. *Philaster* says, some maintain that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not *St. Paul's*, and that some ascribe it to *St. Barnabas* and some to *St. Clement* Bishop of *Rome*, and others to *St. Luke*, but he accounts this Opinion a Heresie. *St. Hilarius*, *St. Ambrose*, *Lucifer de Cagliari* and *Ruffinus* quote the Epistle to the Hebrews under the Name of *St. Paul*. *St. Jerome* forakes the Opinion of the Latins, who throw the Epistle to the Hebrews out of the Canon, and differs not much from the Opinion of the Greeks, who assure us, that 'tis *St. Paul's*. He adds nevertheless, that 'tis no Matter whose it is, since it is by one of the Churches Authors, and that it is read in the Churches: *Nihil interest cujus sit cum Ecclesiastici viri sit, & quotidie Ecclesiarum Lectione celebratur*, *Epist. ad Dard.* *St. Augustin* observes; as well as *St. Jerome*, that some People doubted of this Epistle's being Canonical, but that the Eastern Churches receive it, and that their Authority weighs with him; and, in fine, that the greatest Number of Authors believe it to be *St. Paul's* (i). Therefore it is he places it in the Canon, as one of that Apostles in the 2d Book of Christian Doctrine, *Cap. 9.* 'Twas also put in the same Rank in the Canons of the Council of *Carthage*, of *Innocent I.* and of the Council of *Rome* under *Gelasius*, and received unanimously by all the Churches of the West. This is all that we can find in Ancient Authors concerning the Authority and Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews; from whence it results. In the first Place, that *St. Paul's* Name was not at the Head of that Epistle, because being hateful to the Jews to whom he wrote, he thought it prudence to suppress his Name. 2. That this Letter is as Ancient as the time of the Apostles, since *St. Clement* and the most Ancient Author's quote it. 3. That all the Greek Churches and most of the Latin Churches, did always own it as Canonical. 4. That though some have doubted of it in the Roman Church, and perhaps also in the Church of *Africa*; There were in the same Churches Authors, who have own'd it as Canonical. That no doubt was made concerning it till the third Age, and that those Doubts concerning it ceased in the 5th. 5. That the Greeks made no doubt of its being *St. Paul's*, at least as to the Matter, or as to the Original, but some have been perswaded, that it was composed by *St. Luke*, by *St. Clement* the Roman, or by *St. Barnabas*, and others that it was translated from the Hebrew into Greek, by some one of those three. 6. That many Latins doubted, whether it was *St. Paul's*, and some have ascribed it to *St. Barnabas*, others to *St. Clement*, and others to *St. Luke*. 7. That taking all together, the greatest Number of Churches and Authors have ascribed it to *St. Paul*.

If without insisting on the Testimony of the Ancients, we consult the Letter it self to discover it's Author, we shall find Circumstances that can scarce agree to any other than to *St. Paul*; for it appears it was wrote in *Italy*, since he salutes the Hebrews by the Name of *Brethren* in *Italy*, *Heb. 13. 24.* by a Person who was in Bonds, but expected his Liberty, *Heb. 10. 34. & 13. v. 19.* who had *Timothy* for his Fellow-Labourer, three Circumstances which agree to none but *St. Paul*. There are also places where the Character of *St. Paul* is observed in that Epistle. He defends himself therein by taking his Conscience to witness, *Heb. 13. 18.* he desires their Prayers, promises to come and see them,

(i) *St. Augustin* observes as well as *St. Jerome*, &c. ] *lib. 16. de Civit Dei, Cap. 22. de quo in Epistola qua inscribitur ad Hebraeos quam plures Apostoli Pauli esse dicunt. Idem lib. 1. de peccat Merit & Remiss. c. 27. No. 50. Ad Hebraeos quoque Epistola quam nonnullis incerta sit, magis me movet Auctoritas Orientalium Ecclesiarum qua hanc etiam in Canonicis habent. Idem in Epistolam ad Rom. Cap. 2. Quod propterea maxime credo quoniam excepta Epistola quam ad Hebraeos scripsit, ubi principium saluatorium de industria dicitur omisisse,*

*ne Judai qui adversus eum pugnaciter oblatrabant, nomine ejus offensi, vel inimico Animo legerent vel omnino legere non curarent, quod ad eorum salutem scripserat, unde nonnulli eam in Canonem Scripturarum recipere timuerunt. Sed quoquo modo se habeat ista Questio, excepta hac Epistola, cetera omnes qua nulla dubitante Ecclesia, Pauli Apostoli esse firmantur, ealem continent salutationem. Idem. l. 2. de Doctr. Christ. Cap. 8. recenset Epistolam ad Hebraeos inter eas qua sunt Pauli Apostoli.*



## Chap. II. *of the Old and New Testament.* 67

and salutes them. They make use likewise of *St. Peter's* Testimony to shew, that this Epistle to the Hebrews is *St. Paul's*; 'tis said 2 *Pet.* 3. 15, 16. that *St. Paul* had wrote to those to whom *St. Peter* directs that Epistle. Now that of *St. Peter* is directed to the Jews, then *St. Paul* had also wrote them a Letter, for there's only this Epistle of *St. Paul's* that is directed to the Jews; so that either the Letter he had wrote to them must have been lost (which is no ways probable) or it is this of which *St. Peter* speaks. This Argument is not altogether without a Reply, but it may pass at least for a very probable Conjecture.

'Tis certain, that this Epistle agrees neither to *St. Luke*, to *St. Barnabas* nor to *St. Clement*; for as to the first he had not Authority enough to write so to the Jews. Besides the Style of this Epistle differs much from that of *St. Luke*. The Hebraisms therein are much more frequent, and it appears that the Author was a Man of consummate Knowledge in the Ceremonies and Mysteries of the Jews, which cannot be said of *St. Luke*, who was originally a Gentile. There is no reason to ascribe this Letter to *St. Barnabas*. *Tertullian* is the only Man of the Ancients that quotes it under his Name. It differs in Style from the true Letter of *St. Barnabas*, which is much rougher and far less elevated than this. We don't read that *St. Barnabas* staid in *Italy* nor that he was Prisoner there. *St. Clement* is the Man of the three to whom it could seem to agree best, because of the Resemblance there is betwixt the Style and Character of this Epistle, and that which is wrote to the Corinthians. 'Tis true that there he hath copied and imitated the Phrases of the Epistle to the Hebrews, but yet 'tis not the same Style. The Matters treated of in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the manner of treating them is very different. *St. Clement* would not have spoken with so much Authority to the Jews. He could not have pry'd so far into their Ceremonies and Mysteries. He would not have testified, so much Zeal to return and see them to whom he wrote, *Heb.* 13. 19. 'Tis objected against this, 1. That the Style of this Epistle differs much from *St. Paul's*. All his other Letters are of the same Character. This is more lofty, wrote in Terms better chosen, in a more equal Style. There are not so many Hebraisms in it. Here we meet with Terms, that are not to be found in *St. Paul's* other Epistles. 'Tis answered, that an Author's Style is not always the same, that *St. Paul* took more pains upon this Letter, than upon the others, that the Subject of this Epistle being more lofty, and those to whom he wrote more subtle and better instructed. He was obliged to be so much the more lofty. Besides here we may constantly discover *St. Paul*, here we find his ordinary Method, his Phrases and his Words, that are peculiar to him. 'Tis objected in the 2d Place, that the Author of this Epistle quotes the Old Testament according to the Version of the LXX. 'Tis answered, that if *St. Paul* wrote it in Greek: 'Tis not to be wonder'd at, if he made use of the common Version of the Bible, and that if he wrote in Hebrew. 'Tis the interpreter who made use of the Version of the LXX. The third Objection is founded on this, that the Author of this Letter seems to put himself amongst those who had only heard the Apostles, whereas *St. Paul* was instructed by Jesus Christ himself. The Passage they alledge is *Heb.* 2. 3.—*If we neglect so great Salvation, which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him.* But these Words to us relate to those to whom he writes, besides he does not say absolutely, that it was not taught by Jesus Christ to those of whom he speaks; but only that after having been promulgated by the Lord, it was confirmed by his Ministers. There's no reason then to exclude the Epistle to the Hebrews from being of the Number of *St. Paul's*.

The only Conjecture to be drawn from the Objection just now alledged, is that *St. Paul* had wrote that Epistle in Hebrew, and that it was translated by some other into Greek, perhaps by *St. Luke* or rather by *St. Clement* the Roman. This is what *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* said, and after him *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, and most of the Ancients. *St. Clement's* Reason is that *St. Paul* being

a Hebrew, and writing to Hebrews; it is very likely that he wrote to them in their common Language the Syriac. Had not St. Clement known otherwise that this Letter was originally wrote in Hebrew, this Argument would be none of the most convincing, since St. James and St. John, tho' Hebrews and writing to Jews wrote in Greek, and that Greek was understood in Palestine. Those who alledge that it was at first wrote in Greek, say that the Scripture is quoted therein according to the Septuagint, that here we find Greek Idiotisms as the Terms of *διαδαν* and *διαδυνασι*, to signifie a Testament and to testifie and the Interpretation of the Word *Melchisedec* in Greek, Cap. 7. 2. but it may be answered that all those things are chargeable upon the Interpreter, and that it is not necessary upon that Account to vary from the Opinion of the Ancients.

This Epistle is without doubt directed to the Hebrews. This Name agrees particularly to the Jews of Palestine. The other Jews scattered up and down in the Provinces of Greece to whom St. Peter directed his Letters, were called *Hellenists*. It may also be proved that the Epistle of St. Paul is wrote to the Jews of one and the same Province, because the Author promises to come and see them with Timothy. This could not properly be said of Jews dispersed into diverse Countries and agrees much better to the Jews of Jerusalem or Palestine.

The time of this Letter is likewise particularly enough taken Notice of, that it was wrote from Rome at the time when Timothy had been set at Liberty, and whilst St. Paul was in Bonds, or a very little after he had been set at Liberty. For he commends those to whom he writes, because they had Compassion on him in his Bonds, Heb. 10. 34. according to the Greek Text, which bears expressly, *You had Compassion on me in my Bonds*, which signifies, that he was just then set at Liberty as well as Timothy. 'Tis then at the end of the Time when he was first at Rome, and a little before he went from thence in the beginning of 63.

The Design of St. Paul in this Letter is to perswade the Hebrews, of the Excellency of the new Law above the old one. To this end he represents to them how much the Son is above the Angels and Moses, and how much his Priesthood and Sacrifice surpasses the Priesthood and Sacrifices of the Law given by Moses. He shews that the Ceremonies, the Sacrifices and the Observations of the Law were the Figures of Jesus Christ, and that they were accomplished in his Person and by his Ministry. He proves, that 'tis only by Faith we are justified. He intermixes Holy Advices throughout his whole Letter and recommended to the Hebrews to have Patience in Persecutions to have Faith, Holiness and Charity. 'Tis full of excellent Allegories, and of elevated thoughts expressed in a sublime Manner. In a Word, it is the longest of St. Paul's Epistles, the most Methodical, the most equal in all its Parts, and where he Treats of the same Matter in a most profound Manner, and with the largest extent. Nevertheless all the Epistles of St. Paul are learned, instructive, perswasive, noble and affecting. If his Terms be not always the most elegant, the Turn of the Expression is Great, Lofly, Grave, Sententious, Methodical, full of Art and Figures: He knows how to temper his Rebukes and Reproofs with Mildness and Charity: He speaks with Authority and yet with Humility. The Vehemence and Force of his Discourse have a Mixture of Pleasure and Prudence. In short he preserves thro' the whole, the Character which he gives to himself of becoming all things to all Men, that he might gain some: 'Tis said in 2 Pet. 3. 16. *That there are in St. Paul's Epistles some place's hard to be understood*. Which may rise either from the Obscurity of the things whereof he Treats, which hath given Occasion as St. Peter says further, *to those that are unstable to wrest his Words, as they do also other Scriptures to their own Destruction*. Or else it rises from St. Paul's stile, which is not equally clear through out because of the long and frequent Hyperbatons, he makes use of, the Terms which are peculiar to him, his Expressions that have either more in them than is express'd, or that are Superfluous, his Transitions from one Matter to another, and some other Irregularities in his Discourse.

S E C T. IX.

*Of the Catholick Epistles in general, and of that of St. James in particular. Whose it is. How many St. James's there are. The Life of St. James the Brother of our Lord, the Author of this Epistle. The Argument of this Epistle.*

THE Epistles which follow those of St. Paul were called *Catholick*; that is to say Universal; because, except the two last of St. John, they were not wrote to the Believers of one City, as those of St. Paul, but to Christians dispersed into several Countries. Some of the *Latins* have called them Canonical, either confounding that Word with that of Catholick, or to signify that they also made up part of the Canon of the Books of the *New Testament*.

These Letters are 7 in Number; that is to say, the Epistle of St. James, the two Epistles to St. Peter, the three of St. John, and that of St. Jude. This is the ancient Order of those Letters follow'd in the Canon of the Council of *Laodicea* by *Eusebius*, St. Cyril of *Jerusalem*, St. *Athanasius* in his Festival Epistle, and by the Author of the Abridgment of the Scripture, which is ascribed to him by St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, by St. *Jerome* in his Letter to *Paulinus*, by St. *John of Damascus*, by *Nicephorus*, and in all the Greek Manuscripts. The Author of a Prologue upon the seven Canonical Epistles, vulgarly ascrib'd to St. *Jerome*, mistakes then when he says, that amongst the *Greeks* the Order of the seven Canonical Epistles is different from that which is found in the Latin Copies. This Prologue is indeed very ancient, and is found in the most ancient Latin Manuscripts; but it is not St. *Jerome's*, as Father *Martianay* hath shew'd. 1. Because that Author gives to those seven Epistles the Name of Canonical; which St. *Jerome* does not, but always calls them Catholick. 2. Because what he says of the difference of the Order of the Greek Copies, and of the Latin ones upon this Subject is false. 3. Because the Style of this Preface is barbarous, and much different from that of St. *Jerome*. In this I subscribe to the Opinion of Father *Martianay*, but I don't believe with him that St. *Jerome* follow'd another Order in the Canonical Epistles; for tho' *Cassiodorus* when he relates the Division of the Books of the Scripture, according to St. *Jerome*, puts the two Epistles of St. Peter first, the 14 Epistles of St. Paul in the 2d Place, and afterwards St. John's three, that of St. James, that of St. Jude, and in fine, the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Apocalyps* in the last: It is visible that it is an overturning of the ancient Order of the Books of the *New Testament*, which *Cassiodorus* was the Author of, to follow the Rank of the Apostles. It is more sure to keep to the Order which St. *Jerome* observes himself in his Epistle to *Paulinus*. St. *Augustin* in his Book of the Christian Doctrine, enumerates also the Books of the *New Testament* in a particular manner, for after the four Evangelists he places St. Paul's 14 Epistles, St. Peter's two, St. John's three, St. Jude's, St. James's, the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the *Apocalyps*. This is still an arbitrary Order, and different from that which was received in the Church. There are however *Latin Manuscripts* wherein St. Peter's two are placed the first of the seven Catholick, tho' the rest be there in the same Rank. It is also the Order in which those Epistles were nam'd in the Apostolical Canon, and in the Canons of the Councils of *Florence* and *Trent*. The vulgar Order is observ'd in the Oriental Versions.



The Subject of the seven Catholick Epistles relates more to Morals than Doctrine. *St. Augustin* rationally observes, that the principal Design of those Letters is to establish this Truth, That Faith cannot save us, if it be not accompanied with good Works. *St. Jerome* in his 103d Letter to *Paulinus* says of those Epistles, That they are as mystical as succinct, and may be accounted long and short both together; short in regard of the Terms, but long with relation to the Sentences; so that there are few Persons that understand them perfectly. It must however be confessed, that they are much clearer than those of *St. Paul*. Tho' some of the Ancients have doubted of the Canonicalness of some of those Epistles; that is to say, of that of *St. James*, the 2d of *St. Peter*, the 2d and 3d of *St. John*, and of that of *St. Jude*, as *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* have observed, they were nevertheless put in the Rank of the Canonical Books, in all the ancient Canons or Catalogues of the Books of the *New Testament* of the Greek and Latin Church; such as are those of the Council of *Laodicea*, of *Origen*, of *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, of *St. Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *Amphilochus*, *St. Athanasius*, *St. Jerome*, *Rufinus*, *St. Augustin*, the Council of *Carthage*, *Innocent I*, &c. They were commonly quoted by the Fathers as Books of the Sacred Scripture.

The first of the Catholick Epistles carries the Name of *St. James*. But for the better discovery of the Author, it is good to clear some Difficulties which may be raised as to the Apostles who were called *James*, and as to their History. The Gospel informs us, that *St. John* the Son of *Zebedee* and of *Salome*, had a Brother called *James*, who was called by Jesus Christ to the Apostleship with his Brother. It is also certain by the History of the Acts of the Apostles, that the latter was beheaded by the Order of *Herod Agrippa*. This was some time before the Feast of unleavened Bread, in which *St. Peter* was seized in the 44th Year of our Saviour. *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, quoted by *Eusebius*, relates that his Accuser being touch'd in Conscience, was converted and suffered Martyrdom with him. *St. James* the Brother of our Lord is certainly different from him we have been now speaking of, for his Mother was called *Mary*, and his Brethren *Joses*, *Judas* and *Simon*: He is called by *St. Mark* *μᾶτθ*, i. e. *minor* or *less*, to distinguish him from *St. James* the Brother of *St. John*: And *St. Paul* in his Epistle to the *Galatians* distinguishes him by the Quality of Brother of our Lord. He was surnamed *Justus*, and was the first Bishop of *Jerusalem* after the Death of our Saviour. There he suffered Martyrdom in the 60th Year of our Era, as we have observed in another place. It is certain then that he is another than *James* the Son of *Zebedee*. But 't is not so easie to determine whether he be different from *James* the Son of *Alpheus*, one of the Twelve Apostles, or if he be the same who is the Son of *Alpheus* and Brother to our Lord. To determine this Question we must enquire who were Father and Mother to *James* our Lord's Brother, and in what Sense he is so called.

Most of the Ancients believed that he was *Joseph's* Son, but by another Wife, whom *St. Epiphanius* calls *Esca*. This is the Opinion of *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *St. Gregory Nyssen*, *St. Epiphanius*, *Amphilochius*, of *St. Chrysostom* in some places, of the counterfeit *Hippolitus*, quoted by *Nicephorus*, and amongst the *Latins* of *St. Hilary*, of the Author of the Commentary upon the Epistles of *St. Paul*, which carry the Name of *St. Ambrose*, of *Pelagius*, and some others. *St. Ambrose* and *St. Augustin* leave the Matter undetermined: But *St. Jerome* strongly opposes this Opinion, and maintains that *St. James* is called the Brother of our Lord, because he was Son to a Woman whom *St. John* calls *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, and Sister to the blessed Virgin. Others say after *Hegesippus*, that *Cleophas* was Brother to *St. Joseph* and Father to *St. James*; or, according to others, Father to *Mary* the Mother of *St. James*. Be that in what manner it will, *St. James* will be found near of Kin to our Lord; which is sufficient, according to some, to give him the Name of Brother. We must confess, however, that the manner

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 71

in which the *Jews* speak in the Gospel of *St. Mark*, seems to denote something more, for they say, *Is not this the Carpenter the Son of Mary, the Brother of James, of Joses, of Juda and Simon, and are not his Sisters here with us?* *Mark* 6. 3. We see that his Brethren ordinarily accompanied *Mary* the Mother of our Lord, *Matth.* 11. and also our Lord, *John* 2. Which gives ground to think that they were of the same Family, and that *Joseph* and *Mary* were accounted their Father and Mother. Whence it may be inferred, that *James* and his Brethren were Sons of *Joseph*, who was believed to be our Lord's Father, but by another Wife, and that *Mary* the Mother of our Lord was their Mother-in-law: But there arises against this Opinion an Objection, that appears unanswerable; that is, that *James* and his Brethren had their Mother still alive at our Saviour's Passion, since 'tis said in the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, chap. 27. v. 55, and 56. that there were many Women ministering unto him; amongst which was *Mary Magdalen*, *Mary* the Mother of *James* and *Joses*, and the Mother of *Zebedees* Children. The 2d was, perhaps, the who is called by *St. John*, *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, Sister to the Mother of *Jesus*. These are *St. John's* Words, chap. 19. 25. *There stood by the Cross of Jesus, his Mother, and his Mother's Sister, Mary the Wife of Cleophas and Mary Magdalen.* It is also said in *St. Matthew*, chap. 28. 1. and in *St. Mark*, chap. 16. 1. that *Mary* the Mother of *James* came with *Mary Magdalen* to our Lord's Sepulchre. There's no likelihood that *Joseph* would have married the Virgin *Mary*, having another Wife alive; and, by Consequence, since the Mother of *James* was alive at the death of our Lord, it cannot be said, that he was the Son of *Joseph* by another Woman. *St. Gregory Nyssen* and the other Authors who maintain this Opinion, are obliged to say, That *Mary* the Mother of *James* is the Virgin, the Mother of our Lord, commonly called the Mother of *James*, because she was Wife to *Joseph* his Father, and by Consequence his Mother-in-law. 'Since mention is made, says *St. Gregory Nyssen* in his 2d Sermon on the Resurrection, of several *Mary's* in the Gospel, we must distinguish three in the whole, of whom *St. John* spoke when he said, *There stood by the Cross of Jesus, his Mother, the Sister of his Mother Mary the Wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen*; for we are persuaded that *Mary*, called in the other Evangelists, the Mother of *James* and *Joseph*, is the Mother of God. *Anastsius of Nice*, copied this Passage of *St. Gregory Nyssen*. *St. Chrysostom* is of the same Opinion in his 89th Homily on *St. Matthew*: 'Who were, says he, those Women? It was his Mother, whom he calls the Mother of *St. James*. *Theophilus* says also the same thing in his Commentary: And amongst the *Latins*, *Sedulius* must also be of the same Sentiment, since he says, that *Mary* the Mother of our Lord was one of those that came to his Sepulchre to Embalm his Body. *St. Jerome* on the contrary combats this Opinion by many Arguments; in my Opinion the best of them is as follows. 'If, says he, this *Mary* had been the Mother of our Lord, the Evangelists would rather have given her this Name, as they do in other Places, than that of the Mother of *James* and *Joseph*. And certainly there's no likelihood that the Evangelists would have called her in this Place only *Mary* the Mother of *James*, rather than the Mother of *Jesus*. It is then with Reason that *St. Jerome* rejects this Opinion, but he supposes that *Mary* the Mother of *James* is the same with *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, whom *St. John* calls the Sister of our Lord's Mother. *Theodoret* is of the same Opinion; and in that follows *St. Chrysostom*, who says in one place, that *James* the Brother of our Lord was the Son of *Cleophas*. That is not found, however, in any place of the Gospels. On the contrary, if the Brother of our Lord be one of the twelve Apostles, as he is thought to be, he is called the Son of *Alpheus*, and not of *Cleophas*. *St. Jerome* thinks the same Man was called *Alpheus* and *Cleophas*. This is a supposition founded on no Proof. Others think that *Mary* the Mother of *James* was called *Mary* of *Cleophas* from the Name of her own Father, and that so *Cleophas* was *James's* Grand-Father, and *Alpheus* his

his Father. *St. Jerome* also gives this solution, which is the only one that *Theophilact* approves. But *Hegesippus*, an ancients Author than any of those now spoken of, assures us that *Simeon*, one of the Brethren of *St. James*, was the Son of *Cleophas* and *Mary* his Wife, and that *Cleophas* was Uncle by the Father's side to our Lord; that is to say, the Brother of *Joseph*, and that so *James*, *Jude*, *Simeon* and *Joses* were Cousin Germans to our Lord and his Brethren on *Joseph's* side, who was reputed his Father, and his Brethren in this sense. So, according to *Hegesippus*, *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas* was not natural Sister to *Mary* the Mother of our Lord, but only the Wife of *Cleophas*, and by consequence her Sister-in-law. And, indeed, there's little probability that two Sisters of the same Parents should be called *Mary*.

Supposing all this that we have said of the Family of *James*, the Brother of our Lord: It is hard enough to determine if *James* the Brother of our Lord, be the same with *James* the Son of *Alpheus*, who is one of the twelve Apostles. The only reason to make it believed is, that the Brother of our Lord was one of the Apostles, as *St. Paul* testifies in his Epistles to the *Galatians*, chap. 1. & 17. *Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that were Apostles before me.* And v. 19. *But others of the Apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's Brother.* And chap. 2. 1, & 9. *Then fourteen Years after I went up again to Jerusalem, &c. and when James, Cephas and John, which seem'd to be Pillars.* Some Authors understand this last Passage of *St. James* the Son of *Zebedee*; but that cannot be, since this Journey of *St. Paul's* to *Jerusalem* happened after his death, a little before the Council of *Jerusalem*, where *St. James* the Brother of our Lord assisted as one of the Apostles. If he be an Apostle, he is of the Number of the Twelve. Now, there's none but two of the Name of *James*, the Son of *Zebedee* and the Son of *Alpheus*. The Brother of our Lord is not certainly the Son of *Zebedee*, he is then the Son of *Alpheus*: We might say, that the Name of *Apostle* was more general, and was given to all those who preach the Gospel with Authority: But the manner of *St. Paul's* speaking of the Apostleship of *James* the Brother of our Lord, makes us believe that he took it in another sense, for he declares that he was one of the ancient Apostles; in the same manner as *St. Peter* was, and that he was one of the Pillars of the Church with *Cephas* and *John*; all which cannot properly agree to any but to one of the twelve Apostles.

Nevertheless, those who maintain the contrary Opinion might say, that *St. James* was an Apostle in an excellent and particular manner, tho' he was not of the Number of the Twelve, because he received as *St. Paul* did, his Mission from *Jesus Christ* himself: This *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* seems to insinuate, when he says in a Passage related by *Eusebius*, *Hist. lib. 2. cap. 1.* 'That the Lord after his Resurrection, had communicated to him the Gift of Knowledge, as to *St. Peter* and *St. John*. And *St. Paul* himself, speaking 1 *Cor. 15.* of those to whom *Jesus Christ* had appeared after his Resurrection, says, *That he was seen of Cephas and then of the Twelve, after that he was seen of above 500 Brethren at once, after that he was seen of James, then of all the Apostles.* *St. Paul* seems in this Place to distinguish *James* from the twelve Apostles: And thus it is that *St. Cyril* took this Passage in the 4 and 14th *Catechesis*. Many Authors seem also to have thought that *St. James* the Brother of our Lord and Bishop of *Jerusalem*, was not of the Number of the twelve Apostles. *Hegesippus*, related by *Eusebius*, *lib. 2. cap. 23.* says, *That James the Brother of the Lord, took care of the Church with the Apostles.* Or, as others translate it, after the Apostles: He did not then think him to be one of the Apostles. Likewise he does not only say, that there were two Persons called *James*. He says there were several. *St. Clement* of *Alexandria*, related by the same *Eusebius*, *lib. 2. cap. 1.* says, that *St. Peter*, *St. James* (the Son of *Zebedee*) and *St. John*, that our Lord had prefer'd before others, did not strive for the Preheminence, but chose *James*, surnamed the *Just*, for Bishop of *Jerusalem*. *Eusebius* says himself,



himself, *lib. 1. cap. 12.* that *James* was one of the 72 Disciples, and one of the Brethren of our Lord. *St. Gregory Nyssen* distinguishes him more expressly than any other from *James* the Son of *Alpheus*; and he pretends also that the Reason for which our Lord's Brother is called *the less*, is because he was not of the Number of the Apostles. *St. Chrysostom* in divers Places ranks him amongst those that were not converted till after the Resurrection of our Lord. The Author of the Apostolical Constitutions, the counterfeit *Dorotheus*, *Glycas*, and the Modern *Greeks*, distinguish the Brother of our Lord from *James* the Son of *Alpheus*. Not one of the Fathers explain'd themselves clearly on that Head, except *St. Jerome*, who differs with himself about it, for in his Treatise against *Helvidius* he maintains strongly, That *St. James* the Brother of the Lord is the Son of *Alpheus*; but he seems to doubt of it in his Commentary upon the first of the *Galatians*, and follows the contrary Sentiment in his Exposition upon the 17th Chapter of *Isaiah*. The ancient Martyrology, which carries *St. Jerome's* Name, distinguishes also the Son of *Alpheus* from the Brother of our Lord. In short, all the Ancients may be quoted against the Opinion of those who believe that *James* the Brother of our Lord, is the Apostle; for the Brother of our Lord is, according to most of 'em, the Son of *Joseph*; and, according to these, he cannot be the Son of *Alpheus*: According to others, he is the Son of *Cleophas*, and not of *Alpheus*. It may perhaps be imagined that he was surnamed *Alpheus*, from the Name of his Brother, and not from the Name of his Father; as *Jude* is surnam'd from *James*, his Brother: But *Alpheus* is not found amongst the Brethren of *St. James*, of whom mention is made in the Gospel: According to *Hegesippus*, *Simon* the Brother of *James* was *Cleophas's* own Son, and *Cleophas* was the Brother of *Joseph*. He is not then the Son of *Alpheus*. If *Alpheus*, the Father of *St. James* the Apostle, was also the Father of *Levi* the Publican, or of *St. Matthew*, who had a Father of that name, as is observed in the Gospel of *St. Mark*, the Apostle the Son of *Alpheus*, the Brother of *St. Matthew*, cannot be *St. James* the Brother of our Lord, as *St. James* hath observed: But it is not necessary that *Alpheus*, the Father of *St. Matthew*, should be the same *Alpheus* who is the Father of *St. James*. It may also be said, that the Names of *Cleophas* and *Alpheus* are not different, because the Syriack Word, compos'd of the same Letters, may be pronounced *Alphai* or *Cleophi*. If this Conjecture find place, it will solve all the Difficulties that we have hitherto propos'd: For *St. James* will be the Son of *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, or of *Alpheus* the Brother of *Joseph*, and by Consequence Cousin German to our Lord. *Simon*, *Judas* and *Joses* will also be his Brethren; *St. James* the Brother of our Lord will be the Apostle called *the Son of Alpheus*; *Simon* the Canaanite, or *Zelotes*, who is also one of the Apostles, will be his Brother as well as *St. Jude*, called by *St. Luke*, *Jude* the Brother of *James*; and by the two other Evangelists *Thaddeus*: And so of our four Brethren, or Cousins of our Lord, there shall be three Apostles. This is all that we can think of as most probable on this Subject.

Which Hypothesis soever we follow, it is certain that the Author of the Canonical Epistle is *James* the Just, our Lord's Brother, Bishop of *Jerusalem*; and that it cannot be ascribed to *James* the Son of *Zebedee*, since it is directed to the converted *Jews* dispersed out of *Judea*, and that the Son of *Zebedee* was dead before the Gospel was preached out of *Palestine*. *Eusebius*, *Hist. l. 2. c. 23.* says, that the Epistle of *St. James* is ascribed to him, which is the first of the seven Epistles called *Catholic*, tho' some think it to be false and counterfeit, and that there is but a very small Number of ancient Authors who have mentioned it. *St. Jerome* says also in his Catalogue of Ecclesiastical Writers, That *St. James*, the Brother of our Lord, is the Author of this Epistle, tho' it be said that another Man publish'd it in his Name; and he adds, that in time it acquired Authority. But tho' *Eusebius* and *St. Jerome* have observed that some Persons questioned the Authority of this Epistle; it is nevertheless true, that in their

their time it was in the Canon of the *New Testament*, and the first of the seven Canonical Epistles, as they themselves own. It is also found in all the ancient Canons of the Greek and Latin Churches, and is quoted by the Ancients (a).

It is directed to the twelve Tribes scattered abroad out of *Judea*; that is to say, to the converted *Jews*, dispersed amongst the *Gentiles* in the several Parts of the World. *St. James*, as Apostle of the *Jews* and Bishop of *Jerusalem*, had a particular Inspection over the converted *Jews*: Therefore it is that in that Quality he wrote this Letter to them, which is all concerning Morals, in which he gives them excellent Instructions, concerning Patience, Charity, good Works, the bridling of the Tongue, the Peace that ought to be kept amongst Brethren, Humility, and other Christian Vertues. Here he speaks also of Anointing the Sick, and of the Confession which Christians ought to make to one another of their Faults. It is wrote with abundance of Simplicity and Subtance, full of solid and natural Thoughts. Tho' we don't positively know the Time, it's probable that it was wrote a little before his Death.

(a) It is also found in all the ancient Canons of the Greek and Latin Churches, and is quoted by the Ancients. ] It is in the Canons of the Council of *Laodicea*, of the Council of *Carthage*, of *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, of *St. Gregory Nazianzen*, *Amphilochius*, *St. Athanasius*, *Rufinus*, *St. Augustin*, *Innocent I*, &c. It was received by *St. Clement of Alexandria*, and quoted under the Name of the Apostle *St. James*, the Brother

of our Lord, by *Origen* in his 3d Homily on *Exodus*, and in his Commentary on the Epistle to the *Romans*. By *St. Athanasius*, *St. Hilary*, *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, *St. Basil*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Epiphany*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Augustin*, &c. We are not to wonder since it is but short, and contains almost nothing hut Moral Instructions, that it was not quoted by the most ancient of the Fathers.

## SECT. X.

*Of the two Epistles of St. Peter: That the Second is really his.*

**S**imon the Son of *Jonas*, the Brother of *Andrew*, was a Native of *Bethsaida* a Village of *Galilee*. His ordinary Residence was at *Capernaum*. He was brought to Jesus Christ by his Brother, and our Lord changed his Name into *Cephas*; i. e. *Peter*. Sometime after Jesus Christ ordered him to follow him, and chose him for the first of his Apostles. It is not necessary to repeat here what the Evangelists have said of *St. Peter's* Actions during our Saviour's Life, nor what is wrote in the *Acts* concerning his Preaching and Travels: These are Things well enough known. We have also treated elsewhere of his Journey to *Rome*, and of the Martyrdom that he suffered in the 65th Year of the *Vulgar Era*, so that there remains nothing for us now to speak of but his two Epistles.

The first hath been always received in all Churches as Canonical, and being really *St. Peter's*, whose Name it bears. We have shew'd elsewhere that it was rather wrote from *Babylon* than from *Rome*, that it's probable he composed it some time after he was set at Liberty, towards the 45th Year of our Lord, and that it was certainly wrote since the time that the Disciples were called Christians; that is to say, at least nine Years after the Death of Jesus Christ. It is directed to the elect Strangers, scattered through *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Asia* and *Bithynia*; that is to say, to the converted *Jews* dispersed in those Provinces. It was sent to them by *Silvanus* or *Silas*. Some have thought that it was wrote in *Hebrew*, but without Ground. It is all Moral, and contains abundance of Exhortations and Instructions for People of all Conditions. The general Design, as he says himself at the close of it, is to shew that the true Grace

of

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 75

of God is the Faith and Life of Christians. It is wrote with a Fervour and Zeal worthy of the chief of the Apostles.

The Authority of the second Epistle of St. Peter was for some time doubted of, as *Origen*, *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, and *Amphilochius* have observed. That which made the Ancients call it in question, is the difference of its Style from the first. *St. Jerome* thinks the Style and Character of those two Epistles, as well as the Construction of the Words, differ very much; but he charges that upon the different Amanuenses or Interpreters made use of. *Et duæ Epistolæ quæ feruntur Petri, stylo inter se & Characterè discrepant, structuraque verborum. Ex quo intelligimus pro necessitate rerum diversis eum usum interpretibus.* *Didymus* was of Opinion, that this Epistle was counterfeited; but it is because he did not understand the Sense of the third Chapter: That same Chapter made *Grotius* think that it was wrote after the taking of *Jerusalem*, because he speaks there of the Ruine of the World, which was not to happen till after the Destruction of that City: Upon which he founds this Conjecture, That *Simeon* the Bishop of *Jerusalem* is the Author of this Letter, and that the Inscription which carries *St. Peter's* Name is corrupted: But this is without any Ground. It is not necessary that *Jerusalem* should be destroy'd to persuade Believers that the End of the World and the Day of Judgment were at hand. On the contrary, there is Reason to think that they were of Opinion that both were to happen at the same time, because *Jesus Christ* had foretold them together. The Author of this Epistle discovers himself in it clearly, not only by the Inscription, but by *chap. 1. 16, 17, 18.* where he says, that he was present at our Lord's Transfiguration: And *chap. 3. 1.* that this is the second Letter he had wrote to those now directed to. Those Characters shew plainly enough that *St. Peter* was the Author of it. If it were not so, it must be said that the Author was an Impostor; which neither agrees with the Matter nor Manner of his Writing. It is also ascrib'd to *St. Peter* in the Canon of the Council of *Laodicea*, and in all the other Catalogues of the sacred Books of the *New Testament* which are in the Councils and Fathers. It is also quoted very frequently in the Greek and Latin Fathers of the 4th and 5th Age, as being really *St. Peter's* and Canonical. *St. Peter* wrote it a little before his death, of which he speaks as being at hand, *chap. 1. 14.* It is not directed to any Church in particular, but generally, to all that had obtain'd precious Faith through the Righteousness of God and our Saviour *Jesus Christ*. Nevertheless, since he tells those to whom he directs his Letter, That it is the second which he wrote to them; it must, as well as the first, be directed to the converted Jews, dispersed through the Provinces of *Asia*: Which may be further confirm'd by this Passage, where he speaks to them as to those with whom the Prophecies had been deposited. We have, says he, *c. 1. 19.* a more sure Word of Prophecie. He exhorts those to whom he writes, to continue stedfast in the Faith, and not to suffer themselves to be seduced by false Prophets. He entertains them also with the Day of Judgment, which was believed to be near, and recommends to them to prepare themselves for it. *St. Jerome* finds a considerable Difference betwixt the Style of this Epistle and the first, and charges it upon him who put it into Order. But this Difference is not so very sensible as he seems to imagine. On the contrary, here we find the same Energy and Brevity, and the same turn of Phrase and Periods.



## S E C T. XL

*Of the three Epistles of St. John. Of the Passage concerning the Trinity, which is in his first Epistle.*

**T**He first Epistle of St. John hath always been received by the Church as Canonical, and being truly the Apostles of that Name. Tho' there be neither Inscription nor Direction, it appears by the beginning of Chap. 2. that it is directed to many Christians; and there's no Proof that it is rather to Jews than Gentiles. The Author of the Questions upon the *New Testament*, which carries the Name of St. *Austin*, says, That it was directed to the *Parthians*; which is also found in the false Decretal ascribed to Pope *Hyginus*: But those Testimonies are of no weight. It is not known when he wrote it, but it is probable enough that it was towards the End of his Life, because he mentions the Opinion that was then spread, as if Anti-Christ were ready to come, and that the Day of Judgment were at hand, and that there he Combats the Heresies which were risen among Christians. He insists upon the Advantages of Faith in Jesus Christ; he exhorts those to whom he writes, not to suffer themselves to be seduced by false Teachers, and shews that they must to Faith add good Works, and the Love of God and our Neighbour, and renounce Sin and the World, to keep themselves Pure, as became the Children of God. This Letter for Matter and Style, is altogether like the Gospel wrote by that Apostle.

The two other Epistles which carry his Name, have not been always so constantly received as that Apostles. On the contrary, some of the Ancients have been of Opinion, that they either were or might be wrote by another *John* called *Senior*, a Disciple of the Apostles, mentioned by *Papias*. St. *Denis of Alexandria* assures us only of the firsts being the Apostle St. *John's*, but owns that the two other are ascribed to him, and says nothing against that Opinion. His Passage is related in *Eusebius Hist. lib. 7. cap. 25.* *Eusebius* leaves the Matter also in doubt; and St. *Jerome* seems more favourable to the Opinion of those who believ'd that those two Epistles were not that Apostles, but another *John's*, tho' he quotes them in other Places under the Name of the Apostle. *Amphilochius* says also, that some received them, and others rejected them. But St. *Irenaeus* in his first Book against Heresies, quotes the second under the Name of *John* the Disciple of our Lord. Which does not agree to St. *John* mentioned by *Papias*, who was only a Disciple to the Apostles. St. *Clement of Alexandria* relating in the second Book of the *Stromata*, a Passage taken out of the first Epistle of St. *John*, quotes it under the Name of his *largest Epistle*, *ἡ τῆς μεγάλῃς ἐπιστολῆς*, which supposes that he believed the two lesser ones to be that same Authors. *Tertul. lib. 2. de Prescript.* quotes the second Epistle as being really the Apostle St. *John's*. A Bishop of the Council of *Carthage* under St. *Cyprian*, for the Re-baptizing of Hereticks, quotes also the second Epistle under the Name of that Apostle. Those two last Epistles are also join'd to the former, as being by the same Author, in all the ancient Canons of the Books of the *New Testament*, and quoted as the Apostles by all the Fathers of the 4th and 5th Age. In short, the Spirit, the Sentiments, the Style, and the Terms of those two Letters, are not only alike, but often times the same as in the first Epistle. There he recommends in divers manners, Charity

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 77

Charity and the Love of our Neighbour, the peculiar Character of the Apostle St. John, as the Ancients have observed.

They both of them bear for their Inscription the Quality of ὁ πρεσβύτερος, which may denote the Age or the Dignity, and signifie the Elder or the Presbyter, in the same Sense that St. Peter is called πρεσβύτερος. They are both directed to particular Persons: The first to a Lady, who is called the elect Lady, ἐκλεκτὴ κυρία, which some have without Ground understood of a chosen Church. She was a Christian Lady, whose Name was *Elete*, or whom St. John calls so because she was a Christian. He writes to her to congratulate her, because her Children led a Christian Life. He exhorts her at the same time to maintain Love, by observing the Commands of God, and cautions her to beware of Impostors, who denied that Jesus Christ was come in real Flesh.

The third Epistle is directed to *Gaius* or *Caius*. There's no likelihood that 'tis he who is mentioned in the Epistles of St. Paul, Rom. 16. 23. and 1 Cor. 1. 14. nor he that is mentioned in the Acts, chap. 19. 29. & chap. 20. 4. for the first was of Corinth, and was converted by St. Paul; the second was of Derbe, and was also St. Paul's Disciple; whereas he to whom St. John writes was his Son in Jesus Christ, and his Disciple: Besides that, there's no likelihood that either of these two were alive when this Epistle was wrote. St. John testifies to him the Joy which he conceived, when he heard of his Piety and Charity. He says in that Letter, according to the Greek Text, that he wrote to the Church of *Caius*; or, according to the Vulgar, whose Sense seems to be better in this Place, *That he would have wrote to that Church, but that Diotrephes, who was ambitious of the chief place, would not receive it, and spread bad Reports of him. St. John threatens him, that if he come into that City, as he hoped to do speedily, he would make known to all Men his bad Conduct.* This makes it believed that *Caius* was an Inhabitant of some City of Asia not far from *Ephesus*; from whence it is probable that St. John wrote those two Letters, after his return from the Isle of *Pathmos*.

There is a considerable Difficulty as to the Truth of the 7th Verse of the 5th Chapter of the 1st Epistle of St. John. It is the famous Passage about the three Persons of the Trinity. *For there are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and those Three are one Thing.* [The English Translation is, *these Three are One*;] which is followed by another Verse that begins with the same Words; and *there are Three that bear witness in Earth, the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood; and those Three are only one thing, or for one thing.* [The English Translation is, *And these Three agree in One.*] The first of those two Verses is not found almost in any of the Greek Copies, nor in some Latin ones. Yet it cannot be asserted that it never was in any Greek Copy, since *Erasmus*, who believes it to be added, owns that it was found in a Greek Copy in *England*, and that *Robert Stevens* found it in some of his Greek Manuscripts. It is not in the Oriental Versions, nor was it by consequence in the Manuscripts from which they were translated, but it is in a great Number of Latin Manuscripts, and those ancient ones too: Tho' in some Copies the 8th Verse, or that which is said of the Witnesses upon the Earth, goes before the 7th Verse, or that which is said of three Witnesses that are in Heaven. There are Greek Copies, where on the Margin of the 8th Verse there is a *Scholium*, which interprets what is said of the three Witnesses which are upon the Earth, the Spirit, the Water and the Blood of the three Persons of the Trinity; and there are some Greek and Latin Manuscripts where that Verse is added on the Margin as being omitted. Tho' the Antiquity and Number of the Greek Manuscripts be of some Weight, yet as there are none ancients than 8 or 900 Years, we must not upon their sole Authority reject a Passage which is found in Latin Manuscripts as ancient. We must then have recourse to

the Testimony of the Ancients; but it is nothing more favourable to this Passage, for we don't find it quoted by any of the Greek Fathers of the three first Centuries, nor by those of the 4th and 5th, who would not have failed to have made use of it against the *Arians*, had it been in their Copies. In fine, *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, and *Oecumenius*, who wrote Commentaries on the first Epistle of *St. John*, did not in the least mention this Verse; which is a Proof that either they did not know it, or did not believe it to be Genuine.

Of all the Latin Fathers of the first Centuries, there's none but *St. Cyprian* that can be alledg'd as an Evidence for this Passage. We shall examine afterwards whether he effectually repeated it: But *St. Ambrose*, *St. Jerome*, *St. Augustin*, *St. Leo*, and several other Fathers, who had occasion to quote it, never mentioned it. *Bede*, who wrote a Commentary on the first Epistle of *St. John*, hath not explained it. It appears that *St. Augustin* knew nothing of this Passage, for in his 2d Book against *Maximinus*, for an Answer to what that Arian might object against him, that 'twas said in the Epistle of *St. John*, That the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood, which are three different Substances, were the same thing, he maintains that those three Things were only Figures of the three Persons of the Trinity; and that by the Spirit, we are to understand the Father; by the Blood, the Son; and by the Water, the Holy Ghost; and that so these three Things are really but One. If in *St. Austin's* time the Passage of the three Witnesses in Heaven had been in the Epistle of *St. John*, that Father would not have failed to have quoted that Place. *Facundus* cites this Passage also, and gives it the same Sense, without observing that the Text spoke of the three Divine Persons. *St. Cyprian* seems nevertheless to have quoted this Passage in his Book of the Unity of the Church: His Words are as follow; *The Lord said my Father and I are but One; and it is also said of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, these Three are but One*. But it may be that *St. Cyprian* understanding, as *St. Augustin* and *Facundus* have done since, by the Spirit, the Water and the Blood (of which it's said in *St. John's* Epistle that they are but One) the three Persons of the Trinity, substituted the Names of the Things signified in the Place of the Signs, tho' they were not in the Text. It seems, nevertheless, that if it were so, he ought to have explain'd himself more, because it is hard to think that his Readers could comprehend his Thought, and find the three Persons of the Trinity in a Passage which speaks only of Spirit, Water and Blood: It may be, however, that was a common and known Explanation; and besides, that *St. Cyprian* quoting this Passage only to prove the Unity of the Church, it was not necessary to enlarge upon what related to the three Things that were but One. We might further add, to shew that *St. Cyprian* quoted the 7th Verse, that if he design'd only to have explain'd the 8th, he would at least have kept the Order of the three Words, *Spirit, Water* and *Blood*, which he would have taken for the three Persons of the Trinity, and as it should have been Water, which signified the Holy Ghost, he should have named the Holy Ghost betwixt the Father and the Son. It's true, that this is the Order he ought to have observ'd, if he had kept to the Words of the Text; but since People are accustomed to name the three Persons of the Trinity in their natural Order, it is not to be look'd upon as extraordinary that *St. Cyprian* named them so. *St. Augustin* and *Facundus* also explaining that Passage followed the same Order, tho' they had nothing in their Copies of the three Persons of the Trinity. It is not then absolutely certain that *St. Cyprian* hath quoted the 7th Verse of *St. John's* Epistle. But we cannot doubt of its being in the Copies of the Epistle of *St. John* towards the End of the 5th Age; for *Eusebius* Bishop of *Caesarea*, *St. Fulgentius*, and *Vigilius* of *Tapsa*, alledge it against the *Arians*. That which is particular in this Matter is, that *St. Fulgentius* when he quotes it makes use of the Authority of *St. Cyprian*, to establish the Truth of it, supposing that he quoted it in the Passage of the Unity of the Church, which



## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 79

we have just now repeated. ' The Apostle St. *John*, says he, in his Answer to ' the 10th Objection of the *Arians* assures us, *That there are Three which bear ' Record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and that these ' Three are One.* Which the blessed *Cyprian* testifies in his Book of the Unity ' of the Church, when he says, He who breaks the Peace and Concord of the ' Church, acts against Jesus Christ: He who reaps without the Church scatters: And to shew that there's but One onely Church of the One God, he ' repeats also those Testimonies of the Scripture. The Lord says my Father and I are but One: And afterwards it is wrote of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that those Three are but One. *Eugenius* Archbishop of *Carthage*, presenting in 484 a Confession of Faith to *Huneric* King of the *Vandals*, made no scruple to quote this Passage as decisive: ' And to shew, says ' he, more clear than the Day, that the Holy Ghost is the same God with the ' Father, it is proved by the Testimony of St. *John* the Evangelist, who speaks ' in those Words, *There are Three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the ' Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these Three are one Thing.* *Vigilius* of *Tapsa* quoted also this Passage: All this proves plain enough that the Church of *Africa* did then acknowledge this Passage to be Genuine.

The Author of the ancient Prologue of the Canonical Epistles, ascrib'd to St. *John*, says, ' That if those Letters had been faithfully translated into *Latin* ' by the Interpreters, we should find no Ambiguity that could put a stop in ' the Readers way; and that there would be no Variation, chiefly in the Place ' where they speak of the Trinity, in the first Epistle of St. *John*, into which a ' considerable Error is crept, by the unfaithfulness of the Translators, who on- ' ly put into their Edition those three Words, the *Water*, the *Blood*, and the ' *Spirit*; and have omitted the Testimony of the *Father*, the *Word*, and the *Spi- ' rit*: Words which strongly prove the Catholick Faith, and the Unity of the ' Divine Substance in the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Tho' this Prologue be not St. *Jerome's*, as we have observed, it is nevertheless very ancient, and is found in Manuscripts of 8 or 900 Years standing. If we may believe this Author, in his Time all the Greek Manuscripts had this Passage of the Trinity; and it was only omitted out of the *Latin* by the unfaithfulness of the Translators. But the Author of this Prologue does not seem to have consulted the Greek Copies well, as we have shew'd; and there's great likelihood that this Passage was not at that time in several Greek Copies, from which they had translated the Latin Copies, which had it not, as there were also Latin Copies that had it.

The Question remains still, whether it was added, or cut off from the Apostles Original Text. Those who pretend that it is added, ground their Opinion chiefly on this, That the ancient Fathers did not make use of it, that it is almost in none of the Greek Manuscripts, nor in the Oriental Versions, that there are also many Latin Copies that have it not; and that, in fine, in some Greek Manuscripts the Testimony of the Trinity, of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is on the Margin of the Verse, which speaks of the three Witnesses that are upon Earth as of an Explication, rather than of a different Reading: Whence they conjecture that it might afterwards pass from the Margin into the Text, and that so it is an Addition. The others on the contrary alledge, that those two Verses beginning by the same Words, it was easie for the Copiers to omit one by Negligence, nothing being more usual than when the same Word is in two Periods that follow one another, for the Copier to pass from the word of the first Period to that which follows in the second. It is thus that the LXX have sometimes omitted Periods out of the Hebrew Text. As for Instance, in *Jeremy* 30. 14, & 15. we read there according to the Hebrew Text, *All thy Lovers have forgotten thee, they seek thee not, for I have wounded thee*

thee with the Wound of an Enemy, with the Chastisement of a cruel one; for the multitude of thine Iniquity, because thy Sins were increased. Why criest thou for thine affliction? thy Sorrow is incurable, for the multitude of thine Iniquity; because thy Sins were increased, have I done these things unto thee. The repetition of these Words, for the multitude of thine Iniquity, was the Cause that the LXX passed those Words, Why criest thou for thine Affliction? thy Grief is incurable. In *Joshua* 21. v. 36. the repetition of these Words, four Cities with their Suburbs, in three Verses, was the Cause why the 36th Verse is not found in many Copies. It might easily fall out to be same that the Copier of the Epistle of *St. John*, after having copied these Words of the 7th Verse, There are Three that bear Record, &c. might begin to copy the Words which follow the same Words repeated in the 8th Verse, and that that Fault having slipp'd into some Manuscripts, was followed in several others: That the most ancient Latin Copies were conformable to the Text at present, and that afterwards the Latin Copies were reform'd according to the Copies of the Greek Text which had not that Verse.

## S E C T. XII.

Of *St. Jude* and his Epistle.

THE Apostle *St. Jude*, otherwise called *Lebbeus* and *Thaddæus*, was Brother to *St. James*, and by Consequence our Saviour's Kinsman. We shall not here repeat what we have said of their Father and Mother, and in what Degree of Kindred they stood to our Lord. None of the Ancients have said any thing exact of the Life and Actions of this Apostle. *Eusebius* upon the Faith of the Acts of the Church of *Edeffa*, says, That *Thaddæus* was sent by *St. Thomas* to *Agbarus* the King of the *Essenians* soon after our Saviour's Passion: But *Thaddæus* of whom he speaks in that Place was not the Apostle, as *St. Jerome* thought, he was one of the 72 Disciples, according to *Eusebius*; and besides, this History deserves no Credit. It is nevertheless upon this Foundation that the *Greeks* have made him the Apostle of *Mesopotamia*, and that some say he died in Peace at *Berytum*. Others have wrote, that he was shot to death by Arrows. *St. Paulinus* assigns him *Lybia* for his Province. *Fortunatus* thinks he was interr'd in *Persia*. But all this is without Proof or Authority. *Hegefippus* says, that in the Time of *Domitian* there liv'd two of this Apostles Grand-Sons. This is also a Story that is none of the most certain. We don't know the positive time of his death: But his Epistle being wrote after the death of the Apostles, as we shall shew anon, he must of necessity have lived very long.

It carries in the beginning the Name of *Jude*, who describes himself to be a Servant of *Jesus Christ*, and Brother to *James*. *Grotius* alledges, that his being Brother to *James* is added; but assigns no Reason why. It is certain that this Inscription was found in this Letter in the time of *Origen*, who quotes it in his 11th Tome on *St. Matthew*. He owns nevertheless, that there were some who in his time doubted whether this Epistle be Canonical; for quoting it in the 17th Tome of his Commentary on *St. Matthew*, If (says he) they allow the Epistle of *Jude*. *Eusebius* observes also, That it was one of the Books of the New Testament that was not universally receiv'd, and that few of the Ancients quoted it, tho' it was commonly made use of in the Churches, *Hist. lib. 2. cap. 23*. *St. Jerome* says, that divers Persons rejected it, because the Apocryphal Book of *Enoch* is therein quoted; that nevertheless, it had acquir'd Authority

## Chap. II. of the Old and New Testament. 81

Authority by its Antiquity, and by the Use that the Churches had made of it, and that it was reckon'd amongst the Sacred Writings. *Et quia de Libro Enoch qui Apocryphus est, in ea assumit Testimonium a plerisque rejicitur, tamen auctoritatem vetustate jam & usu meruit, & inter Sanctas Scripturas computatur. de vir illa. in Juda.* *Amphilochius* hath also observed, that some People doubted of the Truth of this Epistle; but that Doubt of some particular Persons did not hinder the Church from owning it to be *St. Jude's*, and to be Canonical. *St. Clement* of *Alexandria* reckons it amongst the Books of the Sacred Scripture, hath explain'd it in his Book of *Hypotyposes*, and quoted it in his *Stromata* and *Pedagogue*. *Tertullian* quotes it as the Apostles, and makes use of it to authorize the Book of *Enoch*. *Origen* quotes it with Applause, as being the Apostles, in his ninth Tome on *St. Matthew*, and in his 7th Homily on *Joshua*. It is in all the ancient Catalogues of the Books of the *New Testament*, and is commonly quoted by the Fathers of the 4th and 5th Age, as a Book undoubtedly Canonical. This Letter is directed to all those that are sanctified by God the Father and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called; that is to say generally, to all Christians. It must have been wrote after the death of most of the Apostles, since he exhorts those to whom he writes, to remember what the Apostles had foretold concerning false Prophets that should come, *ver. 17*. He seems also to quote particularly in this Place, *ver. 19*. the 2d Epistle of *St. Peter*; which makes it plain that it is one of the last written Books of the *New Testament*, and perhaps after the taking of *Jerusalem*. It is wrote against the Hereticks who corrupted the Faith and good Morals of the Christians, by their impious Doctrine and disorderly Life: *St. Jude* draws them in lively Colours, as Men given up to their Passions, full of Pride and Vanity, who give to those that are Rich a mean and sordid Complaisance, followed only their own Dreams and Visions, and conducted themselves in every thing by Carnal Prudence, and not by the Spirit of God: Therefore it is that he exhorts Christians to hold inviolably by the Doctrine they had received, and to flee from the Doctrine and Morals of those false Teachers. It was not without a great deal of Reason that *Origen* says of that Epistle, That it contains only a few Words, but very efficacious. *Judas Epistolam scripsit paucorum quidem Versuum, plenam vero efficacibus verbis Gratiae Caelestis*. We have already observed, that *St. Jude* made no scruple to quote in this Epistle the Apocryphal Book of *Enoch*, and also brings the History of the Arch-Angel *St. Michael*, who disputes with the Devil concerning the Body of *Moses*, taken out of another Apocryphal Book, intituled, *The Ascension of Moses*. That does not diminish the Authority of his Epistle, nor does it give any to those Apocryphal Books. They might contain Truths which *St. Jude*, inspired by God, knew well how to distinguish. It is true, he might have said them himself, without quoting the Apocryphal Books; but as they were celebrated and esteem'd in the World, he thought he might quote them to make the greater Impression upon the Spirits of those he wrote to, and to inspire them with more Horror against those he writes of.



## S E C T. XIII.

## Of the Revelation.

THE Book Intituled the *Apocalyps* or *Revelation*, is the last of the Books of the *New Testament*: The Inscription of this Book is conceiv'd in the following Terms. *The Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto him, to shew unto his Servants things which must shortly come to pass; and he sent and signified it to his Angel by his Servant John.* This *John* is afterwards describ'd in a more particular manner in these words; Who bore Record of the Word of God, and of the Testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all the Things that he saw. This agrees to none but to the Apostle. This Book is also directed to the seven Churches of *Asia*, of which the Apostle *St. John* had the Government. In a word, it was wrote from the Isle of *Pathmos*; to which *St. Irenæus*, *Eusebius*, and all the Ancients agree *St. John* was banish'd. It is also ascrib'd to the Apostle *St. John* by the eldest Ecclesiastical Authors, as by *St. Justin* in his Dialogue against *Tryphon*, by *St. Irenæus* in his 4th Book against Heresies, cap. 37. by *Tertullian* in many Places, by *Origin*, by *Victorin*, and by the Fathers of the following Ages. *Theophilus*, *St. Clement of Alexandria*, *St. Cyprian* and *Methodius* quote him also under the Name of *St. John*, without observing that it was not the Apostle.

*Caius*, a Latin Author, who lived in the time of Pope *Zephyrinus*, says in a Passage related by *Eusebius*, *Hist. lib. 3. cap. 28.* That *Cerintus* making use of the Revelations, as wrote by a great Apostle, publishes Prodigies which he feigned, as being discovered unto him by Angels; and that he assures us, that after the Resurrection there shall be a Reign of Jesus Christ upon the Earth, and that Men shall enjoy Pleasures and Carnal Sensualities in Jerusalem: And that Men shall spend a thousand Years in Nuptial Feasts. *Caius* seems in this Place to describe the Revelation of *St. John*, which he thinks to be *Cerintus's*, who had publish'd his Dreams under the Name of that great Apostle. It is also in this Sense that *Eusebius* took the Passage of *Caius*, since he immediately quotes the Passage of *Denys of Alexandria*, who relates that some Persons had asserted that *Cerintus* wrote the *Apocalyps*, and put *St. John's* Name to it to give Weight to his Delusions. There's nothing however said in the Revelation of *St. John*, of Mens enjoying sensual Pleasures, and passing their time in Nuptial Feasts during 1000 Years in Jerusalem. It is true, that some of the Ancients grounded their Opinion upon the Revelations for introducing this Sentiment; but there is nothing expressly said there of it: Perhaps *Cerintus* had falsified the Revelation of *St. John*, and that gave occasion to ascribe it to him.

*Denys of Alexandria* enlarges much upon the Author and Authority of this Book, in a Treatise, Intituled, *Of the Promises*, which he wrote to refute *Nepos*. He says, 1. That some of those who preceeded him had intirely rejected, and also refuted all the Chapters of the *Apocalyps*, as a Work void of Sense and Reason. 2. That they had accused the Inscription of that Book as being false, and that *St. John* was not the Author of it, nor any of the Apostles or Apostolical Men. 3. That they alledg'd *Cerintus* counterfeited the same under *John's* Name, to give Credit to his Dreams. 4. And to establish his Design of 1000 Years. 5. They maintain'd, that being covered with a Veil of Obscurity and thick Darkness, it could not be a true Revelation. 6. That for his own part, he dar'd not intirely to reject the Book, especially, because many of his Brethren esteem'd

esteem'd it very much. 7. That he was persuaded there was an excellent Sense hidden under the Words of it. 8. That it is not to be literally understood. 9. That he believed it to be wrote by a Man called *John*, who was a Saint inspired by God, but that he could not easily believe that he was the Son of *Zebedee* the Brother of *James*: And the Reasons he gives are, That the Evangelist does not put his Name to his Work, and speaks always of himself in the third Person: Whereas the Author of the *Apocalyps* hath put his Name to it, always speaks of himself in the first Person, and repeats his Name two or three times. He observes that there were divers Persons of that Name, as *John* surnamed *Mark*, mentioned in the *Acts*. He does not, however, believe it to be him, but another who lived in *Asia* as well as the Apostle; for it's said, there's at *Ephesus* two Sepulchres of two *St. John's*. This is his first Conjecture. The 2d, That the Gospel and the Epistles begin in the same manner; that we find the same Thoughts repeated there, and almost in the same Terms; in fine, that it is the same Style and the same Genius: Whereas the *Apocalyps* is wholly different, and hath not one Syllable in common with them. The 3d Conjecture is, That he says nothing of the *Apocalyps* in his Epistles. The 4th, That the Epistles are wrote in good and elegant *Greek*; whereas the *Apocalyps* is not good *Greek*, but full of Barbarisms and Solecisms. These are the Criticks of *St. Denys* of *Alexandria* upon the *Apocalyps*, related by *Eusebius*, *Hist. l. 7. c. 4*. We shall now try whether they be just.

1. We have no Memorial of those Authors left us, who, he says, confuted it Chapter by Chapter. It's strange that *Eusebius*, *St. Jerome*, and other Ancients make no mention of it; they have spoke of very ancient Commentators on the *Apocalyps*, as of *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis*, *Hippolitus*, *Victorinus* of *Petau*, *St. Justin* and *St. Irenaeus*. They have indeed said that some have rejected it; but never, that any refuted it; that's hard to believe. *St. Denys* names no particular Person that did it. So that if any Man undertook it, it's seems no Body made any Account of his Work, since no Body mentions it, nor hath reviv'd it. 2. *Caius* indeed hath said, that *Cerinthus* had publish'd Revelations, under the Name of a great Apostle; but it is not certain that the *Apocalyps* of *Cerinthus* was that which we have under *St. John's* Name, or that he had not falsified the same. 3. How could *St. Denys* admit this as a Sacred Book, if he did not believe the Author to be *St. John* the Apostle? If it be not he, it is an Impostor who hath made use of his Name to publish his own Dreams. But, could the Work of an Impostor pass for a Sacred Book? 4. Why does he think that Book has a hidden Sense, which is very Excellent, if there be nothing of it to be understood, and if there be no place where the Sense is clear? 5. The Conjectures he brings to shew that the Book is not the Apostle *St. John's*, are very weak: This Apostle might have omitted his Name in other Works and yet put it to this, where he ought to express it in imitation of the Prophets, who put their Names at the Head and in the Body of their Prophecies. 6. Ther's not so much Difference as he imagines betwixt the *Apocalyps*, the Gospel and the Epistles: There we find, on the contrary, the same Expressions and the same Thoughts that *St. Denys* observes in the Gospel and in the Epistles. For, as *St. John* hath said in his Gospel, *we have seen his Glory*, chap. 1. 14. and in another Place, *This is the Disciple who bears witness of these things; and we know that his Testimony is true*, last c. v. 24. And in his Epistles, *We bear witness of what we have seen with our Eyes and Heard*. He says the same in the beginning of the Revelation, chap. 7. v. 2. *That he hath born witness of all that he saw of Jesus Christ*. In the Revelation he likewise gives to Jesus Christ the Name of *Word*, and of the *Lamb*, who hath saved us, and washed us from our Sins by his Blood. Terms peculiar to *St. John*, which are found in his Epistles and Gospel. Nor is the Style very much different. The *Apocalyps* is indeed less polish'd, because 'tis wrote in a Prophetical Style. 7. We see no Occasion he had to speak of the *Apocalyps* in his Letters. That Silence is no Proof that the Work is not his.

*St. Paul*

St. Paul speaks nothing in his Epistle to *Timothy*, of his Epistle to the *Romans*, nor in those which he wrote afterwards : Does it follow thence that the Epistle to the *Romans* is not St. Paul's ? In fine, the *John* that is the Author of the *Apocalyps*, is he who was banish'd to the Isle of *Pathmos*, he is the Apostle and the Evangelist. It is he who govern'd *Asia*. We cannot then say, That the *Apocalyps* is indeed the Work of a holy Man called *John*, but that it is not the Apostles.

St. *Ferome* says in his Epistle to *Dardanus*, That as the Latin Church does not receive the Epistle to the *Hebrews* as part of the Canonical Scripture, so the Greek Churches don't receive the *Apocalyps*. He adds, That he receives both the one and the other, without being swayed by the Custom of his own Time, but by following the Authority of the Ancients, who often make use of the Testimony of one another, not as they use to do of Apocryphal Books, but of Canonical Books. He ascribes also the *Apocalyps* to the Apostle St. *John* in his Book of Illustrious Men, and reckons it amongst the Books of the Sacred Scripture in his Letters to *Paulinus*. It is true, nevertheless, that some *Greeks* don't place it in the Canon of the Sacred Books, as *Eusebius* observes : St. *Epiphanius* owns it himself in the Heresie of the *Alogians*, where he confesses, n. 3. that if the *Alogians* rejected only that Work of St. *John*, it might be thought they had some Reason to do it. St. *Amphilochius* observes also that some rejected it, and that it was not found, as we have observed, in the Canons of the Council of *Laodicea*, of St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, of St. *Cyril of Jerusalem*, and of some other *Greeks*.

The Hereticks that St. *Epiphanius* calls *Alogians* rejected the *Apocalyps*. The only plausible Reason they alledg'd for it was, That there was not then any Church at *Thyatira* : Which St. *Epiphanius* grants them, but he supposes that St. *John* spoke of that Church by a Prophetical Spirit ; and of what was to befall her in process of time. In the mean time the Churches to which St. *John* directs his Advice, were certainly Churches that were in being in his time : And since we have no Proof that there was not then a Church of *Thyatira*, we need not trouble our selves with this Objection.

It must then be held as a certain Truth, according to the Testimony of the Ancients, That the *Apocalyps* is the Work of the Apostle St. *John*. He composed it in the Isle of *Pathmos*, whither he was banish'd for the Faith of Jesus Christ : Being in the Spirit on the Lord's-Day, he heard a Voice and had Revelations, which he wrote in this Book, and sent by God's Order to the seven Churches of *Asia*. All this is observed, chap. i. 9, 10, 11. He was banish'd in 95 to the Isle of *Pathmos*, and return'd from it in 97. This Book then was wrote in that time. It is composed in form of a Letter, directed to the seven Churches of *Asia*. He gives Advice immediately to the Bishops of the seven Churches, whom he calls Angels, concerning the State of their Flock ; and he relates the Visions and Revelations that he had afterwards, which are the Tokens and Prophecies of the Things to come. This is not a proper Place to undertake the unfolding of those Mysteries, and to make Application of 'em. All that we can say is, That he speaks of Things that were speedily to come to pass, as he says himself, v. 1. and which are by Consequence apparently fulfilled. Besides those obscure Things, there is in that Book abundance of very clear Truths, by which humble and plain Christians may profit without troubling themselves about the Explanation of the Prophecies which are above their Capacity.



C H A P. III.

Concerning the Greek Text of the New Testament.

S E C T. I.

*How the Greek Text of the New Testament was preserved in the Church without any Falsification: Of the Variations which might have crept into it: Of the Editions of this Text; and of the Differences that are in the Manuscripts.*

WE have already prov'd that the Books of the *New Testament* could not have been corrupted or falsified in any Essential Points; for this Falsification must have been made either in the Life time of the Apostles and those who penn'd them, or a little after their Death, or in the following Centuries. But neither of these *Hypotheses* can be granted. For (1.) It cannot be said, that during their Life time, any other Gospels or Works were father'd upon them than those which they wrote; or that they were falsified or alter'd. If any should have dared to have done it, he would have been immediately convicted of his Falshood by the Evidence of the Authors themselves, and by collating those falsified Copies with the Originals. The Churches would have been very cautious how they Credited or Authoriz'd such Pieces as were spurious or falsified. The Primitive Christians would have rejected them, and never have suffer'd them by an unanimous Consent to have passed as Genuine and Sacred. (2.) Upon the same Reasons 'tis apparent, that those Writings were not alter'd a little after the Death of the Apostles and Evangelists. There were several Copies of them spread over the face of the whole Earth; which were preserved and read in all the Churches of Christendom. It was impossible that all Christians should enter into a Combination to make or admit of such Falsifications. (3.) Lastly, it cannot be said that they were falsified in the succeeding Centuries; since it plainly appears by the Citations of Authors from one Century to another, that those Books were always the same. The Disciples of the Apostles had certainly the Genuine Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists in their Purity: and the Fathers of the three first Centuries had the same Books by them. 'Tis manifest, that in the following Ages they had no other, and that they are the same which we still have. There can then no question be made of their Genuineness and Sincerity. *Celsus* having upbraided the Christians with giving themselves the Liberty of altering the Gospel, and of reading it different ways, in order to deny the Passages that were objected to them; *Origen* returns this Answer, That none but the Disciples of *Marcion* and *Valentinus* had made those Alterations. Now the Changes which the Hereticks made, were never approv'd of by the Church; on the contrary their Falsifications were discovered by the Ancient Copies that were dispers'd over the whole Earth, and by the Testimony of all the Churches, who preserv'd and read the true Copies publicly. It was to no purpose that the *Ebionites* corrupted the Gospel of Saint *Matthew*, and the *Marcionites*, that of Saint *Luke* with the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, the Alterations which they made in those sacred Writings, were not admitted into the Copies of the Church. The *Manichees* took the Liberty to retrench out of the Books of the *New Testament* what contradicted their Errors, and boldly gave out, that those Books were corrupted by the *Judaizing Christians*, who had added thereto all that favoured

the Ancient Law. St. *Augustine* demonstrated to them, that there was as much certainty that those Books were *Theirs*, under whose Names they went, and had not been corrupted, as there was for the Books of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and other prophane Authors; and this Truth he forces them to acknowledge with respect to those passages of the Gospel which they themselves approve of. For he asks them what Reply they would make to the Person that should accuse the Authors of their Sect of having added a passage which they cited. "What could you do (says he to them) but only assert that it was impossible to falsify those Books which were in the Hands of all Christians? Because as soon as ever any such attempt should have been made, the falsity of it would have been discover'd by the Evidence of the most ancient Copies. Now the very same Reason which proves that you have not corrupted those Books, is a manifest Demonstration that no body else could have corrupted them, because whoever had ventur'd to do it, would have been immediately refuted by the great number of ancient Copies; and especially since these very Books were already written in several different Languages. And the correcting of several *Errata's* in them, by collating them, either with the most ancient Copies, or with the Original out of which they were translated, is what is practis'd every day." 'Tis thus, that this Father proves that the Holy Scriptures of the *New Testament* being dispers'd so much as they were in the first Ages of the Church, could not have been corrupted by any Forgerers, without being perceiv'd.

This being granted, for a more particular view of the Method, how the Text of the Books of the *New Testament* came to be preserv'd, it is most certain, that the Evangelists wrote their Gospels with an intention of publishing them, and that every Christian might read them: That Saint *Luke* had the same design in composing the *Acts of the Apostles*; that the Apostles did not direct their Epistles to one or more Churches, but only that they might be read by all the Faithful, or at least to all the Faithful of those and the Neighbouring Churches. 'Tis likewise farther manifest, that these Writings were received with respect, and read by the Primitive Christians both in publick and private: That they were soon dispers'd in all the Churches by means of the Copies that were made of them, some from the Originals, and others from other Genuine Copies. These Copies were increas'd and renew'd as often as there was occasion for them. But tho' it could never happen that all these Copies were falsified and alter'd by any premeditated Malice and Design in those Points that are Essential, yet it cannot be said that no Fault has crept into any of these Copies by the negligence or inadvertency of the Transcribers, or even by the boldness of those who have ventur'd to strike out, add, or change some Words which they thought necessary to be omitted, added or changed. This is the common Fate of all Books, from which God has not thought fit to exempt even those sacred Writings. From hence have proceeded those various and different Lessons between the Greek Copies of the Books of the *New Testament*, which began to appear in the first Ages of the Church, and are still continued. All these varieties have alter'd nothing as to the Essential parts of the History and Doctrine of *Jesus Christ* and his Apostles; and some Persons of clearer Heads than others have from time to time appeared in the World, who have corrected the *Errata* of their Copies, and re-establish'd as far as possible the Purity of the Greek Text.

*Origen*, in the Fifteenth Tome of his Commentary on St. *Matthew*, observes, That there were even in his Time a great many Various Lessons in the Copies of the H. Scriptures, which he attributes partly to the Carelessness of the Copiers, and partly to the Boldness of those who would correct the Text; and took the Liberty by this Correction, to add or strike out what they thought fit. He adds, That he had accommodated the Difference of the Greek Copies of the *Septuagint*, according to the Method above-mention'd; but says nothing in

in this Place of any thing he had done upon the New Testament: However, 'tis certain that he had revised and corrected the Copies of that too: for Saint Jerome sometimes cites the Copies of *Origen* and *Pierius*, as being more exact than any other Copies of the New Testament. For Instance, In examining a Passage in the 24th Chapter of Saint *Matthew*, where at the 36th Verse some *Latin* Copies have, *Neque Filius*; he observes, That *This Clause was not in the Greek Copies, and especially in those of Origen and Pierius*. He likewise cites the Copies of *Origen*, in the Third Chapter of the Epistle to the *Galatians*, and says, That he does not explain these Words, *Quis vos fascinauit credere veritati?* because they are not in the Copies of *Origen*. This shews that these two Authors had taken Copies of the New Testament, and that they were look'd upon as the most correct of any others. The same Father, in his Preface to *Damasus*, makes mention likewise of Copies of the New Testament corrected by *Lucian* and *Hesychius*, but does by no means approve of their Work; because they had made such Additions as were convicted of Falsity by the Ancient Versions. *Tatian* and *Ammonius* in compiling the Harmonies or Concordances of the Four Evangelists, did doubtless follow that *Greek Text*, which they thought to be the most correct. The Canons and Heads of *Eusebius* have been likewise of great use, to prevent any Confusion in the Evangelists: 'Tis likewise very probable, that *Eusebius* took care not only to distinguish, but also to correct the Text of the Gospels. Saint Jerome apply'd himself not so much to correct the Faults, which might have crept into the *Greek Copies*, as to reform the *Latin Version* by the *Greek Text*, according to the best and most ancient Copies of his Time, which he look'd upon as Faithful and Correct, and which he therefore styles, *The Greek Truth, the Greek Fidelity; The most clear Water of the Fountain it self*: whereas the *Latin Versions* were very Defective in a great many places. See how he explains himself in his Preface before the Four Gospels, directed to Pope *Damasus*. "You injoyne me (says he) to make a New Work out of an Old One, and to be as it were Judge between the Copies of the Holy Scriptures dispers'd through all the Earth; and since they differ from one another, to determine which of 'em agree with the *Greek Verity*. 'Tis a Religious Task, but withall a dangerous Undertaking to change the Language of the World, which is in its Old Age, and to recall it, when it begins to turn grey, to those very Principles and Rudiments that we teach Children. For who is there, whether Learned or Unlearned, who upon taking the Bible into his Hands, and seeing that what he reads is different from what he has been always us'd to, would not immediately cry out that I was a Forgerer and a Sacrilegious Person, who had the Boldness to make such Additions, Alterations and Corrections in those Ancient Books? Two things are my Comfort under such a Reproach: First, That 'tis You, the Supreme Pontif, that have put me upon the Task: and Secondly, That by the Confession even of the most Envious, there must needs be some Falsity where there is so much Variety. If they say, That the *Latin Copies* are to be credited; let them tell me Which? For there are almost as many different Copies, as there are Manuscripts; and if the Truth must be search'd for among so many, why should not we rather have recourse to the *Greek Original*, in Order to correct the Faults that have proceeded, either from the Bad Translation of the Interpreters, or from the unreasonable Corrections that have been made by unskilful Criticks, or from the Additions and Alterations that have happen'd through the carelessness of the Copiers? At present, I say nothing of the Old Testament, but am only speaking of the New, which is doubtless all *Greek*, except Saint *Matthew's Gospel*, which at first was publish'd in *Judea* in *Hebrew*. The New Testament, I say, being full of Varieties in the *Latin Versions*, which are as so many small Streams, 'tis necessary to have recourse to the Fountain-head, which is but only One. I pass over in Silence the Copies that go under the Name of *Lucian* and *Hesychius*, which some Persons condemn, because they



“were not allow’d to correct the Old Testament after the *Septuagint*; and because they have not been successful in the Corrections which they have made of the New. The Versions which were made of it into several Languages before they corrected it, prove that what they added is Spurious. In this Preface therefore I promise to give you the Four Gospels, corrected by the ancient *Greek* Copies, with which they have been collated: But that the *Latin* of the New Testament may not differ too much from the Vulgar Translation, we have kept a *Medium*, which is, to correct only such things as make an Alteration in the Sense, and to leave the rest in the same state wherein it was before... It must be own’d, that there is a great deal of Confusion in our Copies of the Gospels, because our Interpreters have often added what one Evangelist had said over and above to another Gospel, where they thought it was wanting, and have often corrected the Expressions of One by those of another Evangelist. Hence has arisen that Confusion, and is the reason why in Saint *Mark* we meet with a great many Passages taken out of Saint *Luke* and Saint *Matthew*, and in Saint *Matthew*, a great many Passages taken out of Saint *Mark* and Saint *John*, and so of the rest.” From this Preface of St. *Jerome* we may draw these following Conclusions: (1.) That in his time the *Latin* Copies of the *New Testament* were most of ’em defective. (2.) That in order to correct them recourse was to be had to the *Greek* Text as to the Fountain-Head. (3.) That there were several *Greek* Copies, which were likewise faulty, particularly those of *Hesychius* and *Lucian*. (4.) That there were others more ancient and more correct. (5.) That Saint *Jerome* has corrected the *Latin* Version from those ancient and correct *Greek* Copies. (6.) That he has only corrected such places as made a considerable difference in the Text, and has left the rest just as it was.

This Reform made by Saint *Jerome* met with its Adversaries, as he had foreseen. There were those ill-designing Persons who accused him of having alter’d the Gospels contrary to the Authority of the Ancients and the Opinion of all Men. He returns them this Answer, “That he was not so stupid or ignorant, as to believe that one could correct any thing in the words of our Saviour, or that all the Gospel was not divinely inspir’d; but that all he aim’d at was, according to the *Greek* Original (from which it was agreed on all Hands, that the Versions were made) to correct the faults of the *Latin* Version, which are sufficiently apparent by that Variety which is to be met with in the *Latin* Copies. Let those Men, says he, who care not for the pure Water of the Fountain-Head, drink as much as they please of the Water of those disturbed Streams.” Thus you see how far Saint *Jerome* prefers the *Greek* Text of his Time before the *Latin* Versions, and the Judgment that he passes on the fidelity of the *Greek* Text.

St. *Augustine* was of the same Mind with respect to the Authority of the *Greek* Text of the Books of the *New Testament*. He requires that when there are any differences between the Text and the Versions, The Text should be credited more than the Versions; and that the *Greek* Text should always be made use of to correct the *Latin*: *Latinis* (says he) *quibuslibet emendandis Græci adhibeantur*. He declares in particular with respect to the Books of the *New Testament*, Lib. 2. Cap. 15. de Doct. Christ. *Libros autem Novi Testamenti, si quid in Latinis varietatibus titubet, Græcis cedere oportere non dubium est, & maxime qui apud Ecclesias doctiores & diligentiores reperiuntur: i. e.* That if there be any differences between the *Greek* and the *Latin* Versions, the *Latin* ought doubtless to submit to the *Greek*, and especially to those Copies that the Church owns to be the most learned and exact. Lastly, he observes that even in his time there were such correct Copies. For he adds, *Adjuvante etiam codicum veritate, quam solers emendationis diligentia procuravit.*

Since

### Chap. III. of the Old and New Testament. 101

Since the days of Saint *Jerome* and Saint *Augustine*, the *Greek* Churches have been very careful in preserving their Original Text of the *New Testament*. It is not to be suppos'd, but that the *Greek* Fathers, who apply'd themselves in an eminent manner to the study of the Holy Scriptures; It is not, I say, to be suppos'd but that they were very exact in consulting the most Faithful and most correct Copies they could possibly light on, and that they took care that the new Copies which were drawn were as correct, and made from the best Exemplars. The Copies corrected by *Origen*, *Pierius* and *Eusebius* were preserv'd for a long time together in the *Cæsarean* and *Alexandrian* Libraries. There were some such in the *Greek* Churches which were read publickly. Was it possible that so many Learned Commentators should make choice, among so many Copies, of those that were the most faulty, since they might have had those that were correct? This is what cannot be suppos'd with any colour of Reason; on the contrary, 'tis morally certain that they made use of the purest *Greek* Text they could get, and consequently that the *New Testament*, which is annex'd to the Commentaries of the *Greek* Fathers upon almost all the Books of the *New Testament*, such as those of Saint *Chrysostome*, *Theodoret*, *Theophylact*, *Oecumenius*, &c. is an Authentic Testimony whereby to discover the Sincerity of the *Greek* Text from one Age to another. In short, it cannot be said, that since Saint *Jerome*'s time the *Greek* Text has suffer'd any considerable Falsification, or that the whole *Greek* Church has made use of a corrupted Text of the *New Testament*.

However it may be objected, That Saint *Jerome* having reform'd the Latin Version by the best *Greek* Manuscripts of his Time, it necessarily follows that it should be entirely conformable to the *Greek* Text; and that if the *Greek* Text is found to differ from that reformed Version, it is not conformable to the most ancient and most correct Manuscripts, which he made use of, and consequently has since been adulterated and alter'd. Now 'tis plain, that there are a great many differences between the *Greek* Text and our vulgar Latin: but 'tis as certain that in a great many of those places where these differences occur, the *Greek* Text at present is conformable to that of the Ancient *Greek* Fathers, which it is hard to think has been alter'd. It must therefore be said that Saint *Jerome* has not corrected all the places of the Latin Version that differ from the *Greek* Text, but only the most considerable, and such as made an Alteration in the Sense, as he owns himself in his Preface. Besides, since the Version reform'd by Saint *Jerome* might have suffer'd some change by the carelessness of the Transcribers, or by the mixture of other Versions, or by the boldness of some Criticks; it is no proof that the *Greek* Text which Saint *Jerome* made use of was different from the present Vulgar *Greek* Text, because the Latin Version which we have at present differs from the *Greek* Text. *Bede* was so far convinc'd of the Truth of this, that having found some difference betwixt S. *Jerome*'s Version and the *Greek* Copy, he declares that he durst not suppose the *Greek* to have been corrupted, but that it could not be said whether the Various Lecture ought to be ascrib'd to the fault of the Interpreter or of the Copier. *Quadam* (says he) *qua in Græco sive aliter, sive plus aut minus posita vidimus, breviter commemorare curavimus: qua utrum negligentia Interpretis omissa, vel aliter dicta, an incuria Librariorum sive depravata, sive relicta, nondum scire potuimus: namque Græcum Exemplar falsatum fuisse suspicari non audeo.*

However it must be acknowledg'd, that even from the very first there were a great many differences between the *Greek* Copies of the *New Testament*, as *Origen*, Saint *Jerome*, the Author of the Commentary on the Epistle to the *Romans*, and several other Fathers have own'd, and as may be made appear by the different ways whereby several *Greek* Fathers have read one and the Self same passage: That these Varieties have been very much increas'd since, by that great number of Copies that have been made of the *Greek* Testament, both in the *East* and *West*, as those many Differences to be met with in the *Greek* Manuscripts of the *New Testament* which we have at present do abundantly

dantly testify: Lastly, That since there are so many differences between the Manuscripts, it necessarily follows that there must be some faults and defects both in the Greek and Latin, so that it cannot be absolutely said that the Greek is free from Faults, unless we could be assur'd, which of the various Lections is the true One,

For this Reason they who have taken care of printing the Greek Text of the *New Testament*, took likewise care to have it revis'd from several MSS, to put in the Text that Lection which they thought the most Genuine, and to set down either at the End, or in the Margent the various Lections of other Manuscripts. *Valla* was the first who searched into and collated the Greek Copies of the *New Testament*. He cites several of them in his Notes printed at *Basil*. After his Example *Erasmus* likewise consulted a great many Manuscripts, which he made use of to good purpose in the Editions of his *New Testament*, and sets down in his Notes the Various Lections taken out of these Copies. Cardinal *Ximenes* had even before *Erasmus*, caus'd the Text of the *New Testament* to be revis'd from several Greek Manuscripts, and printed in his *Polyglot* in the Year 1515. the Text entire, according to that Reading which he thought the most exact and correct, yet without taking notice of the Differences of the Manuscripts. The same Text has been follow'd in the Polyglotts of *Philip III.* and of *le Jay*. *Robert Stephens's* Edition of the *New Testament* in Greek was done with a great deal of Accuracy; his Text agrees with that of the Bible of Cardinal *Ximenes*, and he has set in the Margent the Various Readings of his Manuscript Copies. This Edition was publish'd first at *Paris* in the Year 1550. There have been several Impressions of it made since, and 'tis this Text which Mr. *Walton* has put in his *Polyglotts*. *Theodore Beza* having likewise collated a greater Number of Copies, has set down a great many more various Lections in his Notes. *Walton* in the sixth Edition of his *Polyglott* has made a Collection of the various Lections taken notice of by others, and some new Ones taken from the Manuscripts in *England*. All these various Lections are set down at the bottom of the Page of the Greek Testament, printed at *Oxford* in the Year 1675.

Besides these Editions, we have likewise several particular Collations of the Greek Copies of the *New Testament*, wherein the Differences of the several Manuscripts are taken notice of. Under the Popedom of *Urban VIII.* *Matthew Caryophila* and several other Learned persons of *Rome*, collated the Greek Text of the *New Testament* of Cardinal *Ximenes's* Edition, with two and twenty Manuscripts of the Libraries of *Rome*; viz. Ten on the Gospels, Eight on the Acts of the Apostles and Epistles, and Four on the Apocalypse. They mark'd down in the Collation what they thought necessary to be added to, or retrench'd from the Text, by setting down the Number of the Manuscripts that were conformable thereto. In the Preface they have explain'd the Rules which they follow in this Determination. First, That if most of the Greek Manuscripts agree with the Vulgar Latin; The Text shall be reform'd according to the Reading in the Vulgar Version. Secondly, That if all the Greek Manuscripts differ from the Vulgar Latin and from the Greek Text, the Text shall be reform'd by those Manuscripts, setting down the ancient Lection at the end of the Chapters. Thirdly, That if most the Manuscripts differ from the Text, and this difference does not affect the Vulgar Latin, then the Text shall be corrected by the plurality of the MSS. Setting down at the end of the Chapters the place that has been corrected. Fourthly, That if the Reading of the Vulgar Latin be authoriz'd only by one single Manuscript, it shall not fail to be taken notice of. Fifthly and Lastly, that such Words shall be omitted as do manifestly appear to have been taken out of one Gospel to be inserted into another.

Some



### Chap. III. of the Old and New Testament. 103

Some time before this, *Peter Faxard* a Spaniard, *Marquis de Los-Velez*, had collated the Text of our Vulgar Latin with Sixteen Greek Manuscripts of the King of Spain's Library, and in the Margent of a New Testament in Greek had set down the various Lections of those Manuscripts, upon which the Reading of the Vulgar Latin was establish'd. But forasmuch as he has not taken notice in how many MSS. each of these Differences is to be found, his Work is not of any great use, because each Difference may only be in one Manuscript, which in that case ought not to be preferred before the rest. *Mariana* the Jesuit having copied out those various Lections remark'd by the *Marquis de Los-Velez*, communicated them to *Lewis de la Cerda* of the same Society, who publish'd them in his Book, Intituled, *Adversaria Sacra*, printed in the Year 1626. There is scarce a passage wherein the Vulgar Latin differs from the Greek Text, but the Variety is authoriz'd by some Manuscript of the *Marquis de Los-Velez*. But, as was said just now, 'tis not known by how many, or what quality the Manuscript is, upon which it is founded, nor whether it has not been reform'd from the Vulgar, as *Mariana* has groundlessly suppos'd. Father *Morin* of the Oratory has likewise collected in his Exercitations upon the Bible, the differences of several Greek Manuscripts of the *New Testament*, and particularly of the *Cambridge* Manuscript of the Gospels, and of another Manuscript of the same Antiquity belonging to the *Messieurs du Puy*. To conclude, Father *Amelotte*, of the same Congregation has in his *French Version* of the *New Testament* collected the various Lections which agree with the ancient Version, reckoning likewise among those differences and the Manuscripts which authorize them, the Differences of the Ancient Latin Version, of *Saint Jerome's* Version, and of the Oriental Versions; wherein he is not exact. For tho' it were well to take notice of these Differences, yet they ought not to have pass'd for Differences in the Greek Copies: because they might as well have proceeded from the Translator, as from the Copy that he made use of, and the Version might likewise have underwent some Alteration since it was made.

#### S E C T. II.

*Of the Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament, and particularly of the Vatican, Oxford and Cambridge Manuscripts.*

**A**Mong the Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament, we know of none more ancient and more famous, than those of the *Vatican*, of *Saint Thecla*, and of *Cambridge*.

The first of these Manuscripts is certainly above a thousand Years old. It has neither Titles nor Chapters, answerable to the Canons of *Eusebius*, but only Heads in red Letters in the Margent, to divide the Text in the Gospels. This Manuscript in several passages agrees with the Vulgar Latin, but in a great many more with the Greek of *Robert Stephens's* Edition.

The second goes under the Name of an *Egyptian* Virgin nam'd *Thecla*. It was sent from *Alexandria* by *Cyril* of *Lucar* Patriarch of *Constantinople* to *Charles I.* King of *England*, and is deposited in the King's Library at *London*. 'Tis thought to be about fourteen hundred Years old, but 'tis certainly above a thousand. In this Manuscript the Title and Chapters of the Gospels, which answer to the Division made by *Eusebius*, are set down. It wants the first four and twenty Chapters of *Saint Matthew*, and the five first Verses of the twenty fifth Chapter. This Manuscript has a great many differences from the common Greek, but they are only slight Ones. It agrees very often with the Vulgar Latin, and seems to be very exact and correct. These Differences are to be seen at the bottom of the Page of the Greek New Testament in the *Polyglotte* publish'd in *England*.

The Criticks are pretty well agreed about these two Manuscripts; but are not so with respect to that of *Cambridge*. See however certain matters of Fact, from which it will be easie to determine what one ought to believe in the case. *Theodore Beza* found a Greek and Latin Manuscript of the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles in the Monastery of *St. Irenaeus* of *Lions*. He had likewise by the Assistance of the *Messieurs du Puy*, such another Manuscript of the Epistles of *St. Paul*, which he calls the Copy of *Clermont*, and may pass for the second part of the Copy of *Lions*. The first of these is at present in the *Cambridge* Library; and the second in the Library of the *French King*. There is another Manuscript much like to the latter in the Abbey of *Saint Germain de Prez*. The Manuscript of the Gospels is divided into Chapters according to the Division of *Eusebius*: the Greek writ in large Characters without Points, Accents or distinction between the Words. The second part is written after the same manner as the former in both Copies, but with Accents, which are of the same Hand in the Manuscript of *Saint Germain des Prez*, tho' of a different Figure; and added by another more modern Hand in the MS. of the *French King's* Library. The Latin Version is writ by the same Hand as the Greek Text, but differs very much from the Vulgar, and is entirely agreeable to the Greek Text of these MSS. The Criticks are agreed that these MSS. are of about a thousand Years standing. There are a great many Additions and Alterations particularly in the Gospels, especially in that of *Saint Luke*. We have already observed, that the Genealogy of our Saviour is regulated in *St. Luke's* Gospel, according to that of *Saint Matthew*, and that three Kings which are left out in *Saint Matthew* are there added. We have likewise mention'd two considerable Additions, One of a Sentence upon Humility, in *Saint Matthew*, Chap. 20. and the other of a Discourse which our Saviour had with a Man that work'd on the Sabbath-day, in *Saint Luke*, Chap. 6. Beside these particular passages and some other of the same Nature, whereby the Alterations are greater and more visible; there are a great many other places, in which the Words of the Evangelists and Apostles are paraphras'd, abridg'd, and transpos'd, as well in the Gospels as in the Acts, and even in the Epistles of *Saint Paul*. In several places it agrees with the Vulgar Latin, and differs from it in others, but is very different from other Greek Manuscripts. At the end of the two Manuscripts of the second part, between the Epistle to *Philemon*, and that to the *Hebrews*, there is a Catalogue of the Books of the Bible, in which the twelve *Minor Prophets* are set down before the *Greater*, and the Gospel of *Saint John* before that of *Saint Mark*, and *Saint Luke*; and wherein after the Epistle of *Saint Jude*, is inserted the Epistle of *Saint Barnabas*, and after the *Apocalypse* of *Saint John* are plac'd, the *Acts* of the Apostles, the Book of *Hermas*, the *Acts* of *Paul*, and the *Revelation* of *Saint Peter*. It is likewise to be observ'd, that there are a great many Faults in the Greek Text, and that there are several Corrections made by the same Hand, and at the same time.

*Beza*, the first that has made mention of the *Cambridge* Manuscript, believed that it was brought from *Greece*; That tho' it had not been falsified by Hereticks, yet it had been by a Greek, who had inserted barbarous Notes into the Margent. He owns that it was very ancient, and his Words are as follow: *Exemplar veneranda vetustatis ex Graciâ, ut apparet ex barbaris Gracis quibusdam Notis ad Marginem ascriptis, olim exportatum, & in Sancti Irenaei Monasterio Lugduni, ita ut cernitur mutilatum, postquam ibi in pulvere diu jacuisset, repertum Oriente ibi Civili bello, Anno Domini 1562.* As to the Manuscript of *Saint Paul's* Epistles, which *Beza* styles that of *Clermont*, he believes that 'tis the other part of the MS. of *Lions*, not only because of its Antiquity, Character, and Form, but because there are much the same Varieties in one as in the other.

### Chap. III. of the Old and New Testament. 105

Father *Morin* has not pass'd any judgment on the *Cambridge* MS. because he had never seen it; but he speaks of the MS. of the Epistles of *St. Paul*, and says that it is almost as ancient; that the passages cited therein out of the Old Testament are written in red Characters; that the Latin Version differs from the Vulgar, even in those places, where it was requisite that the Greek Text from whence they were taken, should have been the same; that however it appears that both of them came from the same Original. This makes him suppose that the Version from this ancient MS. is that which the Ancient Church commonly made use of before *Saint Jerome's* time, and that That Father revis'd and reform'd it upon the credit of the Greek Copies. He likewise asserts that this MS. is more ancient than *Saint Jerome*. He as well as *Beza*, is of the Opinion, that this MS. is the second part of the *Cambridge* MS.

Monsieur *Simon* believes that these three MSS. are of the same standing: He approves of Father *Morin's* Notion concerning the Version; but does not allow that these MSS. were written before *Saint Jerome's* time, tho' he owns that they contain a more ancient Version; which makes him suppose that these Copies were transcribed from others more ancient. He maintains against *Beza*, that these MSS. were never made for the Greeks, nor brought from *Greece*, because of the gross Faults that are in them. He believes that the Notes which are in the Margent, were not made by a Greek, but by a Latin.

Monsieur *Arnaud's* Supposition is very different from all others. He acknowledges that those MSS. may be about a thousand Years old: but he believes "That 'tis a particular Edition of the New Testament of a *Latin* of the Sixth Century, who might have design'd to remove some Scruples, that seem'd to be insuperable, such as the difference there is in the Genealogy of Christ, between *Saint Matthew* and *Saint Luke*; and to make some other Alterations, of which no cause can be assign'd: That he thought it requisite for his purpose, to make a Greek and Latin Text that should agree together; because if he had only made a Latin Text, it would have been rejected, if upon comparing it according to *Saint Jerome* and *Saint Augustine's* Rule with the Greek Copies, there had not been found the Alterations that he was minded to make; whereas composing them in both Languages, it would give the greater Authority to his new Edition. But he thought farther, that the Edition he made ought to carry along with it the face of Antiquity, and that this was the reason why he would not intermix with his Latin the corrected Version of *Saint Jerome*. After a great many Argumentations he concludes, That this Manuscript is the Work of some Forgerer in the Sixth Century: That therefore the Varieties of this Copy ought not to be reckon'd among the Various Lectons of the Greek of the New Testament, that it can be of no Weight to authorize what is not found in the other Greek Manuscripts, and 'tis not at all probable that the Ancient Vulgar Latin was made from this Manuscript.

Father *Martinay* keeps a Medium between the Hypotheses of Monsieur *Simon*, and Monsieur *Arnaud*. He observes, "That Monsieur *Simon* is in the right, when he says that the Addition made to the twentieth Chapter of *Saint Matthew*, was in the Ancient Latin Version, which was made use of in the Western Churches; and that his famous Adversary (for so he very justly styles Monsieur *Arnaud*) was likewise in the right, in maintaining that this very Addition was not in the Copies corrected by *Saint Jerome*". He justifies this by saying, that of the two Manuscripts of the Ancient Vulgar which he produces, there was one wherein this Addition was, and another wherein it was not. At the same time he shews the Conformity of these Manuscripts of the Ancient Vulgar Latin of *Saint Matthew's* Gospel, with the Manuscript of *Cambridge*, and the *English-Saxon* Version publish'd by *Marshall*, and made from the Ancient Vulgar.



These are the various Sentiments of the Learned concerning the *Cambridge*, the *French-King's*, and the Abby of *Saint Germain des Prez's* Manuscripts. We beg leave to subjoyn our Remarks to adjust (if possible) these differences.

1. We believe these Manuscripts to be near a thousand Years old, or thereabouts, that is, about the Sixth Century, and so later than *Saint Jerome*.

2. We suppose them to be made by a Latin in the *West*, and not by a Greek: of which the Latin being written by the same Hand on the side of the Greek, and the gross Faults that are in the Greek are an uncontestable Proof.

3. There is no probability that he who made the Alterations or Additions in this Manuscript was an Heretick, because it does not appear that they were made to support any particular Heresy.

4. These Additions and Alterations do not seem to be invented by the Author of that Manuscript, since the most considerable of them are to be met with in other Ancient Records.

5. There is not any instance of those considerable Changes or Additions in the Manuscripts of the New Testament, which were in the Hands of the Greek Fathers, nor in the other Manuscripts us'd in the Greek Church.

6. There were such Additions, Alterations, Transpositions, and Confusions in the Copies of the Ancient Vulgar Latin, according to the Testimony of *Saint Jerome* in his Epistle to *Damasus*: and we farther meet with several Additions made to the Gospel of *Saint Matthew* in the *Cambridge* Manuscript, in the Manuscripts of the Ancient Vulgar Latin, in *Saint Hilary* and several other Latin Fathers.

7. The Latin Version of the Copies we are now examining, is not that which was reform'd by *Saint Jerome*, but one of the Ancient Vulgar Latin Versions. For there were several of them, or rather the Copies of them were so different, that they seem'd to be so many distinct Versions.

8. All these Remarks afford us great probability of conjecturing that the Greek Text of the Copies we now speak of, was regulated by him who wrote from the Copy of the Vulgar Latin which he copied; or that he transcribed it from some other Copy that was thus reform'd. This Conjecture is a consequence of several Matters of Fact wherein all are agreed, and of the Reflections already made.

9. This being laid down, we ought not to look upon these Varieties as so many various Lessons of a Greek Manuscript, but only as a Regulation, or rather a Corruption of the Greek Text from a Version that is less Conformable to the Original.

10. Though all the Copies of the Ancient Vulgar Latin had not those Additions and Alterations that are in the Latin and Greek of this Copy, yet there are some, wherein very considerable Additions and Alterations are to be found.

But enough has been said with respect to this Manuscript. We shall not insist on the other Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament, that are to be met with in a great many Libraries. There are some about 800 Years old, others 600, and others more modern. They are almost all of 'em made by Greeks, and according to the Greek's custom. Therein a great many differences may be found, but scarce any that affect the true Sense. Let us now enquire into the Origine of these Varieties, and the Means whereby to discover the true Reading.

S E C T. III.

*The Rise and occasion of the Faults that might have crept into the Greek Text of the New Testament.*

THE Faults which have crept into the Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament, as well as into all other Books, are owing generally to these two causes; *viz.* to the Negligence of the Copiers, and to the boldness of those who have ventur'd to reform the ancient Copies. But these two general Causes produce different Effects for which particular Reasons may be assign'd.

The carelessness of the Copiers may occasion Omissions, Errors, and sometimes Additions. These Omissions may happen through Inadvertency or Distraction, which might have caus'd the Transcriber to have omitted several Words or entire Sentences. This frequently happens with respect to Particles or Stops. When two periods which come one after another, begin or end with the same Words, the Transcriber might easily omit one of the Sentences. The Inadvertency of the Copiers may likewise produce the Repetition of the same Words or Phrases, but then 'tis such an Error as is easie to be discover'd.

The Alterations happen by the carelessness of the Copiers, when they take or put one Letter for another, or one Word for another, by reason of the Resemblance there is between the Letters or Words, in their Figure or Sound. Lastly, this carelessness is the cause of very considerable Additions, when they insert into the Text, the *Scholias* or Notes which were in the Margent of the Manuscripts which they copied, without heeding that these were such Explications as ought not to have been added to the Text. These are the principal Reasons that can be alledg'd for the Alterations which might happen through the Inadvertency of the Copiers.

These Alterations which happen'd by the Liberty that some took expressly and deliberately of reforming the Text, might proceed from as many Causes, as there were Motives to incline them to this Reform. The chief Causes of these Alterations with respect to the Copies of the New Testament are such as follow.

1. It might so happen, that the Hereticks have struck out or alter'd such passages as were contrary to their Errors, or have added others that have favour'd them. Thus the *Ebionites* falsified the Gospel of Saint *Matthew*, and the *Marcionites* that of Saint *Luke*. But these gross Falsifications were soon discover'd, they never deceiv'd any Catholick, and were never admitted into the Copies they made use of. It might likewise happen that some other Hereticks had only retrench'd, alter'd, or added some very short passages, or that this Alteration might have been made, without being easily perceiv'd. There were several of the Fathers who thought that they had found out instances of this in several places of the New Testament; as when Saint *Ambrose* accuseth the *Arians* for having struck out in the third Chapter of Saint *John's* Gospel, vers. 6. these Words, *Quia Deus Spiritus est*. When *Socrates* upbraids the *Nestorians* for having struck out of the fourth Chapter of the first Epistle of Saint *John* vers. 3. these Words: *Every Spirit, that confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh; is not of God*. And others have accus'd the Followers of *Mardonius*, of having added in the seventh Chapter of Saint *John's* Gospel, vers. 39. The Epithet *Holy*, and of having read it as it is at present in the Greek; *As yet the Holy Ghost was not come upon them*, instead of, *The Spirit was not as yet given them*. But these sorts of passages are not very many, and when they are duly enquir'd into, it appears to be a mistake, or at least doubtful, to say that they have been corrupted maliciously, and with a design of favouring any Error.

2. It might have so happen'd that even the *Orthodox* themselves meeting with difficult passages which they thought to be contrary to the Analogy of Faith, or to the other Gospels, might through an indiscreet Zeal have reform'd these passages. 'Tis upon this Account, that Saint *Epiphanius* observes, That some of the *Orthodox* have struck out that passage in Saint *Luke*, Chap. 19. Vers. 41. where 'tis said that *Jesus wept over Jerusalem*, because this seem'd to them to be unbecoming our Saviour: others upon the same Motive have added to the Genealogy of *Jesus Christ*, the *Kings* which Saint *Matthew* had omitted, in order to render it conformable to the Old Testament. Lastly, 'tis very usual to find One Evangelist reform'd from another Evangelist, and that added to, or re-trench'd from one Gospel, which is either added or left out in another. By the same motive (if Saint *Jerome* may be credited in the Case) were those wise Men mov'd who have left out of the 35th. Verse of the thirteenth Chapter of Saint *Matthew's* Gospel, the name of *Prophet* cited in that place; because the name of *Isaiab* is there inserted instead of that of *Asaph*, and because that Prophecy was not *Isaiab's*, they were afraid lest the Evangelist should have been suppos'd to have cited a falshood, perhaps 'tis upon the same account that in the beginning of Saint *Mark's* Gospel, Chap. 1. Vers. 2. The Name of *Isaiab* has been struck out, because the Prophecy there cited, begins with the Words of *Malachy*.

3. There have been some Copies wherein have been inserted several Additions taken out of *Apocryphal* Books, and particularly some there were in Saint *Matthew's* Gospel taken out of the Gospel of the *Hebrews*. *Origen* produces an Instance of this in Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 12. Vers. 12. Where these Words were inserted, *Jesus therefore said, I was weak because of the Weak, I was hungry because of the Hungry, and I was thirsty for the sake of those who were Thirsty*. We have already mention'd several other Instances of those Additions taken out of the *Apocryphal* Gospels.

4. The Criticks have sometimes reform'd the Text, because they have look'd upon it as faulty. They have met with a Sense that shock'd them in the Text, and which might be reform'd by taking away one single Word. They have determin'd that the Text ought to be read so, or so, and have boldly correct'd the Text upon a mere Conjecture. For instance, in the first Epistle of Saint *Peter*, Chap. 2. Vers. 23. It is in the Greek, *Jesus Christ committed himself to him that judgeth righteously; Judicanti se justè, δικαίως*. Now because it seem'd somewhat odd to say that *Jesus Christ* was judg'd by a righteous Judge, therefore some have taken out the word *δικαίως* righteously, and clapp'd in the Word *ἀδίκως* unrighteously.

5. Another sort of Additions or Alterations are those Supplements or Illustrations, which do not alter the Sense, but render it more clear, or determine it. The Copiers or the Regulators of the Copies having taken a great deal of Liberty upon this Respect, being perswaded that it was enough for them to keep strictly to the Sense, and that they should do some Service in explaining it more clearly. But sometimes they have been mistaken, and have determin'd the Text by such Words as give it quite another Sense, and have not explain'd it in its full Extent and Force.

6. Lastly, the Text has sometimes been reform'd, either from the Ancient Vulgar Latin, as we have observ'd of the *Cambridge* Manuscripts, or from Saint *Jerome's* Version, as some Criticks have remark'd concerning several Greek Manuscripts of a more modern date.

These are very near all the Causes of the Alterations, Additions, or Omissions which could have been made in the Greek Copies of the New Testament. The Causes of the Evil being discover'd, it will be the easier to apply a Remedy thereto according to the Rules of Criticism.



S E C T. IV.

*The Original of the Faults that might have crept into the Text of the Vulgar Latin.*

WE have already sufficiently prov'd in the first Volume of this Work, that when the Council of *Trent* declar'd the Vulgar Latin Authentick, it did not prefer it before the Originals (that is, before the Hebrew Text of the Old, and the Greek Text of the New Testament) nor did it declare it to be free from Faults. We likewise there prov'd, that when there were any Differences between the Original and the Versions, good reason requires that we should follow the Original rather than the Version, unless there be some particular cause of supposing that the Original is corrupted, and the Version Genuine. This being laid down, we now come to discover in particular the Sources of the Faults that may be met with in the Text of the Vulgar Latin of the New Testament.

In the first place all the same causes, Reasons and motives that have been alledged of the Changes and Alterations of the Greek Original, may take place with respect to the Copies of the Versions; so that if they could be assign'd to shew that the Original Text might be subject to Faults, they may more reasonably be applied, to prove the same thing upon the Version. The carelessness of the Copiers, the boldness of the Criticks, and all the particular Reasons that have induc'd the one or the other of them to make such an Alteration, may as well affect the Copies of the Vulgar Latin Version, as those of the Original Greek Text.

But beside these Reasons which are common both to the Original and the Version, there are several others that may be produc'd to prove the Version might be subject to a great many Faults. For (1.) Since the Latin Interpreter was not infallible, he might be mistaken, and mis-interpret the Text. (2.) He might have had a faulty Copy. (3.) He might have misread his Copy. (4.) Whereas one Greek Word bears several Senses, he might have taken the most improper Sense, or fallily determin'd the Sense of a Phrase. (5.) He might have addid some things to clear up the Sense, or to render the Text of one Evangelist agreeable to that of another. (6.) He might have inserted several Additions that were taken out of Apocryphal Books.

But to pass from probabilities to matter of Fact; it is certain that the Vulgar Latin Version now extant differs not from that which was reform'd by Saint *Jerome*, only several Faults are crept into it since that Father's time. Now the Ancient Version reform'd by Saint *Jerome*, had by that Father's own Concession in his Letter to *Damasus*, all the Defects which we have taken notice of.

These Defects are likewise acknowledged in the Fragments which we have by us of that ancient Version. It will be objected that Saint *Jerome* has reform'd it from the Greek Text; which is true as to the principal passages, but he has not wholly reform'd it, having only corrected the chief differences. He has left some designedly, that he might not alter the Text entirely. Several others might have escap'd even his Diligence. 'Tis certain that he has left several passages which are not conformable to the Greek that he read, and approv'd of. For it may be prov'd even from Saint *Jerome* himself that there were a great many places wherein the Greek Copies which this Father made use of, differ'd from the Vulgar Latin. Lastly, since St. *Jerome*'s time a great many Variations have crept into the Latin Text even of his Reform'd Version. It cannot therefore

be said, that the vulgar Latin is exempt from Faults, and that it ought always to be follow'd and preferr'd before the Greek Text.

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S E C T. V.

*Of what Nature those Differences are, which are in the Greek Text, and between that and the Vulgar Latin.*

Nothing can be falser than the Notion which some may perhaps form to themselves, *viz.* that the great number of differences which are to be observ'd between the several Greek Copies, and between the Greek Text and the Vulgar Latin of the New Testament, do overthrow the Authority of the sacred Writings, and are capable of disfiguring or corrupting the sacred Text so far, that one cannot tell whether we have by us the Genuine Writings of the Evangelists and Apostles, or not.

We own that there are a great many varieties in the Greek Copies; the bare perusal of the *Oxford* Edition of the New Testament in Greek is a sufficient proof of it. There are likewise a great many differences between the Greek Text and the vulgar Latin, perhaps near six hundred: but all these varieties and differences are inconsiderable. For the most part they are either the visible Faults of the Copiers or some Minute mistakes; such as putting some Words for others; or omitting, adding or repeating of Words; some particle added or struck out, a singular Number put for the plural, or a Pronoun for a Noun. There are some few indeed which alter the Sense, but none that contain any Error; and take 'em all together they alter nothing of the Doctrine and History of Jesus Christ and his Apostles.

If we were as nice in collecting together the various Lectons of prophane Authors, and had as many different Copies of their Works; we should perhaps meet with as great a variety, and there is scarce any ancient Version of the Writings of the Greeks more conformable to their Text, than the Vulgar Latin of the New Testament is to the Greek Original. Does it therefore from thence follow, that we have not by us the Genuine pieces of those Ancient Writers; that we cannot be certain of their Doctrine, and the Histories which they relate; and that their Versions are not to be credited? This is what no Man of Sense would venture to assert. Why then would the Infidels make use of such an Argument to weaken the Authority of the sacred Books? Why should this be a stumbling block to the Ignorant?

But now let us enter into the particulars of the Varieties that might have crept into the Text or into the Version, according to those Sources and Causes that we have already observ'd.

1. In the first place it may be asserted, that there are not at present either in the Greek Text or in the Version any Alterations or Additions that were taken from Heretical and Apocryphal Gospels. These have been struck out of our Texts and Version, and are not to be met with in any Greek Copies, unless in the *Cambridge* Manuscript.

2. There are but some few passages either in the Greek Text or in the Vulgar Latin, that can be said to have been changed or added, in order to render the Text more conformable to the Analogy of Faith: and there are but very few, where, that is left in one Evangelist, which had been added to it from the Gospel of another.

3. Saint *Jerome* has reform'd in the Vulgar Version that Confusion which was in the Latin Copies.

### Chap. III. of the Old and New Testament. III

4. If there be any other Instances of this Nature in the Greek Copies, they are very rare, and such as may be easily discover'd.

5. The Alterations made either to supply or to illustrate the Text, do not commonly alter the Sense, no more than the Corrections made of the Old Testament.

6. There are therefore only such Alterations as have been made in the Greek Text, by some bold Criticks, that are of any Consideration. It must be own'd, that there are some such as those in the Text; but there are Rules to discover them.

7. As to the Varieties that have happen'd through the fault of the Copiers (with respect to the Original Text) there are but some few Additions of the *Scholia* inserted into the Text, besides that Addition at the end of the Lord's Prayer, which is in the Greek Text of Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 6. Vers. 13. and runs thus; *ἡ δὲ ἐξουσία καὶ ἡ δόξα αἰὲς αἰῶνας. For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power and the Glory, for ever and ever, Amen.*

8. Besides these, there were other more frequent Faults, but which rarely alter'd the Sense, and are easily discoverable; such as the Repetitions, Alterations or Omissions of Words.

These are the Heads to which all the Varieties and Faults of the Greek Text may reduc'd.

As to the particular differences between the vulgar Version and the Original Text, they are either such as affect the Words or the Matters.

By the Varieties in Words I mean, when the Interpreter has illustrated, paraphrased or explain'd the Text too largely; but these ought not to be look'd upon as real differences.

The Differences that affect the subject matter are either Additions and Omissions, or Contradictions. The Additions or Omissions do not affect the Sense. 'Tis true, there must upon these occasions needs be something added or omitted in the Version or in the Text: but this Addition or Omission makes no Alteration as to the Truth of the Doctrine or the History.

As to the Contradictions, they are either seeming or real: The seeming are such as may be easily adjusted: but the real are such as necessarily imply a fault in the Text or in the Version. There are but few of these last sorts of Differences between the Text and the Version; and when there are any such, tho' we ought always to prefer the Text before the Version, yet because the Text may have been corrupted, and the Greek Copies do often vary from one another, the Difference ought to be examin'd by the Rules of Criticism, and to prefer that which (all things consider'd) seems to have the greatest Tokens and Characters of Truth.

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#### SECT. VI.

*Principles and Rules whereby to judge which of the different Lections ought to be follow'd, and When the Greek Text ought to be preferr'd before the Vulgar Latin, or the Vulgar before the Greek.*

THE Principles by which one may discover which of the different Lections of the Greek Text ought to have the preference, and whether one had best follow the Greek Original, or the Vulgar Version, when there is any Contrariety between them, may be reduc'd to these four Heads. (1.) Reason: (2.) The Testimonies of the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers both Greeks and Latins: (3.) The Greek and Latin Manuscripts. And (4.) the Versions, viz.



the Old and New Vulgar, and the Oriental Versions. Every Body will allow of these Principles, 'tis requisite to lay down some Rules for the Application of them.

I. Reason or Criticism is certainly of very great Use to discover, among several Lectons, which is the truest.

For (1.) There are some Faults which are very visible, such as the leaving out of a Word which takes away from the Sense; Repetitions of the same Word, some Letters put one for another, one Person for another, and one Number for another. A very little insight into the Greek is sufficient for the discovery of these Faults; nor are they to be reckoned among the various Readings. However there are a great many of that Nature in the Greek Manuscripts which we have mention'd.

2. Reason discovers to us (when there are any differences, either in the Greek Copies, or between the Greek and the vulgar Latin) which of the two Readings agrees best with that which goes before and comes after; and then no question that is to be preferred, which makes the best Sense. But here one ought to be very cautious that one is not deceiv'd, and rightly to discern whether the Sense one thinks to be the most proper and natural, be really so or no, and whether there are not other Reasons to turn the Scale on the other side. Additions are discovered, when that which is redundant interrupts; and Omissions, when that which is left out renders the Sense imperfect. When of two different Words, the one is good, and the other bad Sense, the former is to be adhered to: and when they are both good Sense, then recourse ought to be had to the following Rules, to the Fathers and Manuscripts.

3. We ought to consider which of the two faults might most easily have crept in, and in which of the two Languages it might have done so. Whether it be not a mistake that might have happen'd through the carelessness or inadvertency of the Interpreter: and whether the Copier might not have more easily been mistaken in the Latin, than in the Greek.

4. If it be such a Difference as was done designedly, we ought to enquire what might have been the Occasion why these rash Criticks have made such improper Corrections: what Reason or Motive they might have had to induce them to make that Alteration: Whether it be an Addition or Omission made to render it more conformable to another Evangelist: And whether it be any thing which seem'd absurd or obscure, and which they were willing to alter to render the Sense more clear and softer.

II. The Testimony of the ancient Ecclesiastical Writers, both Greeks and Latins, is of great weight to find out the true Reading. There is no question, but that as they lived nearer to the Times wherein those Books were penn'd, they had the purest Copies of them: The passages which they cite out of the Scriptures, do shew how in their times the Copies were read. 'Tis true it might so happen that the Copiers, or those who have printed their Works, may have alter'd some places reforming them according to the Copies of their own time, but that is not very usual. In the Latin Fathers the very expressions of the Passages which they cite are still preserved. Now whether they themselves translated them from the Greek, or whether they took them from the common receiv'd Version of their Times, yet still 'tis a manifest proof of the manner wherein they were read. There are likewise in the Greek Commentators several varieties to be met with in the Citations, which inform us that they have not alter'd them. This principle therefore is the best and surest of any with respect to the matter in Hand: The Application of it is as follows,

1. When the Ancient Writers, both Greeks and Latins, are agreed as to such or such a Reading, That ought to be follow'd; at least if there be no stronger Reasons to be assign'd for the contrary Reading: No matter whether the Reading authoriz'd by the Ancients doth agree with most of the Greek Copies or not, or whether it be in the Greek Original, or in the Latin Version:

For

For the Authority of the Ancient Fathers, is to be preferred to all the succeeding Manuscripts.

2. When the Greek Fathers are for one Reading, and the Latins declare unanimously for another; that of the Greek ought to be preferred, especially if it be in the most correct Greek Copies. For the Ancient Version of the Latin Fathers having been full of Faults, we must lay no great stress upon it; and the Vulgar Version being posterior to the first Greek Fathers, and to the Copies which they who liv'd in Saint *Jerome's* time made use of, it ought not to be preferred to the Greek Text of that Time.

3. If some of the Greek Fathers read after this manner, and others after that, recourse must be had to other Rules, and to other helps for the discovering of the Truth; always giving the preference as far as possible to the most Ancient, above the Modern.

III. The Greek and Latin Manuscripts are of much less Authority than the Fathers, for none of 'em is so ancient as the first Fathers; the most ancient, which are only a few, being not above a thousand Years old or thereabouts. However they are worthy of some Consideration, and are of great use to correct the Text, especially when there is any disagreement between the Fathers, or when we cannot meet with any Citations in their Works, to give us any Light whereby to determine our selves. I make no scruple, but that if all the Greek Copies, or the greatest part of them, and those the best, were for such or such a Reading, it ought to be preferred, (unless there was some other reason to the contrary,) before that Lesson which is authorized by the Latin Fathers and the Vulgar Version. When there is any difference between the Manuscripts, in such a case the most ancient and the most correct ought to be followed: When there are but a few Greek Manuscripts which favour the Lesson of the Vulgar Version, then that Reading ought to be preferred which is authorized by the most and best Manuscripts. There are a great many Differences in the Vulgar, authorized by some Greek Manuscripts, but some there be that are not founded upon any one Greek Manuscript; and others, that have only One, or Two, or Three, or Four Manuscripts to support them. There are likewise some few which are authorized by a great number of Greek Manuscripts, so that if we have no other stronger Reason to incline us to follow the Vulgar Version, we ought not to do it.

IV. The Versions are the most uncertain Principle that can be, to discover the true Reading of the New Testament. For the old Vulgar Latin Version was full of Faults; as Saint *Jerome* has observ'd, and that Father was oblig'd to correct it from the Greek Text. And yet this very reform'd Version is not free from Faults. Among the *Oriental* Versions, none but the *Syriac* is considerable, all the rest being made from that. It may indeed be of some use, but no great stress ought to be laid upon it. The *English-Saxon* is made from the ancient Vulgar Latin. In short, the ordinary Rule is not to reform the Original by the Versions, but the Versions by the Original. Yet some uses may be made of the Versions, such as follow: If the old Vulgar Version and the *Oriental* Versions are conformable to the Greek Text, or to such or such a Lesson of the Greek Text, this adds some weight to that Reading: If 'tis found that Saint *Jerome* has read, as it was in the Greek Copies, and not as it was in the Vulgar Latin; 'tis a proof that the Greek Text was not corrupted, but that the Fault was rather in the Version: If the Vulgar on the contrary be found to be conformable to the other Versions, and to the Citations of the ancient Greek Fathers, tho' it differs from most of the Greek Copies which we have at present, yet no scruple ought to be made of preferring it before the Vulgar Greek Text. These are the Rules, of which 'tis no hard matter to make the Application, whereby to discover, which of the various Lessons of the Greek Copies ought to be followed, and when one ought to prefer the Greek before the Vulgar, or the Vulgar before the Greek.

## S E C T. VII.

*Of the Hellenistical Language.*

**T**Hough the Question concerning the *Hellenistical Language* is grown famous by the Name and Reputation of those great Men that have handled it; yet we may venture to say, that nothing is easier than to resolve what Opinion ought to be had about it, and to put an end to all the disputes that have with so much Heat been carry'd on upon this Subject. There is mention made in the beginning of the Sixth Chapter of the *Acts* of the Apostles, of a murmuring which arose between the *Grecians* (*Hellenists* according to the Original) and the *Hebrews*, because the Widows of the former were neglected in the daily ministrations of Alms: Now both these were certainly Converted *Jews*, since the Gospel had not as yet been preach'd to any of the *Gentiles*. Mention is likewise made of the *Hellenistical Jews* (*Grecians*) against whom Saint Paul disputed, *Acts* 9. Verse 29. and so Saint Chrysostome, Theodoret, and Oecumenius observe, that the *Hellenists* and the *Hebrews*, were two sorts of *Jews*. The former are call'd *Hellenists*, because they spoke Greek and the others *Hebrews*, because they spoke the *Hebrew* or *Chaldee* Language. The former were dispers'd in the Cities of *Greece*, *Syria*, *Asia* and *Egypt*, and others dwelt at *Jerusalem*, or in *Palestine* and at *Babylon*, where the *Chaldee* was still spoken.

From hence arose the name of the *Hellenistical Language*. Yet properly speaking it cannot be said that the Language of the *Hellenistical Jews* was spoken. For some there were who spoke good Greek, and yet were very little vers'd in the *Hebrew* or *Syriac* Language. But those among them who more sedulously apply'd themselves to the study of the *Hebrew Bible*, us'd themselves to the Turn of the *Hebrew* Idiom, and follow'd it; especially in the Versions or Explications of the Sacred Books written in *Hebrew*; and the *Hebrew Jews* who were skill'd in Greek retain'd still the ways of speaking in their natural Language: Therefore both the One and the other fell into *Hebraisms*, whenever they spoke or writ in Greek. 'Tis to this Greek mix'd with *Hebrew* Idioms, that some have given the name of the *Hellenistical Language*. The Seventy were the first who inserted those *Hebraisms* into their Version, being minded to speak as *Hebrews*. The Evangelists and Apostles who were all of them *Hebrews*, except Saint Luke who was an *Hellenist*, have likewise made use of a great many of those *Hebrew* Phrases, which were either Natural or Customary to them. There are such sorts of *Hebraisms* in the *Jewish Books* written in all kinds of Languages.

So that in short, here lyes the whole mystery of the *Hellenistical Language*, which in truth is not a distinct Language, nor so much as the particular Dialect of one, but only Greek mix'd with *Hebraisms*, *Chaldaisms*, *Syriacisms*. Now there is no question to be made but that there are several of them in the New Testament, therefore it may be said that it was penn'd in the *Hellenistical Language*. All the occasional questions that have been rais'd on this Subject, signify nothing towards the deciding of the principal Question, which properly speaking is a trifling Question about a Term only, tho' it may be of some use for the better understanding the Text of the New Testament, to take notice of the *Hebraisms* that occur therein.



C H A P. IV.

Of the Versions of the New Testament.

S E C T. I.

Of the Latin Versions of the New Testament: Of the Ancient Vulgar, the New Vulgar, and the Modern Versions.

THE reading of the New as well as of the Old Testament, being necessary for all Christians, both in general and particular, it cannot be question'd, but that, at the very beginning of the Establishment of the *Western Churches*, it was translated and read commonly in Latin in all the Latin Churches. But whereas the Greek was very common, several took upon them to translate it, or to add to or alter the Versions already made. This multiplicity and variety of Latin Versions of the Holy Scriptures, was, according to Saint *Jerome's*, and Saint *Augustine's* attestation, much greater in the New than in the Old Testament; as is apparent from that Variety to be seen in the ancient Latin Fathers, and in the ancient Latin Copies. It cannot therefore be doubted but that there was one Version more commonly us'd than the rest, call'd the *Italian*, or the *Vulgar*: But the Copies of this very Version were, and still are so different, that they may pass for almost so many distinct Versions.

Father *Martinay* has furnish'd us with an Instance of this, in the Gospel according to Saint *Matthew*, which he has given us lately from two Manuscripts of eight hundred Years standing: for there is almost as much difference between these two Manuscripts as there is between two distinct Versions; and if one compares them with the Version of the *Cambridge Manuscript*, and with the Citations of the Ancient Fathers, one shall meet with a great many Varieties throughout. If likewise one should compare the Latin Version of the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, which is in Manuscript in the *French King's Library*, and in the Library of the Abbey of Saint *Germain des Prez*, with the Text that is in the Commentaries of *Ambrosiastres* and *Pelagius*, we shall find a great deal of difference between them.

Saint *Jerome* did not undertake to make a New Version of the New Testament, but only to reform the Old one by the *Greek Text*: *Novum Testamentum Græcæ fidei reddidi*, (says he in the Catalogue of his Works: ) which in general comprehends not only the Gospels, but also the other Books of the New Testament. He likewise cites in his Epistle to *Marcellus*, the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, when he speaks of his new Edition of the New Testament. In his Letter to Pope *Damasus*, which we have already related, he explains more at large after what manner he has made his Correction. He only corrected the Places which made any difference in the Sense, that he might not absolutely change the Text of the *Vulgar Latin*; tho' in his Commentaries on the New Testament, he has taken notice of several Faults which were in the Ancient Vulgar.

'Tis certain that the *Vulgar Latin Version*, at present, is very different from the Ancient *Italian*, and that therein are to be found most of the Things which Saint *Jerome* had reform'd in the *Vulgar Version* of his Time. However, it must be own'd, That in Saint *Jerome's* Commentaries there are several Passages, which that Father would have to be read otherwise than they are in the *Vulgar Latin*. Which has induc'd some to believe, that the *Vulgar* was not the same Version which was reform'd by Saint *Jerome*, but the Work of another Author.

This Opinion might have had some shew of Probability, had there been any other Author since Saint *Jerome*, who had undertaken such a Task, but this would be somewhat hard to prove. How comes it then that the *Vulgar Latin*, in present Use, is not entirely conformable to the Version which Saint *Jerome* thought fit to correct? For this, Two plain Reasons may be assign'd.

1. First, That Saint *Jerome* did not correct all the Places which he thought deserv'd to be corrected; and this either through Inadvertence; or else he left them uncorrected on purpose, that he might not introduce too great an Alteration into the Text.

2. Secondly, This might be occasioned through the Carelessness of the Copiers of Saint *Jerome's* Version, and thro' that Liberty which the Correctors took to reform it. 'Tis from hence that so many Varieties have proceeded in the Copies and Editions of the *Vulgar Latin*.

Saint *Jerome's* Correction of the Text of the New Testament met with several Opposers, but not with so many as his New Version of the Old Testament. Saint *Augustin*, who at first did not approve of this latter, yet highly commended the other Undertaking. For in his Letter written to Saint *Jerome*, wherein he blames his New Version of the *Hebrew* Text, which is the Seventieth Letter in the last Edition, he uses these Expressions: "We return God our hearty Thanks for your Translation of the Gospel, written in *Greek*: because there is nothing in it which offends us when we have compar'd it with the *Greek*: and should any in Opposition hereto stand up for the Ancient Falsity, he would easily be better inform'd or refuted, when the Manuscripts should be shewn him. If there is any thing to hinder this so useful a Work from being commended according to its just desert, it must be a Man, who is so very stiff as not to pardon the Errors that are therein. Saint *Augustin* himself has to some good purpose made use of the Version as 'tis reform'd by Saint *Jerome*.

However, the Ancient *Vulgar* continu'd still for some time to be generally us'd in the Churches. But by degrees it was regulated according to Saint *Jerome's* Version; and at last that Father's Version is become not only the most common, but also the only One in use, as well with respect to the New, as to the Old Testament. This has not prevented some particular Persons in these last Times, from undertaking either to make new *Latin* Versions of the New Testament, or to reform the *Vulgar* by the *Greek* Text.

*Laurentius Valla* was the first who conceiv'd such a Design, and had put it in execution, had not the Pope put a stop thereto. He only made some Critical Remarks on the Ancient Interpreter; wherein he noted the places, where he thought that the Interpreter had not render'd the Propriety of the Words, nor follow'd the Sense, or had made use of Barbarous Terms.

*James Le Févre d'Estaples*, compos'd a New Version of the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, which he caus'd to be Printed on the Side of the *Vulgar*, with his Commentaries, at *Paris*, 1531. He was set upon for this Version by *Lopez Stunica*.

But *Erasmus* was the first, who undertook a new *Latin* Version of the whole New Testament, and has done it with Success. He dedicated it to Pope *Leo X.* and caus'd it to be printed at *Basil*, in the Year 1516. He revis'd it afterwards, and printedit again in the Year 1518. with a Bull of *Leo X.* in commendation of his Version.

How severe soever the *Inquisition* is, especially upon the Account of the Books of Authors who are otherwise suspected, yet It found no fault with the Version of *Erasmus*, as is observ'd in the Preface of the New Testament, printed at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1616. with the Licence of the Superiors, whose Title runs thus; *Novum Jesu Christi Testamentum complectens præter Vulgatam Guidonis à Syriaco, & Benedicti Aræ Montani Translationes, insuper Desiderii Erasmi Auctoris damnati Versionem permissam.*

The *Censor Librorum*, in the Preface before the Version of *Erasmus*, call'd in the Title above-mention'd, *Auctoris damnati Versionem permissam*, The Allow'd Ver-

sion

## Chap. IV. of the Old and New Testament. 117

tion of a condemn'd Author; hath these Words: "Nothing hinders us from seriously recommending the Version of *Erasmus* of *Rotterdam*; Would to God we could say as much of his other Books.—As for this Version, it has been esteem'd so excellent by all the Learned, that the General Inquisition of *Spain* has found nothing therein that ought to be corrected, or struck out: and tho' it interdicts all the Books of the Authors of the First Class, yet it allows that this Version of *Erasmus* of the New Testament, should be in every Body's Hands, calling it, The Allow'd Version of a condemn'd Author. This Cenfor adds, That four Famous Doctors of Divinity, whom he there names, have pass'd the same Judgment upon it.

But notwithstanding the Pope's Approbation, yet *Erasmus* had very violent Adversaries to engage with. *Stunica* and *Sutor* wrote very sharply against him, and he was oblig'd to reply to them. Tho' it cannot be said that his Version is exempt from Faults; yet it must be own'd that 'tis a very neat Work.

*Pagninus* has annex'd to his Version of the Old Testament from the *Hebrew*, a Version of the New Testament from the *Greek*. It were well if his Version equall'd that of *Erasmus*. 'Tis to be found in the Bible of *Pagninus*, printed in the Year 1528.

*Arias Montanus* made an Interlineary and Literal Version, which can hardly be of any use, but to those who would understand the *Greek*.

The Version of *Leo Judas* is more Elegant and freer, but yet is not very exact.

As for *Sebastian Castallio's* Version, we shall add nothing to what we have already said of the Character of that Author's Translation, which does not at all suit with a Version of the Holy Scriptures.

The Translation of *Theodore Beza*, is that which the *Protestants* esteem most. It must be own'd that there is a great deal of Learning in *Beza's* Work; tho' he has affected sometimes to make use of certain unusual Terms, and to abstain from others, which Custom has, as it were, consecrated. His withdrawing from the Church of *Rome*, and the Heresy wherein he was engag'd, may make the *Romanists* to suspect him: but for all this, his Version may (says *Du Pin*) be made use of by them to good purpose, as *Origen*, *Saint Jerome*, and several other Ecclesiastical Writers, formerly made use of the Versions of *Theodotion*, *Aquila*, and *Symmachus*, who were Judaizing Hereticks; tho' they were suspected (as *Saint Jerome* observes in his Preface to *Job*) to have render'd the Mysteries of **JESUS CHRIST** obscure.

*John Piscator* has copy'd *Beza's* Version, tho' he has alter'd it in several Places.

The Modern *Roman Catholics* do not trouble their Heads in making New Versions of the New Testament, but only stick to the use of the *Vulgar*, which is declar'd Authentic by the Council of *Trent*. But for all that, they have set down in their Notes and Commentaries, the Various Lectons of the *Greek*, and the Faults which they suppos'd to have found out in the *Vulgar Latin*.

### S E C T. II.

#### Of the Oriental Versions of the New Testament.

OF all the *Oriental* Versions of the New Testament, the *Syriac*, doubtless, is the most ancient. However, 'tis not so old as some have imagin'd. I suppose no body will aver that it is *Saint Mark's*, as the *Syrians* do assert. We have reason likewise to doubt whether it be more ancient, than the Fifth or Sixth Century. For there we meet with the Addition to the Lord's Prayer, which is in the Liturgy of the *Greeks*; and where there is mention made of Breaking of Bread, the Word *Eucharist* is put there, instead of *Bread*, which does not fa-



your much of Antiquity. This Version was certainly made from the Greek, tho' there are in some Places such Readings, as differ from the Text of the Vulgar Greek. There is not any mention made in most of the *Syriac* Manuscripts, of the Story concerning the Woman taken in Adultery; but the *English* have supply'd it from a Manuscript of Archbishop *Usher*. That Passage about the *Trinity*, in the First Epistle of Saint *John*, is left out; and *Tremellius* was the first who insert'd it, by translating it from the Greek into *Syriac*. Most of the Manuscripts have likewise only the Three General Epistles. Doctor *Pocock* was the first that caus'd to be printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1630. the other Four in *Syriac*, from a Manuscript in *England*. The *Apocalypse* was publish'd by *Ludovicus de Dieu*, in the Year 1627. The First Edition of the New Testament in *Syriac* is that of *Albertus Widmanstadius*, from a Manuscript brought by a Priest from *Merdin* and sent by *Ignatius* the Patriarch of the *Jacobines*. It first appear'd publick at *Vienna*, in the Year 1562. *Tremellius* put out a Second Edition of it, but in *Hebrew* Characters, and publish'd it with a Latin Version at *Geneva*, in the Year 1569. It was insert'd in the *Polyglott Bible* of *Philip II.* printed at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1571. in *Hebrew* and *Syriac* Characters, by the care of *M. Le Févre de la Boderie*, who caus'd another Edition of it to be made in *Hebrew* Characters at *Paris*, in the Year 1584. *Martin Trostius*, in the Year 1621, printed a New Edition of the *Syriac* New Testament in *Syriac* Characters, with a Latin Interpretation at the Bottom of the Pages. Lastly, *Giles Gurbini* publish'd it in smaller Characters at *Hamburgh*, in the Year 1663.

The *Arabic* Versions of the New Testament, are not so Ancient and Correct. *Erpenius* has furnish'd us with one of the whole New Testament, from a Manuscript written by a *Coptic*, in the Year 1171. which was printed at *Leyden*, in the Year 1616. There is likewise another *Arabic* Version of the Gospels, printed at *Rome* with a Latin Version, in the Year 1591. which *Gabriel Sionita* has insert'd into the *Polyglotts* of *Paris*. All these Versions were made from the *Coptic* or *Syriac*, and not from the Greek.

The *Aethiopic* Version of the New Testament, was likewise made from the *Syriac*. The Four Gospels, the *Apocalypse*, the Seven Canonical Epistles, the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, were printed at *Rome*, in the Year 1548. Afterwards were printed the other Thirteen Epistles of Saint *Paul*. The Author of these Editions is call'd *Tesphasion*, a Monk of Mount *Lebanus*, who was assist'd therein by *Gualterus Aretinus*, and *Marianus Victorinus*. Their *Aethiopic* Copy being imperfect, they supply'd several things from the Latin, especially in the Acts of the Apostles. 'Tis this Version which is in Mr. *Walton's English Polyglott*.

We have not any Edition of the New Testament in the *Coptic*; tho' there are some Manuscripts thereof in the *French King's Library*. There are two Versions of the New Testament, printed in the *Persian*: One of a Modern date, publish'd by *Abraham Weloque*, and printed at *London*; and the Other more ancient was publish'd in the *English Polyglott*, from a Manuscript in the 1341. This Version was made from the *Syriac*, and is full of Paraphrases and Expositions.

*Uscanius* printed a New Testament in the *Armenian* Language at *Amsterdam*, An. Dom. 1644.

The *Anglo-Saxon*, or Ancient *Gothic* Version publish'd by *M. Marechal*, and printed at *Dort*, in the Year 1665. is made, as we have already observ'd, from the Ancient Vulgar Version, and therein one may see the Additions, which are in the *Cambridge Manuscript*.

The *Muscovites* have a New Testament in their Language, printed at *Ostrov*, in the 1581.

The Version of the New Testament into the Vulgar Greek, by *Maximus*, and printed at *Geneva*, in the Year 1638. is of no Authority [among the *Roman Catholics*] being made by a Man gain'd over to the *Calvinist* Party, and at their Instigation. As to the Versions of the New Testament in the Vulgar Language, we have nothing to add to what we have already said concerning them, in the First Part of this Work.

CHAP. V.

Of the Division of the New Testament into Titles and Chapters.

THE Division of the Four Gospels into Parts, or Sections, is more ancient than that of the other Books of the Bible. *Eusebius* in his Letter to *Carpianus*, and in his Ten Canons of the Gospels, made use of small Sections, wherein he set down by how many Evangelists, and in what Places, one and the same thing was related. This doubtless was the Origine of the Division of the Gospels into Sections, or small Chapters, which were noted in the Margent, that so the Canon might be of some Use. Saint *Epiphanius* and *Casareus*, Brother to Saint *Gregory Nazianzene*, make mention of these Sections of the Gospels, according to *Eusebius's* Division, into Eleven hundred and seventy two.

But besides this Division of the Gospels, there was another made into larger Parts, call'd Titles; because at the Head of each Book were set down the Arguments of each of its Parts, whose Distinction was noted in the Margent, by the same Head, which answer'd to what was in the Table. These Titles are of longer standing among the Latins, than among the Greeks.

Saint *Jerome*, speaking of the Commentaries on the Gospels, which were compos'd by *Fortunatianus* of *Africa*, Bishop of *Aquileia*, who flourish'd under *Constantine*, says, that they had Titles: His Words are, *Fortunatianus natione Afer, Aquileiensis Episcopus, Imperante Constantino in Evangelia Titulis ordinatis, brevi & rustico sermone scripsit Commentarios.*

Those Titles are likewise to be seen, in the Commentaries of Saint *Hilary* on Saint *Matthew*, divided into Canons, or Chapters. *Juvenius* has likewise observ'd the same Division of the Gospel: But these Divisions of the Latins are not uniform.

Saint *Jerome* did not make use of these Titles or Chapters; and in his Reform'd Version, has follow'd *Eusebius's* Division into Sections. But tho' these Titles were not Saint *Jerome's*; and tho' he did not keep to them, yet since they were common in the Copies of the Ancient Vulgar, they have been retain'd in the Copies of Saint *Jerome's* Version.

The Greeks have likewise since allowed of these Divisions into Titles, as *Suidas* has observ'd. Their Titles differ'd from the Chapters, in that the former contain'd more in them than the latter. Saint *Matthew* was divided into 68 Titles, and 355 small Chapters. Saint *Mark* into 49 Titles, and 236 small Chapters. Saint *Luke* into 83 Titles, and 342 small Chapters. Saint *John* into 18 Titles, and 232 small Chapters.

In the Manuscript of *Alexandria*, or *Thecla's* Manuscript, the Gospels are divided into Titles or Chapters, *κεφαλαια*, and subdivided into Sections *σικαι*, agreeable to the Canons of *Eusebius*.

The *Vatican* Manuscript is not divided after the same manner, but has only in the Margent Red Titles, which make several Sections, tho' not separated; and are different from those of *Eusebius's* Canons: for the Gospel of Saint *Matthew* has 150 of them. That of Saint *Mark* 62. That of Saint *Luke* 152. That of Saint *John* 80. The Epistle of Saint *James* 9. the First Epistle of Saint *Peter* 8. The First of Saint *John* 11. The Fourteen Epistles of Saint *Paul*, which are all under the same running Title, 93 in all. This Division is only peculiar to this Manuscript, and the other is more common in the rest of the Greek Manuscripts.

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At first, the Gospels only were divided into Sections, which was requisite in order to make a Concordance of the Four Evangelists. But afterwards the same thing was done with respect to the other Books of the New Testament. Let us see what an Author lately publish'd by *Alexander Zacagnius*, the *Vatican Library-Keeper*, says on this Subject. The Author is one *Euthalius*, a Bishop in *Egypt*, who liv'd in the Fifth Century, and made an Edition of the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, and the other Canonical Epistles. This *Euthalius*, in the Preface of that Work, says, That the Division of St. *Paul's* Epistles into Chapters, had been made under the Fourth Consulship of *Arcadius*, and the Third of *Honorius*, (that is, in the Year 396.) by a *Syrian*, whose Name is unknown. *Euthalius* made use of that Division in his Edition of Saint *Paul's* Epistles, and divided himself the Acts of the Apostles. He was but young when he finish'd that Work. But afterwards, about the latter end of his Life, he undertook likewise to divide the Canonical Epistles, at the Instance of *Athanasius*, Archbishop of *Alexandria*, who succeeded *Peter Mongus* in the See of that Church, *An. Dom.* 490. These two Pieces were publish'd by *Zacagnius*, in the Year 1698. with several other Remains of Antiquity, taken out of the *Vatican Library*. This Division was afterwards receiv'd by the *Greeks*; and 'tis that which *Oecumenicus* made use of.

At last, the Text of the New, as well as that of the Old Testament, was divided into Verses. *Hesychius* is the Author of that Division among the *Greeks*. The Manuscripts of the Ancient Vulgar, are likewise divided into Verses, as well as the Manuscripts of Saint *Jerome's* Version, and the Greek Manuscripts which are of a more Modern Date. Father *Martinay* has publish'd a Table, giving us an Account how many Verses each Book contains, according to the different Divisions; which are not so wide from one another, as those of the Books of the Old Testament.

The present Division of the New Testament into Chapters, is owing to Cardinal *Hugh*; and the Distinguishing each Chapter into Verses, was done by *Robert Stephens*, who has follow'd that of the Greek Manuscripts, when he found them divided into Verses.

## CHAP. VI.

### *Of the Apocryphal Books of the New Testament.*

THE *Apocryphal* Books of the New Testament, are of two sorts: Some of them are the Works of Orthodox Writers, and have nothing of harm in them: others are Writings forg'd by Hereticks, to Authorize their Errors.

The First sort, are either such Pieces as are Father'd upon Authors, who never wrote them: As for Instance, the Letter of *Jesus Christ* to King *Agbarus*, or *Abgarus*: Or Anonymous Tracts, such as the Gospels according to the *Hebrews* and the *Egyptians*,: Or lastly, such Writings which do indeed belong to those Authors, whose Names they bear, but have not been own'd as Canonical by the Church, tho' some have believ'd them to be such: As for Instance, the Epistle of *Barnabas*, the Pastor of *Hermas*, and the First Epistle of Saint *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, which some of the Ancients have cited as Books of the Holy Scripture.



SECT. I.

Of the Letter of Jesus Christ to King Agbarus, and of that King's Letter to Jesus Christ.

**A**Mong all the Remains of Antiquity which ought to be inserted into the Number of the Canonical Books, if they were that Author's to whom they are inscribed, none certainly could more fairly pretend to it than the Letter of Jesus Christ to King *Agbarus*, if we were sure that he wrote it. For as no Person can question the Certainty and Truth of what He has said or written, (the Doctrine and Writings of the Apostles being only infallible, because of the Instructions they receiv'd from their great Master) in what Veneration ought a Letter written by himself to be held among Christians, were we certain that it was really His? But we are so far from being assur'd of this, that on the contrary 'tis highly probable that 'tis a Spurious piece, and such as deserves no manner of Credit. The Account we shall give of it is as follows.

*Eusebius* in the 13th. Ch. of the 1st. B. of his Ecclesiastical History relates, That a King of *Edeffa* (a) nam'd *Agbarus*, (b) having heard of the Miracles of Jesus Christ, wrote a Letter to him desiring him to cure him of a Distemper with which he was afflicted: That Jesus Christ at the present did not comply with his Desire, but only wrote him a Letter, wherein he promised to send him one of his Disciples to cure him; and lastly, that the Apostle Saint *Thomas* immediately after our Saviour's Resurrection, sent to him *Thaddens* one of the seventy two Disciples, who fulfill'd the promise which our Saviour had made of healing him, and converted both him and his Family.

This story *Eusebius* founds on the Letters of Jesus Christ and *Agbarus*, taken out of the Archives of the Church of *Edeffa*, which he says were translated from the *Syriac* into *Greek*. However 'tis probable, that *Eusebius* was too hasty in crediting the Memoirs which had been given him; That those Letters are spurious, and that this whole story is mere invention.

For in the first place who can imagine that the King of *Edeffa* upon the bare recital that was made of the Miracles of Jesus Christ, should have spoken to him as a Man that was perswaded of his Divinity, and instructed in his Religion? "Having heard (says he) of the Miracles which thou hast wrought, I am fully perswaded that thou art God. Who does not perceive that these Words could never have been written by any, unless one convinc'd of, and instructed in Christianity, who makes *Agbarus* to speak almost in the same style as he would speak himself? What is afterwards put into that King's Mouth, when he says (That having understood that the *Jews* calumniated him, and design'd to do him some mischief, he invited him into his City, which tho' small, yet was big enough for both of them) This, I say is a farther proof of the Falsity of this Letter. For who will believe that a King should at the first touch offer half of his Kingdom to a Man that was a stranger to him?

'Tis as easie to discover the spuriousness of the Letter attributed to Jesus Christ; which begins thus. "Thou art happy, *Agbarus*, in having believed in me whom thou hast never seen: for it is written of me, that those who shall see me, shall not believe in me, that those who believe in me, without seeing me should receive everlasting Life. Where are these words written? Is it not

(a) *Edeffa*.] A famous City, situated beyond *Euphrates*, between *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*.  
(b) Nam'd *Agbarus*.] Others read it *Abgarus*, and so that Name is in some ancient Medals. In the most correct Manuscripts 'tis *Agbarus*, and this suits best with the *Arabic*.

plain, that he who compil'd this Letter alludes to what our Saviour said to *St. Thomas*, *Happy are those who have not seen me, and yet have believ'd?* Words that were not spoken by *Jesus Christ* till after his Resurrection, and which were not penn'd till a great while after, which manifestly detects the forgery of this Letter.

The story which is told upon these two Letters, and taken out of the same Archives, is no less fabulous. 'Tis said that the Apostle *Jude* (c) who also was call'd *Thomas*, sent the Apostle *Thaddæus*, one of the seventy Disciples to *Agbarus*: That this King having heard that there was a Man in his City who wrought a great many Miracles, and supposing that it was the Disciple whom *Jesus Christ* had promis'd to send him, he sent for him by one *Tobias*; and that he no sooner saw him, but his face appearing to be divine, he fell down at his Feet and worshipped him, and ask'd him whether he was not that Disciple whom *Jesus Christ* had promis'd to send to cure him. *Thaddæus* having answer'd that he was the Man, and that if he believ'd in *Jesus Christ*, he should be sav'd; to this *Agbarus* reply'd: *My Belief in him is so strong, that I would denounce War against the Jews who have crucify'd him, and extirpate their whole Nation, did not the Fear I have of the Roman Empire divert me from that undertaking.* Certainly he who has made this petty Prince of *Edeffa* to say such Words, had but very little Judgment, in attributing to him such an extravagant Design as this was. For what can be more ridiculous than to imagine that the Prince of one single City should engage in a War against a Nation so powerful as that of the *Jews*, and should hope to destroy them to revenge the Death of a Man, whom he knew only by Hear-say? What probability is there that he had nothing but the fear of the *Romans* to divert him from so rash an undertaking? I shall not stand to make Remarks upon the other Circumstances of this Narration, which seem to be as fabulous as those which we have already hinted at. I shall only add, that the Time wherein it is said that these things happen'd, discovers the Imposture of the whole story.

It was noted at the end of these Memoirs, that this happen'd in the 430th. Year of the *Edeffenes*; now that was the 15th. Year of the Reign of *Tiberius*, in which the Ancients believ'd that *Jesus Christ* dyed and rose again. And according to this *Epocha*, and what is related in these Records, this happen'd immediately after the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*; and *Agbarus* and several other Gentiles of *Edeffa*, embrac'd the Gospel before *Cornelius*, which is downright contrary to the Acts of the Apostles: and consequently we are as good as sure that this History is false, and those Letters spurious.

The Authority of *Eusebius* is not of any Consideration in this point; for 'tis plain that he was impos'd upon by the Memoirs taken out of the Archives of the Church of *Edeffa*, and sent to him, which he was too easie in crediting. And who is there but knows that there are abundance of these sorts of Records which are subject to such slips in Histories of that Nature?

But forasmuch as a story (as they say) loses nothing by going, they have since feign'd, that *Jesus Christ* in writing to *Agbarus*, sent him his Picture painted on a Handkerchief. *Evagrius* is the first that makes mention of this Picture in the fourth Book of his History, Chap. 27. and he goes upon the Authority of *Procopius*, who yet says nothing of this History. However since the time of *Evagrius*, the Defenders of Images and Image-Worship have frequently made mention of it: and the Modern Greeks have believ'd it so strongly, that they have instituted a Festival for it on the Sixteenth of *August*.

[c] Apostle *Jude*.] *Thomas* the Apostle was never call'd *Thomas*: which is another proof not Sir-named *Jude*, but *Didymus*; and *Jude* of the Falsity of this History.

SECT. II.

*Of several Letters attributed to the Virgin-Mary.*

SOME have likewise attributed several Letters to the Virgin-Mary, the which not being so Ancient as those of *Jesus Christ to Agbarus*, may more easily be convicted of falshood. The Letter of the Virgin to *St. Ignatius* is spurious, as we shall shew when we come to speak of the Letters of that Saint. That to the *Florentines* publish'd by *Canisius*, and That which the Inhabitants of *Messina* brag that they have, have greater signs of fallity, and are rejected by all the World, so that there is no need to prove them spurious.

SECT. III.

*Of the Ancient Gospels which are not Heretical, tho' they be not Canonical: Namely, the Gospels according to the Hebrews, and according to the Egyptians.*

THE Ancients make mention of two Gospels which were not of the same Authority as the four Canonical Gospels, but which one cannot reject as Records invented by the Hereticks, to authorize their Errors.

The first and most ancient is the Gospel of the *Nazarenes*, concerning which we have nothing farther to add, to what we have already observed about it in speaking of Saint *Matthew's* Gospel.

The Second is the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, cited by Saint *Clement* of *Alexandria* in the third Book of his *Stromata*, where two passages taken out of that Gospel are recited. The first containing the Speech of our Saviour to *Salome*: *I am come to destroy the Works of the Woman*; that is, according to Saint *Clement's* Explication; *Child-bearing and Death, which are the Effects of Concupiscence.*

The other passage was cited by the Heretick *Cassian* of the Sect of *Valentinus*, who has quoted it in these Terms: "*Salome* demanding when one should know the things about which she had interrogated our Lord, he told her: *When you have divested your selves of all Shame, and when two shall be made one, the Man with the Woman, and when there shall be no more either Male or Female*". This is plainly a corrupt Paraphrase or Imitation of what our Saviour says in Saint *Matthew*, Chap. 22. Verse 30. *That after the Resurrection there should be no more Marrying, nor giving in Marriage, but that they should be as the Angels in Heaven.*

The passage of the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, if taken in this Sense, may be tolerable; but *Cassian* made use of it to condemn Marriage. For this reason Saint *Clement* after he had return'd him this Answer: That this Sentence is not to be met with in the four Gospels, which Tradition has handed down to us, but only in the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*; gives us afterwards an obscure and forc'd Explication of it, which would not be satisfactory, were that Gospel of any Authority.



Saint Epiphanius says, that the Sabellians made use of this Gospel for the supporting of their Error, because it proposes several things spoken by our Saviour, after a hidden and mysterious manner, by which he seems to declare to his Disciples, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, are one and the same Person. Origen and Saint Jerome make mention likewise of this Gospel; but we have lost it, as well as that of the Nazarenes.

#### SECT. IV.

Of the Proto-Evangelium of Saint James, and the Gospel of Nicodemus.

BESIDES the two celebrated Gospels among the Ancients, already mention'd, we have by us at present, a Book intituled, *The Proto-Evangelium, concerning the Generation of Jesus Christ, and of his Mother Mary always Virgin*, written by Saint James the Less, Kinsman and Brother of our Lord Jesus Christ, first Apostle, and first Bishop of the Christians of Jerusalem. This Book was brought from the Levant, by William Postel, who translated it into Latin. His Version was printed at Basil by Bibliander; in the Year 1562. and the Greek in the Year 1569. in the *Orthodoxographies*. 'Tis a Treatise full of idle Stories and Fables (a), concerning the Nativity, Life, and Lying in of the Virgin.

Eusebius in his Commentary on the Six Days Work of Creation, produces a passage taken out of this Book: but withal owns, that it does not really belong to the Apostle of that Name, and cites it only under the Name of one James.

Saint Gregory Nyssene has likewise transcribed several Stories out of this Book in his Discourse concerning the Nativity of the Virgin-Mary.

Epiphanius the Monk in his Treatise of the Life of the Virgin, says that this James was a Jew contemporary with the Virgin. 'Tis more probable that a Greek was the compiler of this History.

The Gospel of *Nicodemus*, which follows that of Saint James in the *Orthodoxographies*, is as full of Fables (b) concerning the Passion and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, as the former is concerning the Life of the Virgin-Mary. The Title imports that it was found under the Reign of Theodosius; but it is probable, that it is more modern. It is not plac'd by Galasius among the Apocryphal Books, nor does it contain any gross Errors.

(a) Full of Idle Stories and Fables.] Some Instances of this Nature be pleas'd to take a Specimen of. Joachim was chosen out of the twelve Tribes; Reuben told him that it was not lawful for him to make any offering because he had no Children. Upon this he sorrowfully retires to the Wilderness, where he fasted forty days. Anna wept, and her Servant Judith told her, that she should take some of the Laurel-Tree. Accordingly she went down into the Garden, and complain'd that she was not like a Bird that might have its Nest in the Laurel-Tree. The Angel appear'd to her, and told her that she should have a Child. The same Angel went and told Joachim the same thing. Joachim consulted the Breast-plate, or Ephod of the High-Priest, and did not find therein that he had Sin'd. The Virgin Mary walk'd alone at six Months end. She was bred up by Angels in the Temple, and was marry'd to Joseph because there came a Dove upon the Rod which

he had given to the High-Priest. Saint Joseph when he found her big with Child, made her drink of the Waters of Jealousie, according to the Law, &c.

(b) Is as full of Fables.] Another Specimen of these Fables in the Gospel of *Nicodemus*, be pleas'd to take as follows. Pilate sent a Messenger to him; this Messenger and all the Soldiers that were with him fell down and worshipp'd him, and the Colours bow'd down before him twice. The Narration of the Evangelists is here intermix'd with several Fables. Herein Jesus Christ is made to answer to Pilate's Question, *What is Truth?* Herein Nicodemus, and those whom Jesus Christ cur'd, are brought in speaking with him. Herein the Woman cur'd of the Issue of Blood, is call'd Veronica. The Author of this Gospel describes the Resurrection of Jesus Christ by adding a great many things to it of his own Head. He makes the Dead who were rais'd at our Saviour's Death to enter

ter into ridiculous Discourses with one another; and says that they made the Sign of the Cross. He introduces the Devil, making several ridiculous Argumentations upon *Jesus Christ's* Descent into Hell. He feigns that after the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ*, *Pilate* having order'd the Jewish Books to be brought him, they prov'd that *Jesus Christ* was the *Messiah*. And several other stories he has of the like Nature.

SECT. V.

*Of the False Gospels forg'd by the Hereticks.*

Nothing more evinceth the truth of this Maxim of H. Scripture, (*That the Father of Lies does often transform himself into an Angel of Light:*) than the many Books that have been forg'd by Hereticks, and made to pass for the Writings of the Apostles, and Canonical. The Holy Ghost having caus'd Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and a Revelation, to be written by those whom he had inspir'd: The Devil to counterfeit the Truth, has caus'd several Gospels, Acts, Revelations and Epistles, to be made by his Ministers, and which they have father'd on the Apostles or Apostolical Men. Their Number was very great in the first Ages of Christianity. But that which shews how weak an Imposture is in Comparison with the Truth, is, that the falsity of these Memoirs was immediately detected: The Catholics were not deceiv'd by them, and their Authors have been found out and discover'd. They were never cited with any Credit by the Ecclesiastical Writers. Their style, quite different from the Apostolical Simplicity, and the Doctrine contrary to that of the Apostles, is a sufficient Evidence of their Spuriousness. They were not long in request, and at last perished with the Sects that authoriz'd them, so that we have now nothing left of 'em but their Titles. Here follows the Catalogue of them, and what we know of them.

I. *The Gospel of Saint Peter*, of which *Eusebius* and *Saint Jerome* make mention, is one of the most ancient. *Serapion* an ancient Ecclesiastical Writer has compos'd a Treatise on this Gospel, in favour of some Christians of *Rhossus*, who had swerv'd from the Faith having been deceiv'd by this Gospel. We here present you with a passage taken out of that Tract, as 'tis related by *Eusebius*, which we think fit to transcribe in this place, it being so very pertinent to our present Subject. "My Brethren, we receive *Saint Peter*, and the other Apostles as *Jesus Christ* himself; but we reject, as Learned Men ought to do, such Books as are father'd upon them, knowing that we have not receiv'd them by Tradition. When I was in your Parts, forasmuch as you all embrac'd sound Doctrine, without having read the Gospel that goes under the name of *Saint Peter*, which some presented to me, I then said, that if that was all which troubled you, you might read it. But having understood since that there was a secret Heresie lurking in their Minds, I will return to give you another Visit, and you may expect me very shortly. I have likewise learnt what Heresie *Marcion* espous'd, who contradicted himself. I have therefore borrowed this Gospel of those who have studied it, viz. the Successors of *Marcion's* Predecessors, whom we call *Docetæ* (for most of the opinions of *Marcion* and his Followers come from that School) and having read it, I have found several things which suit with the true Doctrine of our Saviour: but withall I have met with others which were very different from it, and which I have collected together, in order to give you a Caution about them". The *Nazarens*, according to *Theodore's* testimony, did likewise make use of this Gospel of *Saint Peter*. *Pope Gelasius* places it among the Apocryphal Books.

II. The *Valentinians* have compos'd a Gospel, which they styl'd, *The Gospel of Truth*, as Saint *Irenaeus* observes in his Third Book against Heresie, Chap. 11. "The *Valentinians* (says he) Men of a bold and impudent Spirit, boast that they have more than four Gospels, and produce their own Writings under that Title; for they have the Boldness to intitle a Gospel, which they have lately written, and which does not agree with the Gospels of the Apostles, *The Gospel of Truth*."

III. The *Gnostics* have likewise forg'd a Gospel intitl'd, *The Gospel of Perfection*, of which Saint *Epiphanius* makes mention in his 26th. Heresie N. 2. They likewise made use, according to the same Father's Testimony, *Ibid.* N. 13. Of a Gospel which they attributed to Saint *Philip* the Disciple of *Jesus Christ*, which was the same that was made use of by the *Ebionites*, *Basilides* and *Appelles*, and is rejected by Pope *Gelasius*. Saint *Epiphanius* relates a passage of it, which may serve to give us a Character of these Writings. I will here give you the Transcript of it in order to convince the greatest Infidels of the vast difference there is between the Spurious and Genuine Gospels. The passage runs thus, "The Lord has discover'd to me what Words the Soul ought to use when it ascends to Heaven, and how it ought to answer to each of the Celestial Vertues; viz. I have recovered and recollected my Self: I have begotten no Children for the Prince of this World, but have pluck'd up the very Roots: I have gathered together its disperfed Members, I know who you are, for I am from above". These and such like were the Fooleries and Dreams of those Gospels of Darknesh. The *Gnostics* had likewise another Gospel more infamous than the former, which they call'd the Gospel of *Eve*, giving out that from her they held the Name of *Evōn*, which she had learnt from the Serpent. Saint *Epiphanius* recites a Fragment of that Gospel, which is so ridiculous, that it would be time lost to give you the Transcript of it.

IV. *Origen*, *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* make mention of a Gospel according to Saint *Matthias*, which is plac'd among the Apocryphal Books by Pope *Gelasius*, as are all the Works in general attributed to Saint *Matthias*, by Pope *Innocent I.*

V. The *Manichees* had a Gospel under the Name of Saint *Thomas*, which belong'd to *Thomas* one of the Disciples of *Manes*, as Saint *Cyril* observes in his fourth Catechetical Lecture. *Origen*, *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* do likewise mention this Gospel. Pope *Gelasius* has plac'd it among the Apocryphal Writings. Saint *Augustine* in his twenty second Book against *Faustus* Chap. 79. says that the *Manichees* read the Apocryphal Scriptures written by the Inventors of Fables, under the name of the Apostles. He adds, that in these Books we read this History or rather Fable, viz. That the Apostle Saint *Thomas* having made an Imprecation against a Man who had given him a Box on the Ear, that Man was immediately torn to pieces by a Lyon. This was certainly related in that Gospel of Saint *Thomas*. *Manicheus* had himself compos'd a Letter under his Name, wherein he took upon him the Character of an Apostle of *Jesus Christ*, and speaks as a Man divinely inspir'd. Saint *Augustine* relates, and refutes the Words of this Letter in a Book written on purpose.

VI. There is mention made of a Gospel of Saint *Bartholomew*, in the Preface of *Origen's* Homilies on Saint *Luke*, and in the Preface of Saint *Jerome's* Commentary on Saint *Matthew*: Pope *Gelasius* places it among the Apocryphal Books.

VII. The *Gajrites* had forg'd a Gospel under the Name of *Judas Iscariot*, whom they honour'd, if we may credit Saint *Epiphanius* and *Theodoret* in the Case.

VIII. Lastly



## Chap. VI. of the Old and New Testament. 127

VIII. Lastly, Pope *Gelasius* reckons among the Apocryphal Gospels, besides the foremention'd, those that follow : viz. the Gospel of *Thaddæus*, the Gospel of *Barnabas*, and the Gospel of *Andrew*.

The Greeks in their Polygrammata aver that *Timothy* wrote a Gospel : but we cannot tell whether there was really one under his Name, or whether they did not say this merely by Conjecture.

To the Apocryphal Gospels we ought to joyn the Spurious Histories of the Birth or Infancy of our Saviour. The *Marcosians* who had forg'd several Apocryphal Writings, did therein relate several stories about the Infancy of our Lord : as for instance, "That Jesus Christ being a Child and learning to Read, when his Master bad him pronounce *Alpha*, he said after him, *Alpha* ; and that afterwards ordering him to say *Beta*, our Saviour said, pray Sir explain to me first what you mean by *Alpha*, and then I will tell you what *Beta* is". These and such like are the Fooleries which those prophane Persons would have to pass for great Mysteries.

Pope *Gelasius* reckons among the Apocryphal Writings a Book concerning the Infancy of our Saviour, which is manifestly the same Tract out of which the foremention'd History was taken. He likewise reckons, as such, a Treatise concerning the Nativity of our Saviour, the Virgin-Mary, and her Midwife. The *Gnostics* had likewise forg'd a Tract, concerning the Virgin Mary's Lying in, and the Questions she ask'd, which they distinguish into Greater and Lesser.

The Heretick *Seleucus* had forg'd a Treatise of the Nativity of the Virgin-Mary, which he said was compos'd in Hebrew by Saint *Matthew*, and which had been kept in secret. This Apocryphal piece was translated by a Latin, who pretends that the History thereof is true, and that *Seleucus* has only added thereto his Errors, which he has struck out in his Version. We meet with this Version in the last Translation that was made of the Works of Saint *Jerome*. Therein are mention'd Saint *Anna*, Saint *Joachim*, the Marriage of *Joseph*, and what preceded our Saviour's Birth. This whole History is extravagant (a), and deserves

(a) *This whole History is extravagant.* Therein 'tis said that the Virgin-Mary was born at *Nazareth*, that her Father's Name was *Joachim*, and her Mother's *Anna*. That they divided their Estate into three parts, the first for the Use of the Temple and the *Levites* ; the second for the Use of the Poor and Strangers ; and the third for their own Necessaries. That they made a Vow to dedicate their Child, if a Son, to God. That at the Feast of Tabernacles *Isachar* the High-Priest rejected the Offering of *Joachim* because he had no Children. That *Joachim* in confusion retir'd among the Shepherds ; that the Angel of the Lord appear'd to him, and told him from God that *Anna* should have a Daughter, who should be the Mother of the Saviour of the World. That the same Angel appeared likewise to *Anna*, and foretold her that she should have a Daughter, who should reside in the Temple, after she had been bred up three Years in her Father's House. That *Joachim* and *Anna* being return'd to *Jerusalem*, according to the Angel's Order, met together, and that *Anna* conceiv'd and brought forth a Daughter, whom she presented in the Temple at the end of three Years. That this young Girl had every Day Visions and Conversations with the Angels. That when she was fourteen Years old, the time when Virgins were remov'd from the Temple, she was still for staying there, declaring that she had

made a Vow of perpetual Virginity. That the High-Priest being at a Non-plus about it, call'd a Council to advise what was best to be done : That therein it was resolv'd to consult God, and that they received an Oracle from the Holiest of Holies, viz. this Prophecie of *Isaiah* ; *There shall come forth a Rod out of the stem of Jesse, and a Branch shall grow out of his Roots* : and that upon this it was order'd, that all those of the Linage of *David* should bring their Rods to the Altar, and that he whose Rod budded, and on whom the Spirit of God should descend in the form of a Dove, should be the Person that should marry the Virgin. That all others having brought their Rods, *Joseph* who was in Years did not bring his. That none of those which had been brought budded. That the High-Priest consulted the Lord thereupon, and receiv'd for answer, that he to whom he ought to give the Virgin, was the only Person who had not brought his Rod. *Joseph* hereupon was found out, and having brought his Rod, a Dove immediately descended from Heaven and sat on the top of it. He was espous'd to *Mary*, who return'd with her Parents into *Galilee*. There the Angel appear'd to her, who was not disturb'd at his Sight, because she was us'd to see Angels ; but only at his Discourse. The Angel is made to explain clearly and more largely than in the Gospel, after what manner she should have a Son. Afterwards 'tis

serves no manner of Credit. Saint *Gregory Nyssene* in his Treatise concerning the Birth of *Jesus Christ*, cites an Apocryphal Book, wherein were stories much of the same Nature; however it is not the same (b), its Narration being plain-er and less charg'd with Incidents. The Apocryphal Book, wherein 'tis related that Saint *Joachim* was of the Tribe of *Levi*, cited by *Faustus* against Saint *Augustine*, was different from those two, since in them 'tis suppos'd that *Joachim* was of the Linage of *David*, and consequently of the Tribe of *Judah*.

Lastly, there were in Saint *Augustine's* time some Writings, which some of no Sense publish'd under the Name of *Jesus to Peter*, to instruct the Apostles how they should work Miracles. This very design alone shews that it was an impi-ous Work. Those are all the Apocryphal Books which have any reference to the History of the Gospel.

said that *Joseph* seeing her with the familiarity of a Spouse, found that she was big with Child. This is the Abstract of the History of *Selen-cus*.

(b.) It is not the same.] What Saint *Grego-ry Nyssene* reports of it is as follows. The Vir-gin's Father was a rich Man, who for a long time together had no Children: *Anna* being Barren went to the Holiest of Holies, and de-manded a Child. Having obtain'd her Re-

quest, she presented the Virgin to the Temple, where she was brought up by the Priests. They having consulted among themselves what they should do with her when she should be grown up, thought it proper to marry her to some old Man, who might still let her enjoy her Virginity. That Saint *Joseph* was the Person made choice of, who was of the same Linage, and that she was only betroth'd to him. This Hi-story is more simple than the former.

## SECT. VI.

### Of the Spurious Acts of Apostles and Revelations.

THE Acts of Saint *Luke* contain but a very small part of the Actions of se-veral of the Apostles, because he does not treat of all of them, nor does he describe at large all the Acts of those whom he speaks of. So that they who were minded to invent false Acts, had a large field of Matter left them wherein to exercise their deceitful Pens.

The first who thought of this Artifice was a certain Priest the Disciple of Saint *Paul*, who excited by a false Zeal for his Master, forg'd under Saint *Luke's* Name, the Acts of *Paul and Thecla*, and was convicted of this Imposture by Saint *John*, as *Tertullian*, and after him, Saint *Jerome* have assur'd us (a).

The

(a.) As *Tertullian*, and after him, Saint *Je-rome* have assured us.] *Tertullian's* passage taken out of his Book of Baptism runs thus. If they read (says he) some Writings attributed falsely to Saint *Paul*, and make use of the Example of *The-cla* to give Women the Authority of Reading and Teaching, let 'em know that it was a Priest of Asia, who compos'd that Book under the name of Saint *Luke*, and that he having been convicted of ha-ving done it in Saint *Paul's* Favour, was degra-ded. Saint *Jerome* quoting *Tertullian*, saith: The Travels of *Paul and Thecla*, and the whole Fable of the Baptiz'd Lion, ought to be reckoned among the Apocryphal Writings. For how could he who always attended Saint *Paul* be ignorant of these matters? *Tertullian* who lived near that time relates, that a certain Priest of Asia zealously affected towards Saint *Paul*, having been con-

vinced by Saint *John* of being the Author of that Treatise, and having confess'd that he did it for the sake of Saint *Paul*, was degraded for it. Now it must be noted, That *Tertullian* does not men-tion Saint *John*, but Saint *Jerome* supposes he was the Person, because that Apostle presided over the Asiatic Churches. *Celastus* places these Acts among the Apocryphal Writings. The Acts of the passion of *Thecla*, which are extant, do not contain the History of the Baptiz'd Li-on, nor of the Women who were baptiz'd, but they are very modern, and taken perhaps from the Ancients. The Fathers of the Church have related that Saint *Paul* having converted at *Iconium* a Virgin of Quality nam'd *Thecla*, per-swaded her to renounce a Man to whom she was betroth'd, tho' Rich and Powerful, and to profess a Vow of perpetual Virginity. That this

The simplicity of this ancient Priest, who had no ill intention in his Head, was in some sort excusable. However he was degraded for that thing alone, so great a hatred had the Church for falshood and imposture, tho' it were cover'd with never so good an Intention. But one cannot but abominate the Hereticks, who have of their own Heads compos'd Acts of several Apostles, wherein they have inserted their own Errors. They have not only attributed a false Gospel to Saint Peter, but likewise four other Books intituled, *the Acts, the Preaching, the Apocalypse and the Judgment of Saint Peter*.

Saint Jerome makes mention of these four Tracts. *The Preaching* is cited by Saint Clement of Alexandria, and by Origen, who have recited some Fragments of it. Origen took them from the Heretick Heracleon, the Disciple of Valentinus. Saint Isidorus of Damietta quotes the *Acts of Saint Peter*, Book 2. Epist. 99. We cannot tell what sort of piece *the Judgment of Saint Peter* is. *The Doctrine of Peter* or of *the Apostles*, is confounded by some with the *Constitutions*, and by others with the *Preaching of Saint Peter*. *The Travels* or *Itinerary of Saint Peter*, is the same with the *Recognitions* or *Clementines*, a Tract very erroneous. These Works are of an ancient Date, but forged by Hereticks about the middle of the second Century.

*The Acts of Saint Paul* were forg'd by the Manichees. Eusebius and Philastrius make mention thereof. Therein the Apostles were made to say that the Souls of Men and Beasts were of the same Nature, and they are introduc'd working of Miracles in order to make Dogs and Sheep to speak.

There are several other Acts besides, forg'd by several Hereticks, viz. *the Acts of Saint Andrew*, which the Encratites, Apostolicks, and Origenists made use of.

*The Acts of Saint John*, forg'd by the Encratites, according to the Testimony of Saint Epiphanius, Heref. 47. of Philastrius, Heref. 48. and of Saint Augustine, *Lib. de fide contra Maroich*.

*The Acts of Saint Philip* and Saint Thomas, which the Encratites and Apostolicks made use of, as the same Saint Epiphanius has observ'd in the Heresies 47, and 61.

*The Acts of the Apostles in general*, made by the Ebionites, cited by Saint Epiphanius in the Description of that Heresie.

*The Rapture of Saint Paul* (b), a Work compos'd by the Gajanites, which the Gnosticks made use of according to the Testimony of Saint Epiphanius Heref. 8.

*The Memoirs of the Apostles* compos'd by the Priscillianists.

*The Itinerary of the Apostles* rejected in the second Council of Nice, Act. 5.

To these we may add the *spurious Relations*, such as that of the *Lots of the Apostles*, rejected by Pope Gelasius.

this Damsel had been charg'd upon this Account by her Husband, that should have been; That she was sentenc'd to be expos'd to Wild Beasts, and afterwards she was deliver'd by a Miracle. Some say that she dyed of another Punishment, and others, that she was always deliver'd, first from Fire, and afterwards from Wild Bulls, to which she had been tyed. You may read the whole account of this in Saint Epiphanius's *Heresie*, 78. in Saint Ambrose's second Book concerning Virgins; Faustus the Manichee in Saint Augustine, Lib. 30. Cap. 4. in Saint Gregory Nazianzen's Exhortation to Virginity, and in the Poem of the Precepts given to Virgins, the Sermons of Maximus of Turin, and of Zeno Veronensis. Eusebius makes mention of this Thecla in the third Book of *Martyrs*, and distinguishes her from one of the same Name, who was expos'd

to Wild Beasts with Agapine in the persecution rais'd by Dioclesian. Saint Jerome in his 224th. Epistle; Saint Gregory Nyssene in the Life of Saint Macrina, Severus Sulpitius in the Life of Saint Martin, Saint Chrysostome in his 25th. Homily on the Acts, and his 22d. to the People of Antioch, Isidorus of Damietta, B. 1. Ep. 87, and 160. do likewise make mention of this illustrious Proto-Martyress, as Isidorus terms her.

(b) *The Rapture of Saint Paul*.] In Greek it is ἀναζήτησις Παύλου. This may signifie several things, but Saint Epiphanius determines the Sense to be, *the Lifting up of Saint Paul*. It contains several Mysterious Things, and it seems to be the same piece with the *Secrets* or *the Apocalypse of Saint Paul*. Saint Augustine cites this Treatise in *Joannem Tract.* 98.



*The Writings of the Apostles*, made by *Ditinius*, and rejected in the Synod of *Braga*, Chap. 17.

*The Tract concerning the High Priest-hood of Jesus Christ*, cited by *Suidas*, whose Author pretends to prove that *Jesus Christ* was descended from the *Levites*, and that by the *Jews* he was reckoned among their Priests.

*The Apostolical Tract*, which was an Enthusiastical piece compos'd by *Marcion*, of which mention is made by *Saint Epiphanius*.

*A Treatise concerning the Death and Assumption of the Virgin-Mary*, attributed to *Saint John*, which *Pope Gelasius* has plac'd among the Apocryphal Books, and which perhaps is the same with that which goes under the Name of *Melito* in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.

Lastly, there were a great many forged *Apocalypses* or *Revelations*: *The Apocalypse of Saint Peter*, cited by *Saint Clement* in his *Hypotyposis*, which *Eusebius* in the third Book of his Ecclesiastical History, Chap. 25. reckons among those spurious Books which are not Heretical, and which *Sozomen* saith they read every Year about *Easter* in the Churches of *Palestine*, Book 7. of his History, Chap. 19.

*The Apocalypse or secrets of Saint Paul*, which the Monks had formerly in great Esteem, according to the Testimony of *Sozomen*: The *Egyptians* boast of having it by them to this very day, and it was plac'd among the Apocryphal Books by *Pope Gelasius*, together with the *Revelations of Saint Thomas*, and *Saint Stephen*. To these we may add the *Revelation of the Great Apostle*, compos'd by *Cerinthus*: *The Apocalypse of Abraham*, forg'd by the *Hethian* Hereticks, mention'd by *Saint Epiphanius* Heref. 39. N. 4. and the *Revelations of Seth and Noriah, the Wife of Noah*, by the *Gnosticks*. All these pieces are lost, nor need we be much concern'd at it.

## S E C T. VII.

### *Of the Epistle of Saint Barnabas.*

**J**oseph, Sirnamed by the Apostles *Barnabas*, i. e. the Son of Consolation (a.), who was a *Levite*, and originally of the Isle of *Cyprus* (b.) laboured as much as the Apostles themselves in establishing the Christian Religion. Some of the Ancients have pretended (c) that he was one of the seventy two Disciples of *Jesus Christ*; but *Saint Luke* speaks of him in such a manner as would induce one rather to believe, that he was not joyn'd to the Apostles till after our Saviour's Death. Let this be how it will, 'tis certain that from that time, he became one of the chief Preachers of the Gospel, and deserv'd to be plac'd among the Apostles. We know nothing for certain of his Life, but what *Saint Luke* has related of it in the Acts.

(a.) *That is the Son of Consolation.*] In Greek it is ὁ υἱὸς Ἀγαπήσεως, the Son of Consolation or Exhortation. *Oecumenius* upon the Acts, Chap. 36. and *Notkerus* in the Martyrology follow'd the first Sense. *Saint Jerome* seems to be for the latter.

(b.) *Originally of the Isle of Cyprus.*] This Island was full of *Jews*, and a vast number of them were Massacred therein under the Empire of *Trajan*, according to the Testimony of *Dion*, *Eusebius* and *Orosius*.

(c.) *Some of the Ancients, &c.*] These Ancients are, *Saint Clement*, B. 2. of his *Stromata*; *Euse-*

*bis*, B. 1. of his History, Chap. 12. and B. 2. Chap. 1. *Saint Epiphanius*, Tom. I. against the Heresies, and *Dorotheus*. *Venerable Bede* rejects their Opinion, because *Saint Luke* in the fourth Chapter of the Acts writes, that *Barnabas* was one of those who sold their Lands, and brought the price of them, and laid it at the Apostles Feet. For tho' this is no absolute Conclusion, that he had not been the Disciple of *Jesus Christ*, yet it seems as if *Saint Luke* was minded hereby to date his first entrance into the Christian Religion.

## Chap. VI. of the Old and New Testament. 131

He has written (says Saint *Jerome*) a Letter full of Edification for the Church, tho' it is not Canonical. This Letter is cited several times by Saint *Clement* of *Alexandria* (d), and by *Origen* (e), who make no question but that it is His, under whose Name it goes. 'Tis true, *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* reckon it among the Apocryphal Writings (f); but for all that, they do not deny but that 'tis Saint *Barnabas's*; for they only say that it ought not to be of the same Authority as the Canonical Books; because, tho' it be Saint *Barnabas's*, yet it was not universally receiv'd by all the Churches.

This is the reason why this Letter is not reckoned among the Canonical Books; because in order thereto, 'tis not only requisite that it be the Work of an Apostle, or of a Disciple of the Apostles; but also that it be receiv'd as Canonical by all the Churches. Otherwise the Pastor of *Hermas*, and the Epistle of Saint *Clement* ought to be reckon'd as Canonical Books. So that 'tis a very weak way of arguing to say, that the Epistle of *Barnabas* does not belong to that Apostle, because if it were really His, it would have been inserted among the Canonical Writings: since in order that any Book should be declar'd Canonical, it is requisite (let the Author be who he will) that the whole Church should acknowledge it as such. Besides, there are some Books, of which the Apostles or their Disciples are the Authors (g) which were not formerly, and are not yet in the Number of Canonical Books: and on the contrary, there are some, whose Authors are not altogether certainly known, which have been, and still are among the Canonical Books: As for instance, in the New Testament, the Epistle

(d.) Saint *Clement* of *Alexandria*.] B. 2. of his *Stromata*, pag. 373, 375, 389, 396, 410. B. 5 p. 571, 572, 577, and 578.

(e.) *Origen*.] *Origen*. B. 1. against *Celsus*, and B. 3. *mel. Alexon* and *Eusebius*, B. 3. Eccl. Hist. Chap. 25. B. 6. Chap. 13, and 14. *Tertullian* says in his Book of Chastity, that the Epistle of *Barnabas* is more commonly receiv'd in the Churches, than the Pastor of *Hermas*. But he takes the Epistle of Saint *Paul* to the *Hebrews*, for the Epistle of Saint *Barnabas*.

(f.) Among the Apocryphal Writings.] *Eusebius* distinguishes three sorts of Apocryphal Writings; the first contains those which come the nearest to the Canonical, that is, those which have been rejected by some, and received by others as Canonical. *Ἀποκρυφάων δὲ ἐν ὧν τοῖς πολλοῖς*. The second contains the Books which were not receiv'd by any Man as Canonical, and yet were not forg'd by Hereticks, as those of the third Class were. The Epistle of Saint *Barnabas* may be plac'd among the first, or at least among the second sort of Books; which, tho' Apocryphal, yet may be theirs whose names they bear, such as the Pastor of *Hermas*, and others. And tho' Saint *Jerome* in his Epistle to *Leta* says, that the Apocryphal Books are such, as do not belong to the Authors whose Names they bear; yet he often makes use of that Term in another Sense. *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* were both of the Opinion, that the Epistle of Saint *Barnabas* was really His; this appears from their attributing it to him. *Eusebius* in his Ecclesiastical History, B. 6. Chap. 13. hath these Words, *Item ex Barnaba, Clementis, & Jude Epistolis*. Now 'tis plain, that he always thought the Epistles of Saint *Clement* and Saint *Jude* to be theirs, under whose Names they were inscribed [and by parity of Reason, 'tis plain that he thought the Epistle of Saint *Barnabas* to be really His, since he makes mention of it just after the same

manner, as he does of the Epistles of Saint *Clement* and Saint *Jude*.] Agen, In another place the same Author says, *Jude Epistolam intelligo, item Barnaba Epistolam, & Revelationem quae dicitur Petri*. Here 'tis to be observ'd, that in speaking of the last Treatise, he takes notice that it was attributed to *Peter* [*Revelationem quae dicitur Petri*]; but he says no such thing of the Epistle of *Barnabas*; on the contrary, he plainly says, that it was His, as much as the Epistle of *Jude* was *Jude's*. As for Saint *Jerome*, he expressly says, *Barnabas unam adificationem Ecclesiae continentem Epistolam composuit, quae inter Apocryphas numeratur*. This passage is a sufficient Evidence, that Saint *Jerome* did not look upon it as Apocryphal, because it was falsely attributed to Saint *Barnabas*, since he himself attributes it to him, even when he says that it was Apocryphal.

(g.) Of which the Apostles or their Disciples are the Authors.] This Argument ought to be understood thus. It does not appear, that all the Writings of the Apostles were made by the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost. There might have been some Writings of the Apostles which the Church never receiv'd as Canonical. There are indeed none at present of the Apostles themselves but what are in the Canon, except this Letter of Saint *Barnabas*, who may pass for an Apostle: but there are several Writings of the Disciples of the Apostles, such as of Saint *Clement* and *Hermas*, which are not Canonical. It seems as if there is no great difference between Saint *Clement* and Saint *Barnabas* as to the point of Authority, and if the Epistle of Saint *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, tho' certainly His, yet is not own'd as Canonical; why should Men argue that the Epistle of Saint *Barnabas* cannot be His, because it was not admitted into the Canon?

to the Hebrews and the *Apocalypse*; and in the Old, most of the Books, of whose true Authors we are not certainly assur'd. But tho' it were true to say, that a Book is Canonical, if it is manifest, that it was written by an Author, who had the Authority to make it pass for Canonical, yet who has assur'd us that Saint *Barnabas* ought to be esteem'd as such an Author, any more than Saint *Clement* and *Hermas*? 'Tis for the Church to determine this Point, and since she has been silent, this is a sufficient Warrant to make the Letter pass for Apocryphal, tho' it does really belong to Saint *Barnabas*.

They add that this Letter is unworthy of Saint *Barnabas*; that 'tis incredible, that such a great Apostle as he was, being full of the Holy Ghost, and Saint *Paul's* Companion in Travel, should be the Author of most of the things which are contain'd in this Letter: such as are the forc'd Allegories, the extravagant Explications of the Scripture, and such as are foreign to good Sense, together with the stories concerning Beasts, and several other such like Fancies, which make up the first part of this Epistle.

To this I answer, that notwithstanding these defects, yet Saint *Clement* of *Alexandria*, *Origen*, *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* have ascribed it to him. And 'tis in my opinion a very great piece of Imprudence for any Man to imagine himself to be clearer sighted in this matter, than those great Criticks of Antiquity. They were nearer than we are to the time of the Apostles, They had by them a great many Books compos'd by their Disciples, which are lost to Us; and consequently they are better Judges than we are of the style and the manner of Writing us'd by the Apostles, their Companions and Disciples. If then they have allow'd that the Allegories, mystical Explications, and stories to be met with in the Epistle of Saint *Barnabas* are really his, with what Face can we at present pretend to say that they are none of His? Certainly that Man must have but very little knowledge of the Genius of the *Jews*, and the first Christians, who had been bred up and educated in the Synagogue, if he supposes that such sorts of Thoughts cannot proceed from them: On the contrary, 'tis their very Essential Character, they had learn'd from the *Jews* to turn the whole Scripture into Allegory, and to make their Observations on the Properties of those Beasts which the Law had forbidden to be eaten.

It is no wonder then that Saint *Barnabas* a Jew by Birth writing to *Jews*, should explain after an Allegorical manner several passages of the Old Testament, in applying them to the New; and should invent several Moral Thoughts upon the properties of the Beasts, of which the *Jews* were forbidden to eat.

The Epistle of Saint *Clement* the Roman to the *Corinthians*, so much esteem'd by the Primitive Christians, and the *Stromata* of Saint *Clement* of *Alexandria* are full of these sorts of Allegories and Figures. The story of the *Phoenix* related in the Epistle of Saint *Clement* the Roman looks more like a Fable, than that which Saint *Barnabas* saith in his Epistle concerning the Properties of some Beasts: and the Allegory of the Blood of *Jesus Christ* typified by the Scarlet Ribban hung out by the Harlot *Rahab*, which is likewise in the same Epistle, is as far-fetch'd, as most of the Allegories of Saint *Barnabas* are. But why should we insist upon a matter that is so plain, since all the World knows how full of Fables and Allegories the Books of the Primitive Christians were?

Lastly, They accuse the Author of this Epistle of having call'd the Apostles before their Conversion, the greatest Sinners upon the face of the Earth. But they take his Words in too strict a Sense; for his meaning is not that they were the greatest of Sinners, but only that they were great Sinners (b).

(b.) That they were great Sinners.] 'Tis thus that we are to understand these Words, *Super omne peccatum peccatores*. The most sanctified Persons do usually say of themselves every day:

I am the greatest Sinner upon the face of the Earth, and other such like Expressions, which are not to be taken in a literal Sense.



## Chap. VI. of the Old and New Testament. 133

We cannot tell for certain to whom the Epistle of Saint *Barnabas* is address'd, because we have not the Supercription of it by us: Yet by the Body of it, it seems as if it were written to the *converted Jews*, who had been too zealously addicted to the observance of the Law of *Moses*; and it is divided into two Parts.

In the first, he shews the unprofitableness of the Old Law, and the necessity of the Incarnation and Death of *Jesus Christ*. He therein recites several passages concerning the Ceremonies and Precepts of the Old Law, which he explains Allegorically, by applying them to *Jesus Christ*, and to the New Law.

The second part is a Moral Instruction, which contains several Precepts concerning what ought to be done, and what ought not to be done.

This Letter was publish'd first in *Greek*, from a Copy of Father *Hugh Menard* a Benedictine Monk, who prepared this Edition a little before his Death. He had the *Greek* of this Letter from Father *Sirmondus*, and the Ancient Version of it was found in a Manuscript of the Abbey of *Corbey*, near a thousand Years old. Death having prevented him from publishing this Tract, Father *Dom Luke d'Achery* put his Design into Execution, and took care to have it printed after his Death at *Paris* in the Year 1645. They say Arch-Bishop *Usher* had caus'd it to be printed before at *London*, in the Year 1642. and that the whole Impression was burnt, except one Copy which is inserted in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library.

After this, the famous *Isaac Vossius* took care to print it with the Epistles of Saint *Ignatius*, and revis'd from three Manuscripts, in the Year 1656.

At last M. *Cotelerius* has publish'd it, with a New Version *e Regione*; the whole Ancient Version, and Critical Remarks at the End. It is at the head of the Collection which was made of the Works of the Ancient Fathers, which were printed at *Paris* by *Petit*, in the Year 1672: and which have been lately reprinted in *Holland*.

The *Greek* of the four or five first Chapters is wanting in all these Editions: but they are in Latin in the Ancient Version, which, tho' Barbarous and Faulty, yet has serv'd to correct the *Greek* in several Places.

### S E C T. VIII.

#### *Of the Liturgies which are falsely attributed to the Apostles.*

WE need only to reflect a little on what we read concerning the Celebration of the Eucharist in Saint *Paul's* Epistle to the *Corinthians*, and on what Saint *Justin*, and the Primitive Fathers have said about it, in order to be convinc'd that the Apostles and those who succeeded them, did celebrate the Sacrifice of the Mass with great Simplicity. This is what has been taken notice of by all those who have wrote upon the Liturgies (a), who all agree in this, That

(a.) By all those who have written upon the Liturgies. Saint Gregory the Pope, in his 7th. B. Ep. 63. ad Joann. Syracus. has these Words: Mos Apostolorum fuit, ut ad ipsam solummodo Orationem Dominicam oblationis Hostiam consecrarent. Valafridus Strabo de Rit. Eccl. cap. 22. says; Quod nunc agimus multiplici orationum, cantilenarum, & consecrationum officio, totum hoc Apostoli, & post ipsos, ut creditur, proximi orationibus, commemoratione Passionis Dominicæ, sicut ipse præcepit, agebant simpliciter: Proficiende debinc Religione amplius acta sunt à Christi cultoribus officia Missarum. Remy d'Auxerre, de celeb. Miss. Lib. 1. says, Nam Missam B. Petrus Apostolus primus omnium

Antiochia dicitur celebrasse, in qua tres tantummodo orationes in initio fidei proferebantur, incipientes ab eo loco ubi dicitur, Hanc igitur Oblationem. See farther, Stephen d'Auxun, de Sacramento Altaris cap. 20. Benno d'Auge, de Offic. Miss. C. 1. Rupert. Tuir. lib. 2. de Divin. Offic. cap. 1. Hugh of Saint Victor de Divin. lib. 2. cap. 11. Honorius d'Auxun in Gemm. An. lib. 1. Durandus de Mende, Rat. Off. l. 4. c. 1. Radulphus de Tongres, de Canon. Observat. Saint Anthony in Summ. maj. tit. 13. cap. 5. Cassander's Liturgia, Cap. 18. Polydore Virgil, and the others who have treated concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of the Mass.

the Mass was celebrated without many Ceremonies in the first Ages of Christianity; and that they said therein but very few Prayers: but by little and little, several other Prayers were added, together with some external Ceremonies, in order to render the Sacrifice more awful to the People. Lastly, the Churches have regulated and committed to Writing the manner of Celebrating it, and this is that which they call the *Liturgies*: the which having been made conformable to the Customs of different places, are likewise so many different Liturgies. And whereas Men are naturally inclin'd to change something or other in their outward way of Worship; they have from time to time added several things to these Liturgies.

This single Reflection is enough to shew that the Liturgies, which go under the name of the Apostles and Evangelists, are not really theirs: but to prove it beyond dispute, we need only examine them one after another.

The Liturgy or Mass in Greek and Latin attributed to Saint *Peter*, which was publish'd by *Lindanus*, in the Year 1589. from a Manuscript of Cardinal *Sirlet*, of no very long standing, and which has been printed since at *Paris*, by *Morel* in the Year 1595. This Liturgy, I say cannot be Saint *Peter's* for the following Reasons. Therein mention is made of Saint *Sixtus*, *Cornelius*, and Saint *Cyprian*. The Canon of the Latin Mass, which Saint *Gregory* asserts to have been compos'd by a Scholastick, that is, by a Learned Man of the Fifth Century, is inserted therein at large. It contains several Prayers taken out of the Sacramentary of Saint *Gregory*, and out of the Liturgies of Saint *Basil* and Saint *Chrysostome*. Therein they pray for the *Patriarch* (a Term unknown before the latter end of the fourth Century) and for the most Religious Emperors, which supposes that there were at that time Christian Emperors. Lastly, had this Liturgy been Saint *Peter's*, the Church of *Rome* would have made use of it, nor would it have lain dormant for so many Ages. These Reasons made the Learned Cardinal *Bona* to say, that this Liturgy was a forg'd piece, and that it was manifestly compos'd by some *Greek-Latiniz'd* Priest, because it was taken partly out of the Liturgy of the Greeks, and partly out of that of the Latins; and that it was attributed to Saint *Peter*, either to give it the greater Authority, or else because it contain'd a great part of the Liturgy of the *Roman* Church.

The Mass of the *Ethiopians*, which goes under the name of Saint *Matthew*, is likewise apparently spurious. For therein Popes, Kings, Patriarchs and Arch-Bishops are pray'd for. Therein the twelve Apostles are invocated, the four Evangelists commemorated, and mention made of the Synods of *Nice*, *Constantinople* and *Ephesus*. Therein the *Nicene Creed* is sung with the Clause *Filioque*: And mention made of Saint *Athanasius*, Saint *Gregory*, and Saint *Basil*, of the *Epaict*, the *Golden Number*, and the *Trisagion*: All which sufficiently prove this Liturgy to be very Modern.

The same Judgment may be pass'd on the Liturgy of Saint *Mark*, publish'd by Cardinal *Sirlet*, and printed at *Paris* by *Morel*: For therein we meet with the Word *Consubstantial*, and the *Trisagion*; therein they pray for the King, and for Saint *Mark* himself, and mention is made of Chalice, Subdeacons, Chanters, Monks, Nuns, &c. things which are sufficient Evidences of its Novelty.

There only remains to be consider'd by us the Liturgy attributed to Saint *James*, which the Learned have given themselves the trouble to defend, tho' to no purpose. For tho' it be more ancient than those which we have already examin'd, since 'tis cited in the Council held in the Emperor's Palace, after the fifth General Council, yet it cannot be said that Saint *James* is the Author of it, or that it was compos'd in his time; and that for these Reasons:

1. The Son and Holy Ghost are therein styl'd *Consubstantial* with the Father, a Phrase that was not in use in Saint *James's* time: But supposing it should be said that it was, is it credible that this Authority should not then have been alledged in the Councils of *Nice* and *Constantinople*?

2. There-

## Chap. VI. *of the Old and New Testament.* 135

2. Therein are the *Trisagion* and the *Doxology*, that is, *the Holy, Holy, Holy*, and the *Gloria Patri*, which were not generally us'd in the Church till the fifth Century. For tho' it could be prov'd that they were us'd before, yet it must be own'd, that this was not the common usage of the Church.

3. Therein Prayers are us'd for those who are shut up in Monasteries: and who can say that this was in Saint *James's* time?

4. Therein mention is made of *Confessors*, a word not us'd in the Divine Office, till a long time after Saint *James's* days, as is own'd by *Bellarmino* himself.

5. This Liturgy speaks of Temples, Incense, Altars &c. now would one believe that these things were in Use in the time of Saint *James*?

6. Lastly, this whole Liturgy is full of Citations out of the Epistles of Saint *Paul*, most of which were written after the Death of Saint *James*. Nor can it be said with the Cardinals *Bona* and *Bellarmino*, that these things have been added: because 'tis not likely that there should have been so many Additions in so many different places, and besides neither the Connexion nor the Ceremonies of this whole Liturgy are suitable with the times of the Apostles.

I say nothing of some other Liturgies, cited by some Authors, such for instance as those of the twelve Apostles, mention'd by *Abraham Echellensis*, and that of Saint *Barnabas*, mention'd by a certain Monk, because I never saw them; nor shall I say any thing of that which is in the Constitutions of Saint *Clement*, nor of the Liturgy which is in the Books attributed to Saint *Dionysius the Areopagite*; because these Books being spurious, as I shall shew in another place, there is no question to be made but that the Liturgies which they contain are likewise as spurious.

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### SECT. IX.

#### *Of the Apostle's Creed.*

HAVING treated of the Works of each Apostle in particular, we are now to speak of those which 'tis supposed they compos'd by common Concert. The most Authentic is that of the *Apostles Creed*, which is commonly believ'd to have been compos'd by all the Apostles. But Authors are not agreed among themselves, neither about the Time when they wrote it, nor about the manner how it was compos'd, no more than they are about the Design which the Apostles had in doing of it.

As to the Time; some have been of *Ruffinus's* Opinion, in his Exposition of the Creed follow'd by Saint *Isidorus*, viz. that the Apostles compos'd it the very Year wherein *Jesus Christ* dy'd, a little after the Descent of the Holy-Ghost: whereas *Baronius* and some others guess that they did not compose it till the second Year of the Reign of *Claudius*, a little before their Dispersion.



As to the manner how they compos'd it; some Authors fancy that each Apostle pronounc'd his Article (a), and that this is the Reason why it was call'd the *Symbol*; as having been made of several Sentences. Others believe that they made it by a General conference with one another: There are some likewise who pretend that all the Disciples had a Hand in it.

Lastly, as to the design which they had in composing it, some believe that it was in order that they might be all conformable to one and the same Doctrine (b), and others suppose it was for the People, that so they might propose to them an Abridgment of the Faith of *Jesus Christ*, which was easie to be comprehended and retain'd.

The Etymology of the Word *Symbol* is still more uncertain (c). Some say that it is so call'd, because 'tis the Mark and Character which distinguishes Christians from other Men (d): Others, because it was compos'd of the Opinions of several Persons: and Lastly others, because it was drawn up in a General Conference.

Now tho' this be an establish'd Opinion, that the Creed came from the Apostles, and it cannot be deny'd but that they all preach'd after the same manner the Articles which it contains, as the principal points of the Doctrine of *Jesus Christ*, of which it was necessary that all Christians should be inform'd: Tho' they taught those whom they baptiz'd, what they oblig'd themselves to make profession of, the which they handed down by Tradition to all the Churches of the World, who kept them inviolably and taught the *Catechumens* the same: and that therefore upon that account one ought to look upon the Apostles Creed as a Formulary of Faith belonging to them as to the substantial parts of it: Yet we may without any imputation of Rashness, question whether they drew it Word for Word, as 'tis now recited in the Churches; and there are likewise very strong Reasons to prove that this Opinion, tho' very common, yet has but little probability in it.

(a) *Each Apostle pronounc'd his Article.*] This is the Opinion of the Author of the 115th. Sermon, *de tempore apud Aug.* of Saint *Leo*, Ep. 13, now the 27th. of *Venantius Fortunat.* in *exegeti Symb. Apost.*

(b.) *That they might be conformable to one and the same Doctrine, &c.*] *Rufinus* is of the former, and the Moderns of the Latter Opinion.

(c.) *The Etymology of the Word Symbol is still more uncertain.*] The Greek Word *Σύμβολον*, signifies properly, *nota, signum, indicium*. For this Reason the Notes and Remarks of *Pythagoras* are call'd *Σύμβολα πυθαγορεί.* *Herodian* makes use of this Word to denote the military Signal. Other Authors, such as *Dion Cassius* and *Suetonius*, take it for the Tickets or Billets which were given to be admitted to see Sights, or to receive Bounty-Money. Some say that the Word *Symbolum* in Latin, signifies a Supper where every one pays his Clubb, or even the Club it self. However it is not *Symbolum* in the Neuter Gender which has this Signification, but *Symbola* in the Feminine Gender, and in Greek, call'd *Συμβόλη*, as may be seen in the Interpreter of *Aristophanes*, in *Athenaeus*, and in *Plutarch*: For which Reason in *Terence's Andria*, we ought to read *Symbolam dedit*, and not *Symbolum*. *Aulus Gellius* B. 6. Chap. 1.

makes use of the Word *Symbola*, to denote the Clubb, and says this Term was likewise apply'd to the Questions which the Philosopher *Taurus* explain'd before several Persons. Saint *Cyprian* is the first who made use of the word *Symbol*, to signify the Abridgment of the Christian Faith, Ep. 45. *Optatus* calls the Hereticks, *Veri Symboli Deseriores*, alluding to the military Use of that Word; for which Reason Saint *Chrysologus*, Sermon 62. says, that the *Symbol* is the Compact which we make with God in Baptism.

(d.) *Character, which distinguishes Christians, &c.*] This is the Etymology which *Maximus* of *Turin*, and *Venantius Fortunatus* give of this word. The same was observ'd by *Rufinus*, by *Isidore* of *Sevil*, B. 2. de Off. c. 22. by *Durandus* of *Menda*, B. 4. *Rationalis*, c. 25. But the second and third Etymology are the most common. The last is the Opinion of *Rufinus*, of Saint *Augustine*, Sermon 181. *de Tempore*; of *S. Isidore*, L. 2. div. off. c. 22. of *Rabanus Maurus*, L. 2. init. clerical. cap. 56. Of *Durandus* in his *Rationales*; of *Eucherius*, Homil. de Symb. and of *Innocent* III. Lib. 2. de *Sacris Missæ mysteriis*, Chap. 49. However the first Etymology is the most probable.

## Chap. VI. of the Old and New Testament. 137

I. For in the first place, neither Saint *Luke* in the Acts, nor any other Ecclesiastical Writer before the Fifth Century has made the least mention of this Assembly of the Apostles; and not the least word is said by them, that the Apostles had compos'd the Creed as now us'd by the Church of *Rome*, either by conferring together, or by pronouncing each of them one of these Articles. Had the Creed been drawn up by the Apostles in the manner wherein it is suppos'd to have been drawn up, it would have been too considerable a Matter of Fact to have been omitted by Saint *Luke*: And tho' Saint *Luke* had never related it, yet it would have been handed down by Tradition, and some of the Ancient Fathers would have mention'd it, as they have done other Matters of the Apostolical Tradition. For they had not only an occasion of speaking of it, but were likewise oblig'd to it in order to convince the Hereticks; since they could not have produc'd any stronger Arguments against them, than this was.

II. Secondly, the Fathers of the three first Centuries in disputing against the Hereticks, endeavour'd from several Arguments to prove that the Doctrine contain'd in the Creed, was the same which the Apostles taught: But they never said that the Apostles compos'd the Creed. And yet nothing could have been a more convincing and stronger Argument against the Hereticks, than to have told them; "You oppose the Doctrine of the Creed; 'Tis plain that the Apostles were the Authors of it, therefore you oppose the Doctrine of the Apostles". However they never made use of this Argument, on the contrary they prov'd by Tradition, and the universal consent of the Apostolical Churches, that the Doctrine contain'd in the Creeds was the same which the Apostles taught. This Reason, may some one say, would not have been conclusive, since the Hereticks might have demanded Proofs to convince them that the Apostles had compos'd the Creed, as well as they did demand Arguments to convince them that the Doctrine of the Creed came from the Apostles. But this Reply supposes that the Primitive Fathers had not common sense in them, and that they could not tell how to distinguish the most evident and concise Proofs from the most obscure and intricate Ones. For to know whether the Apostles had compos'd the Creed or not, was but a single matter of Fact, such as might have been easily prov'd, being fresh in every Bodies Memory; and which being prov'd, would have put the whole matter out of Dispute. There would not then have been left any occasion of Debate, and they would at once have prov'd their whole Doctrine: whereas they have run themselves into a very large Field of Controversie, and into such an one as requir'd a great deal of discussing, by examining upon each Article of the Creed the Tradition of each Church.

Saint *Irenaeus* produces several matters of Fact of less Consequence, and of less Authority than this would have been. As for instance, he makes use of the Testimony of Saint *Polycarp*, who had been instructed by Saint *John* in the Doctrine of the Apostles. The Hereticks might sooner have deny'd this matter of Fact, than that of the Composition of the Creed; and this latter being more publick had easier been prov'd; Why then did they not alledge it.

To render the Case more plain, let us produce an instance. Suppose that an Abbot made two hundred Years ago, a Rule for his Monks, which contains in a few words the principal Things to be observ'd in his Convent; and that 'tis a constant Tradition among the Monks, that this Rule which they have preserv'd, was His, who compos'd it. If it should so happen, that those Monks were in dispute about all the Articles of this Rule, some saying that each Article was made by their first Abbot, and others as stiffly denying it; would it not be very strange, for the former, if instead of producing the Rule of the first Abbot, which they might prove in case it was contested, they should undertake to prove by the Testimony of several Monks, and of other Monasteries founded by the Monks of that Convent, That each Article of this Rule was appointed and practis'd by their first Abbot? The Application of this Comparifon is very easie.

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III. Thirdly,

III. Thirdly, if the Apostles had made the Creed, it would have been the same in all the Churches and in all the Ages of it; all Christians would have learn'd it Word for Word; all Churches would have recited it after the same manner: Lastly, all Authors would have cited it in the same Terms. Now this is what is found to be quite otherwise; because 'tis certain, that not only in the second and third Century of the Church, but also in the fourth, there were several Creeds, and that all the Creeds, tho' the same in Doctrine, yet differ'd in the Terms. In the second and third Ages of the Church, there were as many Creeds as Authors (e), and one and the same Author sets down the Creed after a different manner in several places of his Works; which is a sufficient Evidence that there was not at that time any Creed, which was reputed to be the Apostles, nor indeed any regulated and establish'd Form of Faith. In the Fourth Century *Ruffinus* compares together the three ancient Creeds of the Churches of *Aquileia*, *Rome*, and the *East*; and in these three Creeds (neither of which agrees with the *Vulgar One*) we meet with several Differences very considerable in the Terms, as may be observ'd in the Table subjoyn'd to this Section. Saint *Cyril of Jerusalem* in his Catechetical Lectures follow'd a particular Creed, which was us'd by the Church of *Jerusalem*, when this Father wrote. The Authors who have written Commentaries on the Creed, as Saint *Augustine* in his 119th. Sermon, Saint *Maximus*, Saint *Peter Chrysologus*, Saint *Fortunatus* have left out several Expressions which are in our Apostle's Creed, among others, This at the end of the Creed, *the Life Everlasting*; and Saint *Jerome* in his Epistle to *Pammachius* observes, that the Creed ended with these Words, *The Resurrection of the Flesh*.

So that it is plain the Difference between these Creeds, does not only consist in the Words and Expressions, but in Articles which were omitted, such as those, *of the descent into Hell*, *of the Communion of Saints*, and of the *Life Everlasting*, which are to be found in some, and not in others.

Had the Apostles dictated the Terms, all the Churches would have said the Creed after the same manner. For 'tis not the same case with the Creed as with any other Work which may be alter'd by the fault of the Transcribers, or by the conjectural Faults of the Criticks, or by the Maliciousness of Adulterators, or by the negligence of some Men. The Creed is a very short piece, which all Christians might have said Word for Word; and could have recited, had it been the Apostles, without changing the least Syllable of it. As soon as any such Alteration should have been made, they would soon have perceived it, cry'd out against it, oppos'd and prevented it.

Perhaps it may be objected that the Fathers of the three first Centuries paraphrased upon the Creed, and so it is not to be wondred at, if they did not recite it after the same Manner. But how is it possible that if there had been an establish'd Creed, drawn up in the same Terms in all the Churches, and made by the Apostles; how is it possible, I say, that not one of the Fathers of the three first Centuries should relate it in its Purity?

If it should be pretended that the Creeds were conformable in all the Churches: This Uniformity is found to be entirely destroy'd by the Table of the four principal Creeds, which is annex'd to the end of this Section. Therein may be observ'd, that there is scarce an Article but what has some difference: That, *the Communion of Saints*, and *the Life Everlasting*, are only in one Creed, and that *the Descent into Hell* is not in two of them. Will any one say that this Variety proceeded from the difference of the Versions, as is said of other Writings; supposing that the Creed had been compos'd in *Syriac* by the Apostles? This is an intollerable Supposition; for if they had been the Authors of it, having drawn

(e) As many Creeds as Authors.] Saint *Irenaeus* makes mention of one Creed, B. 1. Chap. 2. and another B. 2. Chap. 1. *Tertullian* made use of three different Creeds in three different

places, In *Prascript. Lib. contra Praxeum*, & de *Virginibus velandis*. *Origen* B. 1. periarcb. & in *Dialog. contra Marc. Opiat. Lib. 1.* All these Creeds differ from the *Vulgar*.



## Chap. VI. of the Old and New Testament. 139

it up for the Instruction of the Gentiles and dispersed Jews, it is very probable that they would rather have compos'd it in *Greek* than in *Syriac*. But, say they, those different Creeds contain the same Points of Doctrine. Yet those Articles are to be excepted which we have already mention'd; and no wonder if they do contain all the principal Articles of our Faith, since they were the same which the Apostles had taught the Church, and which the Church taught the *Catechumens*.

Is it possible (will they add) that the Churches should have been for three hundred Years together without an Abridgment of Faith for the instruction of the Ignorant? To this we Answer; That the Articles in which the People were to be instructed were sufficiently known; each Pastor propounded them to the People in plain and familiar Terms. At last, Forms of them were drawn up in each Church.

From these Reflections it appears; that tho' the Creed be the Apostles as to the Doctrine contain'd therein, yet it is not theirs as to all the Terms. Having learn'd the same Faith from Jesus Christ, they likewise taught it to all those who were converted to the Christian Religion, and instructed them all in the same Mysteries. They who were instructed in the Faith, had it so fix'd in their Minds, as Saint *Justin* and Saint *Irenaus* observe, that they were always ready to give an account thereof, and as often as they were oblig'd to do it, without heeding any particular Form; and from hence arose that variety of Creeds which were reported by the Fathers. Lastly, as a help to the Memory, certain Forms of these Articles of Faith were drawn up, which were found to be different in different Churches. For I make no manner of question, but that beside the Creeds already cited, there were several others, of which we have no knowledge at present; from whence it must be inferr'd, that Jesus Christ is the Author of the Doctrine contain'd in the Creed, that the Apostles are they, who preach'd and publish'd it throughout the whole World; but that it cannot be determin'd, who were the Authors of these Forms, wherein this Doctrine is compris'd.

But here it may be objected, that Saint *Irenaus*, *Tertullian*, *Lucifer Calaritanus*, and Saint *Jerome* assert, that the Creed is the Rule of Faith, which the Church receiv'd from the Apostles: That Saint *Augustine*, *Ruffinus*, Saint *Leo*, *Maximus Taurinensis*, *Fortunatus*, Saint *Peter Chrysologus*, and a great many other Authors (f) have asserted it, as a thing Self-Evident, that the Creed was drawn up in an Assembly of the Apostles: That this Opinion is authoriz'd by the Church, and that it seems to be a piece of presumption to doubt of it: Lastly, that all the Catholics are agreed in the Point, and that none but Hereticks, or persons suspected of Heresie, have dar'd to call it in Question.

To these Objections we answer, that the Testimonies of Saint *Irenaus*, *Tertullian*, and *Lucifer Calaritanus* do rather overthrow than establish the Vulgar Opinion. For these Fathers do not say, that we have receiv'd from the Apostles the Form of Faith, but only the Faith and Doctrine, which they had receiv'd from Jesus Christ. Therefore if there were any force in this Objection, it should rather be inferr'd that Jesus Christ was the Author of the Creed. 'Tis likewise farther to be noted, that by the Phrase, *Rule of Faith*, made use of by *Tertullian*, we ought not to understand the Form of Faith, but the Faith it self, which he says was establish'd by Jesus Christ. *Lucifer Calaritanus* does not speak of the Creed, but only of the Faith of the Church concerning the Divinity of Jesus Christ. Lastly, Saint *Jerome*, when he says that the Faith of the Creed was not writ on Paper or with Ink, but engraven on the Fleishly Tables of the Heart; he gives us to understand that he meant nothing else but that the Faith

(f) And a great many other Authors. Saint *Irenaus*, lib. 1. cap. 2. *Tertullian*, *De Praescript.* Ch. 37. and 13. and *de Vel. Virg. C.* 1. *Lucifer*, lib. 2. *contra Const. Hier. Ep. ad Pammach.* Saint

*Ambrose*, Ep. 7. Lib. 1. *Ruffinus*, in *Expos. Symboli*, Aug. *Serm.* 115. *Maximus*, *S. Leo*, *Fortunatus*, &c.

and Doctrine contain'd in the Creed, proceeds from the Apostles, who taught it to all the Faithful. In like manner, when Saint *Ambrose* says, that the Creed was preserv'd in its purity by the Church of *Rome*, he does not speak of the Form of the Creed, but of the Doctrine which it contains. As to the other Authorities produc'd against us, they are of little moment. *Ruffinus* is the first and only Author of the Fifth Century who has written, That the Apostles compos'd the Creed, and this he proposes only as a Popular Tradition. Saint *Augustine* never approved of this Opinion, for he says not a Word of it in the 119th. Sermon, and the 115th, which might be cited to this purpose, is certainly none of his. Lastly, the other Authors who liv'd since *Ruffinus*, have taken this History from him, and are too modern to give any certain Testimony of a matter of Fact so ancient as this is. All I shall add is, That this History has been related by none but the Latins, that the Greeks have been silent in it, and that those who have related it, are not agreed at all about the Circumstances of it, as has been already shown.

'Tis further urg'd, that the Fathers have not only spoken of the Faith and Doctrine of the Apostles, but have likewise taken notice of a certain Form which was known and receiv'd in the Church, because otherwise they would only have set down that Faith which was controverted between them and the Hereticks; whereas they always recited a great part of the Articles of the Creed and never propos'd any others but such as were compris'd therein.

To this we Answer, That they understood by the Rule of Faith, the most necessary Articles of the Doctrine of the Apostles, and the fundamental Points of our Religion. That they compris'd them in Creeds, which differ'd as to the Terms, but were conformable as to the Doctrine.

*Tertullian*, say they, understood something else by the Rule of Faith, besides the Doctrine of the Apostles; for after he had recited the Creed, Word for Word, he says: *Supereſt igitur ut demonſtremus an hac noſtra Doctrina, cujus regulam ſupra edidimus, de Apoſtolorum Traditione censeatur.* Now (say they) the *Regula* in this place is the Abridgment of the Faith.

To this we answer; That this passage proves the quite contrary. For had *Tertullian* believ'd that the Creed was a Rule of Faith communicated by the Apostles, he would have said: See here the Rule of Faith drawn up by the Apostles, which is conformable to the Doctrine of their other Writings: and would never have said, "This is the Rule of our Faith, we will shew that it is conformable to the Tradition of the Apostles."

They who dissent from my Opinion do farther object, That the same Author [*Tertullian*] writing against *Praxeas*, saith, that the Ignorant being very well acquainted with the Rule of Faith, which declares that there is but One God, do imagine that this Rule of Faith is contradicted, when 'tis taught that there are Three Persons in the Godhead, because they cannot conceive how this can be. From these Words of *Tertullian* the Objectors infer: That *Tertullian* distinguishes between the Rule of Faith and the Doctrine of Faith, otherwise it would have been ridiculous in him to have asserted that the Faithful were surpriz'd when the Trinity in Unity was propos'd to them, since the Article of the Trinity was part of the Doctrine of Faith.

In answer to this, I say: And, Is not the Doctrine of the Trinity likewise part of the Creed? Would not therefore the Difficulty be still the same, whether by the Rule of Faith we understand the Doctrine of Faith, or understand the Creed? But there is no difficulty in the case, for *Tertullian's* meaning is this: When the Distinction of the Three Persons was explain'd, the ignorant thought it contrary to the first Principles of Faith, which they had been taught, because they had been inform'd that there was only One God: This Truth they could not tell how to reconcile with the Mystery of the Trinity, whose Oeconomy they could not comprehend: That is, they found it difficult to conceive One God and Three Persons, and to reconcile those two Truths which seem'd to shock their Reason.

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Moreover, to evince beyond all dispute, that *Tertullian* by the Rule of Faith did not mean that *Formulary* or *Creed* drawn up by the Apostles, we need only take notice, That in his Book of Prescriptions, having set down the Articles contain'd in the Creed, he says that he will prove this Rule of Faith to be drawn up by *Jesus Christ* himself: *Hac Regula à Christo, ut probabitur, instituta.* He does not therefore by the Rule of Faith understand the Form; for if he did, it must be said that the Creed was not made by the Apostles, but by *Jesus Christ*. Wherefore of necessity this Reply must be made, That the Rule of Faith is indeed *Jesus Christ's*; because he was the Author of that Doctrine, and because it was he who taught it. The same may be said of those Passages, wherein the Apostles are said to be the Authors of the Rule of Faith.

The Objectors cite a large passage out of *Lucifer Calaritanus*, but I cannot perceive to what purpose, or what it proves. That Author says, *That the Apostles believ'd in God the Father Almighty, who is a true Father, and has a real Son; and in his only Son, who is the true Son of God; and in the Holy Ghost the Comforter, who is the true Spirit of God.* Now what does all this prove? Why, it proves, That it was an establish'd Opinion in the time of *Lucifer*, that the Faith of the Creed was the same which the Apostles believ'd; that it was not a point controverted between the *Arians* and the *Catholicks*: but it does not prove that the Apostles made the Creed which comprehends this Doctrine. And in Truth, *Lucifer* does not set down the Apostles Creed in that place, but only a Summary of the Faith contain'd in that Creed.

The passage of *Saint Jerome* which they likewise alledge, proves no more than what I have already granted. This Father says, *That the Creed of our Faith and our Hope, given by the Apostles, was not written on Paper with Ink, but engraven on the fleshy Tables of the Heart.* What will they pretend to prove from this passage? Why, that the Apostles have handed down to us the Creed by Tradition, *Quod ab Apostolis traditum.* We agree with them that it was so with respect to the substance of the Doctrine, but not with respect to the Terms; and this is not what *Saint Jerome* speaks of; for the Creed he means, is engraven upon the Heart. Now what is it that is thus engraven on the Heart? Are we to understand by these Terms the Creed it self? No, 'tis only the Faith here meant. *Saint Jerome* (reply they) says this, because the Creed was not as yet written on Paper. But how do they know that? What Proof have they for it? It would be ridiculous to say that the Faith of the Trinity or of the Incarnation was not then written on Paper; and it would be no less ridiculous to say so in that Sense of the Creed, which was committed to Writing in so many places. But now that Expression would not be absurd, did we take it in this Sense, viz. That the Faith of the Creed is most certain and unalterable, because it is not only written on Paper with Ink, but likewise engraven upon the very Hearts of the Faithful.

I said that the Passage of *Saint Ambrose* [*Credatur Symbolo Apostolorum, quod Ecclesia Romana intemeratum custodit & servat*] ought to be understood of the Doctrine, and not of the Form of Faith. To this they object, that he there treats of the Virginity of *Mary* after her Parturition, which is not so much as mention'd in the Writings of the Apostles. And is there any mention made of it in the Creed any more than in the New Testament? This therefore ought only to be understood of the Doctrine which the Church of *Rome* has receiv'd by Tradition from the Apostles. But tho' we should allow that this passage refers to the Creed, and not to the Doctrine; yet it does not from thence necessarily follow, that the Creed was made by the Apostles, because 'tis styl'd the *Apostle's Creed*: 'Tis enough that it goes under that Title, and that we grant it to contain the Doctrine of the Apostles.

They produce another passage of *Saint Ambrose*, taken out of the Sermon upon *Elias* and concerning Fasting. But they might have been inform'd by one of the Fathers of the Congregation of *Saint Maur*, that this Homily was not *Saint Ambrose's*, but belongs to *Casareus* of *Arles*.



They likewise quote *Celestin I.* who in his Epistle to *Nestorius*, says, *That he is very much concern'd that Nestorius had struck any thing out of the Creed which was given by the Apostles.* But there is not any Citation of so little Force as this. For (1.) in this place the question is not about the Creed. *Nestorius* had taken nothing out of that, nor had he erased the least Syllable of it: He had corrupted the Faith, and oppos'd the Articles of it. (2.) The Word *Apostles* is not in the Greek, but only that of the Creed. (3.) There is a great deal of Difference between calling the Creed the Apostles Creed, and saying that it was compos'd by them. Besides, tho' *Celestin* had been of the Opinion, that the Apostles were the Authors of the Creed, yet this would not determine the Case. *Ruffinus* had set down this Opinion before him, he was the first that ever mention'd it; but he intimates to us as if this Opinion was not very Conclusive.

In short, 'Tis no rashness to dissent herein from the common receiv'd Opinion, since 'tis a mere question in Criticism, which offers no Violence to the Christian Faith, because we grant that *Jesus Christ* is the Author of the Doctrine contain'd in the Creed, and that the Apostles taught the same to all Christians. Besides, those who maintain the common Opinion, are forc'd when they are press'd home, to be of our Mind, and to own (when 'tis objected to them, that the Ancient Creed of *Rome* differs from the Vulgar) that our Creed is not the Apostles with respect to the Expressions, but only with respect to the Sense; which is just the same thing that we argue for. Besides it is no new thing in Criticism, to deviate from the common Opinion, and to follow the Sentiments of several Learned Men, even tho' suspected of Heresie. Upon this Account, every Body at present grants, that the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons do not belong to the Apostles, as we shall shew in the next Section; and yet not a man before *Erasmus* doubted of it.

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A

A TABLE, wherein the four Ancient Creeds are Compar'd.			
The VULGAR.	That of Aquileia.	The ORIENTAL.	The ROMAN.
I. I Believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.	I. I Believe in one God the Father Almighty. In the Ancient Editions of Morellus and Cauchim, we read, In Deo Patre Omnipotente. Which is a fault of the Printer or Copier.	I. I Believe in one God the Father Almighty, invisible and impassible.	I. I Believe in God the Father Almighty.
II. And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.	II. And in Christ Jesus his only Son our Lord.	II. The same as in the Vulgar.	II. The same as in the Vulgar.
III. Who was conceiv'd of the H. Ghost, Born of the Virgin-Mary.	III. Who was Born of the Holy Ghost of the Virgin-Mary.	III. The same as in the Aquileian Creed.	III. The same as in the Aquileian Creed.
IV. Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was Crucified, Dead and Buried, he descended into Hell.	IV. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was Buried; he descended into Hell.	IV. Was crucified under Pontius Pilate, and was Buried.	IV. The same with the Oriental.
V. The third day he rose again from the dead.	V. The same.	V. The same.	V. The same.
VI. He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right Hand of God the Father Almighty.	VI. He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the Right hand of God the Father.	VI. The same as in that of Aquileia, only some add Almighty, as in the Vulgar.	VI. The same with that of Aquileia.
VII. From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.	VII. The same.	VII. The same.	VII. The same.
VIII. I Believe in the Holy Ghost.	VIII. And in the Holy Ghost.	VIII. The same with that of Aquileia.	VIII. The same with that of Aquileia.
IX. The Holy Catholick Church, the Communion of Saints.	IX. I believe in the Holy Church. Pamelius adds Catholick, but fallly, for Rufinus does not expound it, no more than he does the Communion of Saints.	IX. The same with that of Aquileia.	IX. The same with that of Aquileia.
X. The forgiveness of Sins.	X. The same.	X. The same.	X. The same.
XI. The Resurrection of the Body.	XI. The Resurrection of this Body.	XI. The same with the Vulgar.	XI. The same with the Vulgar.
XII. And the Life Everlasting.	XII. Wanting.	XII. Wanting.	XII. Wanting.

## S E C T. X.

*Of the Canons and Constitutions attributed to the Apostles.*

VARIOUS are the Opinions of the Learned about the Canons, which are commonly call'd *the Canons of the Apostles*. *Turrianus* and some others have thought that they really belong'd to the Apostles. *Baronius* and *Bellarmino* have excepted the last thirty five, which they rejected as Apocryphal; but made no scruple of admitting the first fifty. *Gabriel Albaspinus* Bishop of *Orleans* and some others have believ'd, that altho' these Canons were not written by the Apostles, yet they were very ancient, as being properly a Collection of the Canons of several Councils held before that of *Nice*. This Opinion is maintain'd by the Learned Dr. *Beverege*, in a Book which he has lately Publish'd, and intitul'd, *Vindicia Canonum*, &c. By which Canons he means the Collection of the Eighty five Canons attributed to the Apostles. Lastly, M. *Daillé* pretends not only that these Canons are not the Apostles, but likewise that they are of a more modern date, being not collected till about the latter end of the fifth Century. We shall make an Enquiry into these Opinions, and endeavour to establish that of *Albaspinus*, which we look upon to be the most probable.

'Tis no very hard matter to prove that these Canons were not made by the Apostles themselves. We need only to peruse them, and we shall be convinc'd that they contain a great many things which could never have been establish'd by the Apostles (a), some of which relate to such Questions as were not debated till several Years after their Death (b). But it is to be noted, that they are commonly styl'd by the Ancient Writers, *the Ancient Canons*, the *Canons of*

(a.) *A great many things, which could never have been establish'd by the Apostles.*] The first Canon orders that a Bishop should not be ordain'd but by two or three Bishops: whereas 'tis certain that in the Apostle's Days, one single Bishop was sufficient to Ordain another. In the third it is decreed, that the first Fruits should be offer'd to the Bishop and Priest, as to be brought directly to them and not offer'd up at the Altar. In the fourth 'tis order'd, that only Oyl and Incense should be offer'd up at the Altar. Now 'tis not probable that any such Offerings were made in the times of the Apostles. In the fifth Canon 'tis order'd, that *Easter* should not be celebrated after the *Jewish* Custom. Now, had this been determin'd by the Apostles, the Dispute between *Victor* and the *Asiaticks* would have soon been decided by that Canon; but it was not, and *Victor* only alledg'd the Tradition of his Ancestors. In like manner the 21st. Canon against those who made themselves Eunuchs, would have been cited by *Demetrius* against *Origen*, and *Origen's* Action in that case would not have been justified by *Alexander* and *Theodotus*, if there had been at that time a Canon of the Apostles, so expressly forbidding it. In the 34th. and 35th. Canons mention is made of the Jurisdiction of Metropolitans and the Distinction of Bishopricks; which were not establish'd in the Apostles days. In the 50th. Canon 'tis order'd,

that he who did not baptize or dip a Child thrice in the Water should be depos'd. Now tho' this Practice was very ancient, yet it does not seem to be in use in the Apostle's time. The fifty second is against the Error of the *Montanists* and *Novatians*. The Sixtieth against Books forg'd by Hereticks since the Apostles. The Sixty sixth is against the Sabbatical Fast. The Sixty ninth regulates the Fast of Lent. In the following Canons mention is made of Oil, Vessels of Gold and Silver, Veils consecrated in Churches, things that were never us'd in the Apostles time. The last Canon contains a Catalogue of the sacred Writings which could never have been written by the Apostles. The 55th. 46th. and 47th. Canons reject the Baptism of Hereticks as null and void. This was a Question never decided by the Apostles. The style of these Canons is not like that of the Apostles, and the matter of them is very different from that which was usually treated of by them. The names of *Clerk*, *Bishop*, *Altars*, *Sacrifice*, &c. were not so common in the Apostolical times.

(b.) *Questions that were not debated till several Years after their Death.*] Viz. The Questions concerning *Easter* and the Baptism of Hereticks, concerning those who had made themselves Eunuchs, those that would not admit *Sinners* to Penance; and those that fasted on *Sundays*, &c. *Vide Supra.*



## Chap. VI. of the Old and New Testament. 145

the Fathers, and the Ecclesiastical Canons: Titles which are likewise prefix'd to them in several Manuscripts, as *Cotelerius* has observ'd. And suppose they were sometimes call'd or intitul'd *Apostolical Canons*, yet it does not from thence follow that they were compil'd by the Apostles; but 'tis sufficient that some of them were made by Bishops, who liv'd a little after the Apostles; because those who liv'd about that time were commonly call'd *Apostolical Men*.

The Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* is the first that has attributed these Canons to the Apostles, and he has said some things on that Head, which might incline us to believe that the Apostles were the Authors of them (c). Therefore these Canons are not the work of an Impostor, who has forg'd them under the Name of the Apostles; but only a Work that was falsly attributed to them, thereby to render it the more Authentic. Now I know not of any Person more capable of carrying on such an Artifice, than the Author of the *Apostolical Constitutions* (d), who has attributed to the Apostles several other Works, and who has set down these Canons entire in his third Book.

As to the Antiquity of these Canons, they appear to us to be very Ancient, and that at least a great part (if not all) of them belong to the Councils which were held before the *Nicene Council*.

1. For in the first place, they contain nothing in my Opinion, But what agrees with the Discipline observ'd in some Churches about the latter end of the Second, throughout the third, and in the beginning of the fourth Century.

2. In the second place, they contain such Rules, as we are well assur'd were made within that time: for Instance, there is a Canon which prohibits the celebrating of *Easter* after the Jewish Custom, which we know was determin'd in several Synods conven'd in the time of *Victor*. There are three Canons wherein the Baptism of Hereticks is rejected as null and void, which *Firmilian* and *Dionysius Alexandrinus* affirm to have been determin'd in the Synods of *Synnada* and *Iconium*, which were held some time before them. Who will imagine that these Canons were made or counterfeited in a time, when every Body admitted Persons baptiz'd by Hereticks without rebaptizing them? And it cannot be suppos'd that these Canons were forg'd by Saint *Cyprian* or *Firmilian*, to authorize their Discipline: 'tis more reasonable to believe that those are the very Canons of the Synods of *Iconium* and *Synnada*, which were falsly ascrib'd to the Apostles, not by those Holy Fathers, but by more modern Writers.

3. In the third place, 'tis undeniably apparent that most of those Canons are more ancient than the Council of *Nice*, because that Council and those which were held a little after, as well as the Authors of the Fourth Century, have ci-

(c.) Which might incline us to believe that the Apostles were the Authors of them.] As for instance, in the 29th. Canon, where it is order'd, that the Bishops who should obtain the Episcopal Dignity by Bribery, should be depos'd, as *Simon* had been by Saint *Peter*; He hath added, by me *Peter*. For these Words are not to be met with in the Epistle of *Irasius* to Pope *Adrian*, nor in the Edition of *Dionysius Exiguus*. So likewise in the 5th. Canon we at present read, The Lord hath declar'd to us, and yet in the Greek Manuscripts, and in the Edition of Saint *Zonaras* and *Balsamon*, 'tis only said, The Lord hath declar'd. Lastly, in the 82d. Canon there is, as our Brother *Onesimus*, and in the last, Our *Alas*, whereas it ought to be read simply ac-

cording as 'tis in the Arabick Paraphrase, as *Onesimus*, and the *Acts* of the Apostles.

(d.) Now I know not of any Person more capable of carrying on such an Artifice, &c.] It is the very Temper and Genius of this Author, who would all along pass for a Disciple of the Apostles. He relates several Constitutions under the name of the Apostles: he ascribes to each Apostle several Constitutions and Liturgies, after which he inserts those Canons with the Additions we have taken notice of, and adds in the name of the Apostles: *This is what we Order you, O ye Bishops! continue to observe those things.*

ted them frequently (e) under the name of *Ancient Laws, Canons of the Fathers, Ecclesiastical Canons*, and even *Apostolical*, and is different from what they call *Customs, Manners or Discipline*, concerning which there is no written Law. It is therefore manifest, that these Canons are ancient, that 'tis by a mistake that they are ascribed to the Apostles, and that 'tis a Collection of Ordinances or Canons of several Ancient Synods held before the *Nicene Council*. We cannot tell for certain when it was compil'd, nor who is the Author of it, nor whether it at first consisted of the Eighty five Canons which we have by us, or of a lesser Number. However 'tis very probable that this Collection was made at different times, and that from time to time several Canons were added to the former, because there is no Connection or Order observ'd, but the Canons upon one and the same Subject are frequently found to be very distant from one another, and some Contradictions are to be met with in them.

The Objections which M. *Daille* raises against the Apostolical Canons, are a good proof against *Turrianus*, That they were not compos'd by the Apostles, but they have no force at all against our Opinion. For instance, he objects that in those Canons there are certain Terms which were not in use in the time of the Apostles, such as *Clerk, Lecturer, Laick, Metropolitan, &c.* But he cannot deny but that these Terms were us'd in the third Century of the Church. That which is order'd therein concerning *Lent*, and against the Fast on *Sunday* and the *Sabbath*, may very well belong to the third Century, since we meet with the same things in *Tertullian*. The Canons against those who castrated or made themselves Eunuchs might have been made by *Demetrius* against *Origen*. The Canons concerning *Easter*, are plainly those of the Councils held under *Victor*; and the Canons relating to the Baptism of Hereticks, are very probably the same with those of the Councils of *Synada* and *Iconium*. Should we run through

(e.) *Have cited them frequently, &c.*] In the first Canon of the *Nicene Council* is cited the second of the Apostles, concerning those who make themselves Eunuchs. In the fifth Canon is cited the twelfth and thirty second, concerning Excommunication. In the 23d. Canon the Seventy sixth, that one ought not to elect his Successor. In the twenty first is cited the Fourteenth, which prohibits Bishops from leaving their Diocesses. In the Synod of *Constantinople* held in the Year 394. the fourteenth Apostolical Canon is cited upon the same Subject with relation to Bishops. In the Council of *Ephesus* A.D. 431. pag. 788. the Thirty fifth Apostolical Canon is cited concerning Ordinations; and in A.D. 449. is cited the seventy fourth, concerning the three Admonitions which ought to precede Ecclesiastical Censure. Besides, *Alexander* in *Theodore*, B. 1. Chap. 4. cites the twelfth Apostolical Canon, and so does Saint *Athanasius* in his Epistle *ad omnes Oribodoxos*, where he likewise alludes to the 29th, 30th and 70th. Canons. *Arsenius* quotes the 34th, and Pope *Fulius* in his Epistle cites the 30th, 35th and 81st. *S. Basil* in the 43d. Canon, does manifestly quote the 24th. Apostolical Canon, styling it an *Ancient Canon*; in the 12th. Canon, the 77th. concerning Bigamy; and in the first, the forty seventh concerning the Baptism of Hereticks. *Theodosius* in *Cod. Lib. 3. de summa Trinitate*, cites the 17th. under the Title of an Apostolical Canon.

To this M. *Daille* replies, that all these Citations have no reference to the Apostolical Canons, but only to the Discipline, Custom and Traditions deriv'd from the Apostles. This Reply has not the least colour of Reason in it, for the Word *Canon*, signifies written Laws, and the Council of *Nice* makes a distinction between the Canons and Customs, which last It styles *ἀρχαία ἔθνη*. M. *Daille* adds, that oftentimes such Canons and Ancient Laws are cited which are not in the Apostolical Canons, of which he produces two Instances: the first taken out of the Thirteenth Canon of the Council of *Nice*, and the second out of the twenty first of the Council of *Ancyra*. But in the first place, in these two Canons the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical Canons are not expressly cited, but only in the first, a *Law*, or an *Ancient*, and *Canonical Custom*, *παλαιὰ καὶ κανονικὴ νόμος*, and in the second, *ἀρχαία ἔθνη*, an *ancient Definition*. But secondly, this does not hinder, but that these Terms may be understood of some Ancient Decisions of Synods. For instance, the Law which orders the receiving of the Laps'd into the Communion of the Church at the hour of Death, cited by the first Canon, was made in the Church of the *East* and *Africa*, before the Council of *Nice*, according to the Testimony of *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in his Epistle *ad Stephanum*, related by *Eusebius* B. 7. Ch. 4. and 55.

## Chap. VI. of the Old and New Testament. 147

all the Objections of M. *Daille*, we should find that tho' they are very weighty against the Opinion of *Turrianus*, yet they are of no force against ours (f).

It must then rest as a thing certain, that not only the first fifty Canons, but likewise the thirty five last of this Collection, are very ancient, though they do not belong to the Apostles. Upon which account the Greeks have always own'd them, as being of great Authority. *John* of *Antioch*, who liv'd in *Justinian's* time, has insert'd them in his Collection of the Canons, and they are commended by *Justinian* himself in his sixth *Novel*. They are approv'd in the Synod held in the Emperor's Palace, after the fifth general Council; cited in the seventh general Council, and receiv'd by *Joannes Damascenus* and *Photius*, only with this Difference, that the former being no great Critick, has attributed them to the Apostles, and the Latter having a clearer insight into these Matters, has question'd whether they belong to them or not. Among the Latins they have not always met with the same Lot. Cardinal *Humbert* has rejected them. Pope *Gelasius* has plac'd them among the Apocryphal Writings, as well because they were falsly attributed to the Apostles, as because therein are some Canons, which favour Saint *Cyprian's* Opinion, concerning the Baptism of Hereticks. *Hincmarus* has explain'd the Canon of *Gelasius* very favourably, by saying, that that Pope has not plac'd them among such Apocryphal Books as were full of Errors, but only among those, about which the Rule of Saint *Paul* ought to be regarded, viz. *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good*. *Dionysius Exiguus* has translated the first fifty, and plac'd them in the Front of his Collection, but withall takes notice that some would not approve of them. 'Tis perhaps upon that account that *Martin* of *Braga* would not insert them in his Collection of the Canons. But *Isidorus* makes no scruple to insert them into His, and ever since they have been made part of the Canon-Law. It is likewise to be observ'd, that as soon as they appear'd in *France*, they were in Esteem; and where first of all produc'd in the Cause of *Pratextatus* in the time of King *Chilperic*; and their Authority was submitted to, as *Gregory* of *Tours* testifies in the fifth Book

(f.) They are of no force against Ours.] However some of M. *Daille's* most considerable reasons may be objected to us. For instance, He says, that Saint *Athanasius* in the Affair of *Leonius* the Eunuch, cites the Canon of the Council of *Nice*, but not the Apostolical Canon, which shews, says he, that it was not then known. That in like manner Saint *Epiphanius* does not cite it against the *Valesian* Hereticks. That Saint *Basil* reckons among the unwritten Traditions, the Immersion in Baptism three times, and consequently that the Canon of the Apostles which enjoins it, was not made in that Father's time. That this very Canon is made against the Hereticks, who baptiz'd with one single Immersion, and that the *Eunomians* were the first who introduc'd that Practice: These are all the Reasons of M. *Daille* which may be objected to us; but it is very easie to give an answer to them. Saint *Athanasius* rather cites the Apostolical Canon than that of the Council of *Nice*. Saint *Epiphanius* opposes no Canon against the *Valesians*, but only the Holy Scriptures. Saint *Basil* and the other Fathers, by unwritten Tradition, understand all those Usages which are not in the Scriptures. Lastly the Canon relating to the Triple Immersion was not made against the Hereticks, but against the negligence of the Priests. One may with greater Probability object the 84th. Canon, where among the Canonical Books we meet

with the Books of the *Maccabees*, the Epistles of Saint *Clement*, and his Constitutions. But to this Objection it must be answer'd, that this Canon is adulterated, that the Books of the *Maccabees* are not in the Greek Code of *Joannes Antiochenus*, and that 'tis easie to perceive, that the Epistles of Saint *Clement* and his Constitutions have been added by the Author of the Constitutions, who would pass for Saint *Clement*, and thereby advance the Credit of his Book. We can prove that this Canon is Ancient, since it leaves out the Books of the Old Testament, which were not in the Hebrew Canon, and the Apocalypse of the New Testament. Lastly, 'tis objected against us, that those Canons were unknown to the Authors of the fifth Century, that they are not cited by *Eusebius*, and are not inserted in the Code of the Canons of the Catholick Church. But all these Objections are very frivolous. The Authors of the fourth Century have cited those Canons several times: *Eusebius* has not mention'd them indeed, no more has he the Canons of the Council of *Nice*: and lastly, it is not to be wondred at, that they are not in the Code of the Catholick Church, which did not contain all the Ancient Canons, no more than the Code of the *African* Church did contain the Canons which were made by Saint *Cyprian* or by *Agrippinus*.



of his History, Chap. 19. where he observes, that there was a new Chapter among the Collection of the Canons, which contain'd several Canons, as being Apostolical, *quasi Apostolicos*, and he cites one of 'em which is the twenty fifth of the Apostolical Canons, but in a different manner from what it is in the Collection of *Dionysius Exiguus*. Lastly, *Hincmarus* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* takes notice, that those Canons were prefix'd before a Collection of Canons drawn up for the Use of the *Gallican* Church distinct from all other Churches; as for their Authority and Antiquity, he is absolutely of our Opinion, and explains himself in the 24th. Chapter of his Tract concerning the fifty Canons in these Terms: *The Canons* (says he) *which are call'd the Apostles, collected by several Christians, were made at a time when the Bishops could not meet together, nor hold Councils freely. They contain a great many things which may be very well allow'd of; but they likewise enjoyn others, which ought not to be observ'd.*

I cannot say so much of the Apostolical Constitutions, as I have said of the Canons, viz. that they were not spurious; but that in process of time it so happened that a false Title was given them: for the Author of the Constitutions was an Impostor, who all along was willing to pass for *Clement* the Disciple of the Apostles, and who attributed to all of 'em in general, and to each in particular several Constitutions, which do by no means suit with the Apostles; such are those, which relate to Churches built in the form of Temples, to *Catechumens*, *Energumens*, Fasts, the Liturgy, Extreme Unction, the Prayers for the *Catechumens* and *Energumens*; such likewise as concern the Ordinations of Deacons and Deaconesses; The Virgins, Confessors and Sub-Deacons; the Benedictions of Oyl and Water; The first Fruits, the Celebration of *Easter*, and several other things which were not in use in the time of the Apostles: not to say any thing of the many Absurdities, Anachronisms, and other things therein contain'd (g): Which are sufficient Demonstrations that these Constitutions were not made by the Apostles, nor so much as by *Saint Clement*.

I shall say nothing of the Nine other Canons which are likewise attributed to the Apostles, and which they say were made in a certain Council of *Antioch* wholly known to the Ancients: since it is not to be question'd but that these Canons are supposititious, and no body at present offers to defend them (h.)

(g.) *The many Absurdities, Anachronisms and other Errors therein contain'd.*] Such as B. 1. That the Women ought to be shaved and not the Men. B. 2. Chap. 1. That Bishops ought to be fifty years old, and Chap. 57. it is order'd, that the Gospel of *Saint John* should be read, which was not written till the Year of our Lord 97. after the Death of the rest of the Apostles. Chap. 11. 'tis said, that the Bishop presides over Kings and Magistrates. B. 3. Chap. 2. 'Tis said that the third Marriage is Incontinence, and the fourth, downright Debauchery. B. 6. Chap. 6. Mention is made of the *Ebionites*, whose Error sprung up since the Death of the Apostles; and Chap. 14. He makes *James* the Son of *Zebedee* to be at *Jerusalem*, after the time of his Death. B. 8. C. 4. He says that the Constitutions were made in the presence of *S. Paul* and the Seven Deacons. Now 'tis plain, that *S. Stephen*, one of the seven Deacons was dead before *S. Paul's* Conversion. Lastly, B. 8. C. 32. He permits the Women slaves to suffer themselves to be debauch'd by their Masters. He is likewise charg'd with *Arianism*.

(h.) *No body at present offers to defend them.*] This Synod was unknown to *S. Luke* and to all the Ancients, for when 'tis said, that it is cited

by *Innocent I.* Epist. 18. 'tis a mistake; 'tis the Council of *Jerusalem*, which he means, and, in stead of, *Antiochenam Ecclesiam quæ meruit apud se celeberrimum Apostolorum conventum*, we ought to read, *propter se*, for 'tis plain, that *Innocent* speaks of the Synod of *Jerusalem*, which was *Celeberrimus Apostolorum conventus*, mention'd by *S. Luke* in his Acts, Ch. 15. Not one of the Ancients have made mention of these Canons, and they are full of Absurdities. In the first 'tis said, that the Christians were call'd *Galileans*, a Name that was not given them till after the Death of the Apostles. [However 'tis to be observ'd that the Angel in the Acts, seems to give the Apostles that Title, when after the Ascent of Christ into Heaven, he says, Chap. 1. Vers. 11. *Ye Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing, &c.*] In the third Canon 'tis order'd, that the Christians should live *Anagogically*, a Term that has no Sense in it. In the Ninth Canon, The Synagogue is call'd *Beastly*. In the Eighth 'tis ordered that there should be Images in the Churches, a custom not in use in the Apostle's time. This Canon is cited by *Gregory of Pessinunta* in the second Council of *Nice*; but 'tis well known that there were a great many Apocryphal Records cited in that Council.

S E C T. XI.

Of the Books attributed to Prochorus, Saint Linus, Abdias; and of the Acts of the Passion of Saint Andrew.

There was in the time of the Apostles a Man nam'd *Prochorus*, one of the seven first Deacons, and there is at present under his Name the Life of Saint *John*, printed in the *Orthodoxographia* and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, *Lorinus*, the Master of the Sacred Palace, and in a word all that have treated concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers, as well Catholics as Heretics, do agree that it is a spurious piece and unworthy of the Author whose name it bears. And in truth, 'tis a Narration full of idle Fables and Stories. Therein 'tis said that Saint *John* threw himself at the Apostle's Feet, to desire them to excuse his going into *Asia*: That after he was taken out of the Caldron of scalding Oyl, they built a Church in honour to him; that he compos'd his Gospel in the Isle of *Patmos*, &c. The style of these Acts is that of a Latin or Greek, and not of an Hebrew. Lastly, therein we meet with the Terms *Trinity* and *Hypostasis*.

The two Books which go under the name of Saint *Linus*, concerning the Passion of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, are likewise unanimously rejected, as spurious Books and full of Fables. The Author relates that *Agrippa* was Governour of *Rome* in the time of Saint *Peter*; that Saint *Peter* was Martyr'd without *Nero's* having any Knowledge of it, and that this Emperour found fault with his being put to Death: That part of the Roman Magistrates were Christians; That the Wife of *Albanus* quitted her Husband against his Consent, according to the Advice she had received from Saint *Peter*. In short, these two Books are full of Errors, Falsities, Fictions and Untruths. In the latter, mention is made of the Letters of Saint *Paul* to *Seneca*, and of the Epistles of *Seneca* to Saint *Paul*.

The same Judgment may be pass'd on the Book of *Abdias*, which contains a very fabulous relation of the Lives of the Apostles, printed separately in the Year 1587, 1560 and 1571. at *Basil* in the Year 1532, and at *Paris* in the Year 1583, and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. At first, this Treatise was look'd upon as compos'd in Hebrew by a Disciple of *Jesus Christ*, nam'd *Abdias*, who was of *Babylon*, and rendred into Greek by *Eutropius*, and into Latin by *Julius Africanus*. But at present every Body is undeceiv'd, and 'tis agreed on all hands that 'tis the Tract of an Impostor, who gave out falsely that he was the Disciple of *Jesus Christ*, and yet cited *Hegefigus* and *Julius Africanus*, whom he could never have seen, had he liv'd in the time when *Jesus Christ* was upon Earth; and lastly, that he is One, who relates several fabulous Histories concerning the Life of *Jesus Christ*, and the Lives of his Apostles, which it would be to no purpose here to repeat.

The Learned are divided in their Sentiments concerning the Acts of the Passion of Saint *Andrew*, written by the Priests of *Achaia*, which are in *Surinus's* History of the Saints. *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, and several other Criticks of the Romish Communion approve them, whilst a great many others reject them. The Ancients knew no other Acts of Saint *Andrew*, than those which had been corrupted by the *Manichees*, of which Saint *Augustine*, *Philastrinus* and Pope *Innocent* make mention (a), and which Pope *Gelasius* has plac'd among the Apocry-

(a.) Of which Saint *Augustine*, *Philastrinus*, *Philastrinus* in his Treatise de Hæres. n. 4. Pope and Pope *Innocent* make mention.] Saint *Augustine* in his Tract de fide Contra Manicheos; *Innocent* I. Epist. ad Exuper. *Gelasius* in Concilio Romano.

of his History, Chap. 19. where he observes, that there was a new Chapter among the Collection of the Canons, which contain'd several Canons, as being Apostolical, *quasi Apostolicos*, and he cites one of 'em which is the twenty fifth of the Apostolical Canons, but in a different manner from what it is in the Collection of *Dionysius Exiguus*. Lastly, *Hincmarus* Arch-Bishop of *Rheims* takes notice, that those Canons were prefix'd before a Collection of Canons drawn up for the Use of the *Gallican* Church distinct from all other Churches; as for their Authority and Antiquity, he is absolutely of our Opinion, and explains himself in the 24th. Chapter of his Tract concerning the fifty Canons in these Terms: *The Canons* (says he) *which are call'd the Apostles, collected by several Christians, were made at a time when the Bishops could not meet together, nor hold Councils freely. They contain a great many things which may be very well allow'd of; but they likewise enjoin others, which ought not to be observ'd.*

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(g.) *The many Absurdities, Anachronisms and other Errors therein contain'd.* Such as B. 1. That the Women ought to be shaved and not the Men. B. 2. Chap. 1. That Bishops ought to be fifty years old, and Chap. 57. it is order'd, that the Gospel of Saint *John* should be read, which was not written till the Year of our Lord 97. after the Death of the rest of the Apostles. Chap. 11. 'tis said, that the Bishop presides over Kings and Magistrates. B. 3. Chap. 2. 'Tis said that the third Marriage is Incontinence, and the fourth, downright Debauchery. B. 6. Chap. 6. Mention is made of the *Ebionites*, whose Error sprung up since the Death of the Apostles; and Chap. 14. He makes *James* the Son of *Zebedee* to be at *Jerusalem*, after the time of his Death. B. 8. C. 4. He says that the Constitutions were made in the presence of S. *Paul* and the Seven Deacons. Now 'tis plain, that S. *Stephen*, one of the seven Deacons was dead before S. *Paul's* Conversion. Lastly, B. 8. C. 32. He permits the Women slaves to suffer themselves to be debauch'd by their Masters. He is likewise charg'd with *Arianism*.

(b.) *No body at present offers to defend them.* This Synod was unknown to S. *Luke* and to all the Ancients, for when 'tis said, that it is cited

by *Innocent I.* Epist. 18. 'tis a mistake; 'tis the Council of *Jerusalem*, which he means, and in stead of, *Antiochenam Ecclesiam quæ meruit apud se celeberrimum Apostolorum conventum*, we ought to read, *propter se*, for 'tis plain, that *Innocent* speaks of the Synod of *Jerusalem*, which was *Celeberrimus Apostolorum Conventus*, mention'd by S. *Luke* in his Acts, Ch. 15. Not one of the Ancients have made mention of these Canons, and they are full of Absurdities. In the first 'tis said, that the Christians were call'd *Galileans*, a Name that was not given them till after the Death of the Apostles. [However 'tis to be observ'd that the Angel in the Acts, seems to give the Apostles that Title, when after the Ascent of Christ into Heaven, he says, Chap. 1. Vers. 11. *Ye Men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing, &c.*] In the third Canon 'tis order'd, that the Christians should live *Anagogically*, a Term that has no Sense in it. In the Ninth Canon, The Synagogue is call'd *Beastly*. In the Eighth 'tis ordered that there should be Images in the Churches, a custom not in use in the Apostle's time. This Canon is cited by *Gregory of Pessinuma* in the second Council of *Nice*; but 'tis well known that there were a great many Apocryphal Records cited in that Council.



S E C T. XI.

Of the Books attributed to Prochorus, Saint Linus, Abdias; and of the Acts of the Passion of Saint Andrew.

There was in the time of the Apostles a Man nam'd *Prochorus*, one of the seven first Deacons, and there is at present under his Name the Life of Saint *John*, printed in the *Orthodoxographia* and in the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. But *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, *Lorinus*, the Master of the Sacred Palace, and in a word all that have treated concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers, as well Catholics as Heretics, do agree that it is a spurious piece and unworthy of the Author whose name it bears. And in truth, 'tis a Narration full of idle Fables and Stories. Therein 'tis said that Saint *John* threw himself at the Apostle's Feet, to desire them to excuse his going into *Asia*: That after he was taken out of the Caldron of scalding Oyl, they built a Church in honour to him; that he compos'd his Gospel in the Isle of *Patmos*, &c. The style of these Acts is that of a Latin or Greek, and not of an Hebrew. Lastly, therein we meet with the Terms *Trinity* and *Hypostasis*.

The two Books which go under the name of Saint *Linus*, concerning the Passion of Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul*, are likewise unanimously rejected, as spurious Books and full of Fables. The Author relates that *Agrippa* was Governour of *Rome* in the time of Saint *Peter*; that Saint *Peter* was Martyr'd without *Nero's* having any Knowledge of it, and that this Emperour found fault with his being put to Death: That part of the Roman Magistrates were Christians; That the Wife of *Albanus* quitted her Husband against his Consent, according to the Advice she had received from Saint *Peter*. In short, these two Books are full of Errors, Falsities, Fictions and Untruths. In the latter, mention is made of the Letters of Saint *Paul* to *Seneca*, and of the Epistles of *Seneca* to Saint *Paul*.

The same Judgment may be pass'd on the Book of *Abdias*, which contains a very fabulous relation of the Lives of the Apostles, printed separately in the Year 1587, 1560 and 1571. at *Basil* in the Year 1532, and at *Paris* in the Year 1583. and afterwards inserted into the *Bibliotheca Patrum*. At first, this Treatise was look'd upon as compos'd in Hebrew by a Disciple of *Jesus Christ*, nam'd *Abdias*, who was of *Babylon*, and rendred into Greek by *Eutropius*, and into Latin by *Julius Africanus*. But at present every Body is undeceiv'd, and 'tis agreed on all hands that 'tis the Tract of an Impostor, who gave out falsely that he was the Disciple of *Jesus Christ*, and yet cited *Hegesippus* and *Julius Africanus*, whom he could never have seen, had he liv'd in the time when *Jesus Christ* was upon Earth; and lastly, that he is One, who relates several fabulous Histories concerning the Life of *Jesus Christ*, and the Lives of his Apostles, which it would be to no purpose here to repeat.

The Learned are divided in their Sentiments concerning the Acts of the Passion of Saint *Andrew*, written by the Priests of *Achaia*, which are in *Syrinus's* History of the Saints. *Baronius*, *Bellarmin*, and several other Criticks of the Romish Communion approve them, whilst a great many others reject them. The Ancients knew no other Acts of Saint *Andrew*, than those which had been corrupted by the *Manichees*, of which Saint *Augustine*, *Philastrinus* and Pope *Innocent* make mention (a), and which Pope *Gelasius* has plac'd among the Apocry-

(a.) Of which Saint *Augustine*, *Philastrinus*, [ *Philastrinus* in his Treatise de Hæres. n. 4. Pope and Pope *Innocent* make mention. ] Saint *Augustine* in his Tract de fide Contra Manicheos; *Innocent* I. Epist. ad Exuper. *Gelasius* in Concilio Romano.

phal Writings. But 'tis very evident that these last are different from those we are speaking of, and 'tis likewise certain that those last Acts of the Passion of Saint *Andrew*, were not cited by any Authors till after the Seventh Century, as by *Remy* of *Auxerre*, *Peter Damien*, *Lanfranc*, *Saint Bernard*, and *Ivo* of *Chartres*, which shews that we have no sufficient Evidence of their Antiquity. Thirdly, the Mystery of the Trinity is not only explain'd in these Acts after such a Manner, as might give us an occasion to suspect, that he who wrote them liv'd since the *Nicene* Council; but he likewise teaches the Error of the Greeks concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost, asserting that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, and abides in the Son. I am sensible that 'tis said there are some Manuscripts in which these Terms are not to be met with; but who knows but that they might be as well struck out of some, as added to others? For which Reason this Passion ought at least to be look'd upon as a doubtful piece, which cannot be made use of to prove any Doctrine of Faith, or to establish any certain matter of Fact.

The Life and Death of Saint *Matthias* was forg'd by an Author, who pretended to have received it from a *Jew*, that had translated it from the Hebrew. We ought likewise to place among the Apocryphal Books the Life of Saint *Mark*, the History of Saint *Clement*, and of *Apollinaris*, set down in the Collection of Ancient Histories made by *Laurentius de la Barre*. We need only read over these Pieces to be convinc'd of the Falsity of them.

## CHAP. VII.

### *Of the Ancient Prophane Records produc'd in Favour of the Christian Religion.*

#### SECT. I.

##### *Of the Sibyls and the Oracles commonly attributed to them.*

WE here joyn in one and the same Chapter all the Prophane Records, which were formerly made use of in favour of the Christian Religion, in order to examine them: and tho' we should reject almost all of them as spurious Pieces, yet we suppose we should do Religion no harm, which is establish'd upon more solid and convincing Proofs, than to stand in need of such as are false and dubious.

We begin with the Verses attributed to the *Sibyls*, which the Ancients have often cited, to convince the Gentiles of the Truth of the Christian Religion. But before we enter upon the Examination of them, it will be proper to premise something concerning the *Sibyls* and their Books.

It is something difficult to give you the true and exact Etymology of the Word *Sibyl*. *Lactantius*, and after him, *Saint Jerome* say, that the *Sibyls* were so call'd, because they were the Interpreters of the Counsels of the Gods, and that their Name was deriv'd from two Greek Words (*a*), which signifie the

(a.) Was deriv'd from two Greek Words.] These Words are *Σύβηλλ* which in the *Æolic* is pronounc'd *σὺ βυλλή*. *Lactantius* B. 1. Chap. 6. *Saint Jerome*, B. 1. in *Jovin*. Contrary to this Etymology 'tis said, that the Adjective *σὺβαννός* whose last three Syllables make a Dactyl, doth evince that the Word *Sibyl* is not deriv'd from *σὺ βυλλή*.

## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 151

*Counsel of God*, and which, being written according to the *Aeolic* Dialect, make up the word *Sibyl*. Some have deriv'd it from a Hebrew Word, and others from an obsolete Latin Adjective (*b*), which signifies *Sharp* and *Crafty*: but this last Conjecture is erroneous, since the Greeks made use of the Word *Sibyl* before the Latins. The most probable Opinion is that the Name of *Sibyl*, which was the proper Name of a famous Prophetess of *Delphi*, became afterwards the common Name of other Prophetesses, just as the Name *Cesar*, which was the proper Name of *Julius*, was afterwards apply'd to all the Emperors.

Nothing is more uncertain than the Number and the Names of the *Sibyls* (*c*) several of the Ancients make mention only of one *Sibyl*. Some speak of the *Sibyl* of *Cume*, and others of the *Sibyl* of *Delphi*. *Strabo* and some others distinguish between two of *Erythraea*. *Solinus* names three of them, the *Delphian*, the *Erythraean*, and the *Cumaean*. *Pausanias* reckons four of them, viz. the *Libyan*, the *Delphian* or *Erythraean*, and the *Cumaean*, and the *Babylonian*. *Alian*, *Varro* *Lactantius*, *Clement* of *Alexandria* and most Authors reckon about ten of them, and some have added to that Number: but they are not agreed about their Names, nor about the place of their Abode, and do often confound the One with the Other.

Let this be how it will, yet it is certain, that the Name of *Sibyl* was given to certain Women, who being transported by Enthusiasm (*d*), and a fury that came next to Madness, which was rais'd either by an over-heated Brain, or by the possession of Demons, utter'd such dark and obscure Sentences, as pass'd a

(*b.*) From an Obsolete Latin Adjective.] This Adjective is *Sibus*, which in *Festus* signifies, *acutus*, *callidus*.

(*c.*) Nothing is more uncertain than the Number and the Names of the *Sibyls*.] *Plato* in his *Phaedrus* speaks only of one *Sibyl*, but does not tell us of what place she was. The Author of the Treatise, *de mirabilibus auscultationibus*, in *Aristotle*, speaks of the *Cumaean Sibyl*. *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 4. speaks of the *Cumaean Sibyl*, and says that her Name was *Daphne*, the Daughter of *Tiresias*. *Virgil*, *Pausanias*, and *Suidas* call her *Manto*, and *Saint Clement*, *Artemis*. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Pliny*, *Juvenal*, &c. make mention only of one *Sibyl*, but it cannot from thence be infer'd that they knew of no more. *Strabo* B. 13. and 17. says that there were two of *Erythraea*, and that the second call'd *Athenais* liv'd in the time of *Alexander the Great*. *Stephanus de Urbibus*, and *Capella*, B. 2. *de Nuptiis Physilogia*, reckon likewise two, one nam'd *Erophile* a *Trojan* by Birth, and another call'd *Symmachia* of *Erythraea*. *Solinus Polyhist.* c. 8. reckons three, the *Delphian* more ancient than *Homer*, *Erophile* and the *Cumaean Sibyl*. *Alian de Var. Hist.* B. 2. C. 35. reckons ten of them: The *Erythraean*, the *Samian*, the *Egyptian*, the *Sardian*, the *Cumaean*, the *Jewish* and four others. *Saint Clement* in his  *Stromata*, B. 1. *Manto* (says he) and a great many *Sibyls*, the *Samian*, the *Colophonian*, the *Thessalian*, &c. *Lactantius*, B. 6. reckons ten of them according to *Varro's* Account. The first of *Persia*, of whom *Nicanor*, who wrote the History of *Alexander*, makes mention. The second of *Lybia*, of whom *Euripides* speaks. The third of *Delphi*, mention'd by *Chrysippus* in his Treatise of Divination. The Fourth of *Cume* in *Italy*, of which *Nevius* and *Piso* make mention; the former in the *Punic War*, and the latter

in his *Annals*. The fifth of *Erythraea*, whom *Apollodorus* the *Erythraean* asserted to be a Citizen of that City. The sixth a *Samian*, of whom *Bratosthenes* has written. The seventh a *Cumaean*, call'd *Amalthaea*, and by others *Demophila* or *Herophila*. The eighth of *Hellestion*, born in the *Trojan* Country, in the Town of *Marpessa*. The ninth a *Phrygian*, who prophesied at *Ancyra*. The Tenth a *Tiburine*, nam'd *Albunea*, who prophesied at *Tivoli*, near the River *Teverrone*, in the bottom of which they say, her Statue was found, holding a Book in her Hand. *Isidorus* has follow'd this Catalogue given by *Lactantius*. *Suidas* has reckon'd twelve of them. Some Authors, have with *Pausanias*, confounded the *Erythraean* with the *Delphian*, the *Phrygian*, the *Samian*, and the *Colophonian*. Others, such as *Capella*, and the Author, *de mirabilibus auscultationibus*, joyn the *Cumaean*, and *Erythraean* together. *Saint Justin* confounded the *Babylonian* and the *Cumaean*. According to some, the *Persian* is the most ancient; according to others, the *Cumaean*, and according to *Saint Clement* the *Delphian*.

(*d.*) Transported by Enthusiasm.] One need only read what all the Ancients say concerning the manner wherein the *Sibyls* utter'd their Oracles. See *Virgil's Aeneid*, *Lucan*, *Claudian* in *Panegyric*. *Honorii*, *Plutarch*, *de Orac. Pythia*. It was so common a Notion among the Heathens that they were possess'd, that *οὐκ ἐν αἰσῶνι* among them signified as much. Now that Frenzy which deprives a Man of his Senses, cannot be the Inspiration of the Holy Ghost, but the Effect of a heated Brain, or of Possession. For 'tis in my Mind a groundless Supposition which *Saint Jerome* has form'd, to say, that they receiv'd from God the Gift of Prophecy as a Reward of their Chastity.



among the Pagans for Oracles and Prophecies. 'Tis said that the *Sibyl* of *Cuma* wrote them upon Leaves (e), and that a Collection was made of them, which a Woman presented to *Tarquin* (f), who bought part of them, and very carefully inclos'd them in an Urn, which he plac'd in the Capitol, having created the *Duumviri* on purpose to look to them, and to consult them upon all urgent occasions. The number of those who had this Charge of them increas'd by little and little; afterwards they rose to ten, and at last to fifteen. Very severe punishments were to be inflicted on those Officers, if ever they suffer'd these Books to be seen by any body else. *Dionysius Halicarnassus* and *Valerius Maximus* relate that one of the *Duumviri* was punish'd as a Parricide, that is, he was fown up alive in a Sack and thrown into the Sea, for having suffered some of the *Sibylline Verses* to be copied out. These Books were thus preserv'd till the Year 671. *Urb. Condit.* that is 83 Years before Christ, at which time the Capitol being burnt down, they perished with the other Ornaments of that Temple, as *Dionysius Halicarnassus*, *Pliny*, and other Authors inform us. After the Capitol was rebuilt, the Consuls propos'd to the Senate the sending Ambassadors into *Greece*, to *Erythraea* and into *Asia*, to gather up what they could get of the *Sibylline Oracles*, and bring them to *Rome*. Upon this *Ottacilius Crassus*, and *L. Valerius Flaccus* were deputed to go to *Attalus* King of *Pergamos*, who brought back out of *Asia* about a thousand Verses attributed to the *Sibyls*, which they had collected in all places where they came from the Copies of several private Men. But forasmuch as there were many things in them which seem'd to be false or superfluous, fifteen Persons were deputed to revise and correct them, and after that, they were deposited in the Capitol in the room of the others. In the time of *Augustus*, these Books were again revis'd; near two thousand Verses attributed to the *Sibyls* were burnt by that Emperor's Order; and those that were look'd upon as Genuine were put into two Golden Cabinets, and deposited in the Temple of *Apollo*. Some pretend that these Books were burnt in the Fire of *Rome* which happened under *Nero*; but produce no Arguments to convince us thereof. Let that Case be how it will, yet this is certain that so long as *Rome* had Pagan Emperors (g), the Oracles attributed to the *Sibyls* were always carefully kept, and consulted upon all urgent occasions; and *Julian* the Apostate being minded to reintroduce all the ancient Pagan Superstitions, caus'd those *Sibylline Books* to be search'd and consulted.

There are at present a great many Greek Verses which are attributed to the *Sibyls*, and are divided into eight Books: But almost every body is agreed that this Work is supposititious, of which the Time wherein it was written (h), the

(e.) Wrote them upon Leaves.] Thus *Virgil* in his 6th. *Aeneid*, *Folium tantum ne carmina manda. & Juvenal*, *Credite me folium recitare Sibylla*.

(f.) Which a Woman presented to *Tarquin*.] This History is related by several ancient Authors, according to some, *Tarquin Superbus*, according to others, *Tarquinius Priscus* is the Man. They say that the Woman who brought them had nine Books in all, and that offering them at a very dear Price, which *Tarquin* would not give her, she went away and burnt three of them: That afterwards proffering to sell the fix that remain'd, at as dear a price as she would have sold the Nine, and *Tarquin* again refusing to give her what she ask'd, she went and burnt three more of them: and that at last *Tarquin* startled at the Woman's proceedings, bought the three that remain'd at the same price which she had ask'd for the whole Nine. *Vid. Dion. Halicarnass. Antiquit. l. 4. Aulus Gellius* and *Lactantius*. *Pliny* counts but

three of these Books instead of Nine, and says that two of 'em were burnt.

(g.) So long as *Rome* had Pagan Emperors.] *Dion*, in *Tiberius*, and *Nero*: *Alis Spartianus*, in the life of *Adrian*: *Julius Capitolinus*, in the life of *Gordianus*: *Trebellius Pollion*, in the life of *Galicus*: *Flavius Vopiscus* in the life of *Aurelian*: *Aurelius Victor*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, B. 24. *Zosimus* B. 2. and *Procopius* B. 1. do all agree in this.

(h.) The time wherein it was written.] It is certain that the *Sibyls* were later than *Moses*; he who has forg'd this Book, says, that *Sibyl* was in *Noah's Ark*, and yet B. 3. 'tis said, that these Oracles were written 1500 Years after the Establishment of the *Gracian Empire*. Now in what way soever we understand this, it follows, that all the Predictions concerning the *Jews* and *Moses* are Supposititious, since the 1500 Years mention'd, reach down to the Destruction of *Jerusalem*. In the 5th. Book, the Author says that he had seen the Ruine of the Second House

## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 153

the style of it (i), and the things (k) it contains are irrefragable proofs.

Since it is evident, that the Eight Books which we have under the name of the *Sibyls* are spurious, 'tis no less true to assert, that those which the Fathers had by them, and which they cited, were likewise spurious; as also that they did not differ very much from those which we have still extant.

In the first place I say, that the Books of the *Sibyls* which the Fathers cited, were not really the same with those that were so carefully kept by the *Romans*. For to say nothing of these latter's being kept so secret, as not a Copy of 'em could be had, so far were they from being so common as those which the Fathers have cited, and which were in every Bodie's Hands: I say, not to mention any thing of this, 'tis certain that they contain'd such things as differ very much from those we meet with in the Writings of the Fathers. In the former there were only prophane Matters which related to the Superstitions of the Pagans, whereas these last were full of Predictions and Instructions relating to Christianity.

The *Romans* never consulted the Books of the *Sibyls*, but they learnt from them such Superstitions as were wholly Pagan (l). Therein they were inform'd, either that they ought to Sacrifice to the Gods, or that a Nail ought to be driven into the Capitol, or that Sports ought to be kept in Honour of *Jupiter*. Formerly they were admonish'd by them, to send for the statue of *Æsculapius* to *Rome*, to build a Temple to *Venus*, to offer Sacrifices to the Infernal Gods, and to appease the Heathen Gods by extravagant Ceremonies: Lastly, the *Romans* never learnt any thing else out of these Books, but such Superstitions as were altogether Prophane.

House which plainly means the second Temple of *Jerusalem*. In the 8th. Book 'tis said, that after *Trajan*, denoted by the Letter T, another should reign, who should take his Name from the *Adriatick* Sea, viz. *Adrian*: and that after him should three reign, that is, *Antoninus*, *Marcus* and *Lucius*, and that the Latter should have the sole power of all things in his Hands. This shews that this was written the beginning of the Empire of *Marcus Aurelius*, or at the latter end of *Antonine's*; for whereas *Lucius* was the youngest, it was but natural to foretell that he should outlive the other two.

(i.) The style of it.] It is plain that he who counterfeited those Books was not really Enthusiastical, but only pretended to be so. The Verses of the *Sibyls* were obscure and incoherent; but these are not so. The Histories of the Emperors are therein related after an Historical, and not a prophetic Manner. The style has nothing of the Fury and Transport peculiar to the *Sibyls*; nor is it like to *Homer's* style, who, according to *Diodorus*, had taken several Verses out of the *Sibyls*. He who compos'd the Books of the *Sibyls* was no Scholar, for he derives *Adam's* Name from *אדם*. B. 2. he says, that the four Letters of that Word signify the four parts of the World, and yet there are no more than three Letters in the Hebrew and Chaldee Word. He supposes that the name of God makes the number of 1697, which is a mistake, unless it be written in Greek after a barbarous manner. He takes out of the Name *Jesus* (which he makes to consist of four Vowels and two Consonants) 888 Years, and out of the Name of *Rome* 948. He makes the Fables of the *Titans* to pass for true Hi-

story. He says that Mount *Ararat* is in *Phrygia*, that the River *Eurotas* is in *Epirus*, and that *Gog* and *Magog* are the *Ethiopians*, which shews that this Impostor understood neither Hebrew, Geography nor History, which cannot be said of the true *Sibyl*.

(k.) The Things.] In these Books there are such Opinions as could not be taught by any others besides the ancient Christians. The Author is of the same Opinion with the *Millenarians*: he believes *Nero* to be the Antichrist, that the Souls shall be in Hell till the Resurrection, that the Fire of the last Judgment shall serve for Purgatory: That the Terrestrial Paradise shall be preserv'd, and that the Wicked shall at last be delivered out of Hell-fire, with several other Notions which were held by some of the ancient Christians. In short, there can no question be made, but that what is said in those Books concerning the Birth, Life and Actions of *Jesus Christ*, was taken out of the Evangelists. The Prophets never said any thing, that comes near the Evidence of what is contain'd in these Books. I omit a great many other Reasons that might be assign'd.

(l.) Such Superstitions as were wholly Pagan.] See, *Titus Livius* in several places: *Varro de Ling. Lat.* B. 5. *Cicero Verrin.* Ult. *Tacitus*, B. 15. *Suetonius in Ful. num.* 79. *Pliny*, B. 5. Ch. 17. *Solinus Polyhist. Chap.* 10. *Val. Maximus*, B. 1. N. 1, and 10. *Plutarch*, in the Lives of *Publicola*, *Fabius*, and *Marius*. *Pausanias* in *Phocæcis*. *Capitolinus*, in *Gordiano*. *Trebellius Pollio* in *Galicen.* *Vopiscus* in *Aureliano* & *Valeriano*. *Sext. Aur. Victor* in *Claudio*. *Amm. Marcellinus* B. 22, 23. *Macrobi. Saturn.* B. 1. C. 17.

On the Contrary, the Fathers never cited any thing out of the Books of the *Sibyls*, but what related to the Religion of *Jesus Christ*, and to the Worship of the true God. Now is there any Likelyhood that these Prophetesses should have utter'd such different things, and that they should teach in one and the same Book, the Worship of the true God, and the greatest Superstitions of Heathenism? Who can imagine, that the Books which the *Romans* preserv'd to authorize all their Superstitions, which they look'd upon as the Ultimate End of their Religion, should contain such Prophecies concerning *Jesus Christ*, as are clearer than all that the Jewish Prophets have said about him? For not only in the *Sibylline* Books now extant, mention is made of *Jesus Christ* in such Terms, as shew they are not so much a Prophecie, as an History, but also the same thing must be said of the Books cited by the Fathers, which contain the same Predictions, and in plainer Terms. In short, can there be any clearer Prediction concerning *Jesus Christ*, than the Verses cited by *Eusebius* out of the Prayer attributed to *Constantine*?

*There is but One God, who likewise is the Saviour :*  
*Who suffered for Us :*  
*Who is denoted in these Verses.*

The *Acrostick* set down in the same place is altogether as plain. Can any thing be said in clearer Terms concerning the Creation of the World, the last Judgment, and Eternal Life, than what is to be met with in *Theophilus Amioche-nus*, as taken out of the *Sibyls*? All the other *Sibylline* Verses cited by the Fathers, are very near the same upon each Subject, which made the Author of the Exhortation to the Greeks, attributed to Saint *Justin*, to say, that *Sibyl* had foretold the coming of *Jesus Christ* in clear and evident Terms, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρρητος*. Now what an absurd thing is it to suppose, that the Heathens from whom God had concealed the coming of his Son, and whom he had permitted to walk in Darkness) should have among them such Prophecies as were clearer than all the Prophecies of the *Jews*, to whom he had committed the sacred Books, and given the Notice of a *Messiah*?

We might carry this Argument still farther, and demand from whence the *Sibyls* could have the Knowledge of the *Messiah*. Some say, that they were inspir'd by God: others that they have taken out of the Scripture all that they have said concerning Religion; but neither of these Opinions has any probability in it. For what likelyhood is there that God should have inspir'd the Prophetesses and Priestesses of the false Gods, who deceiv'd Men and made them worship those Demons, with which they themselves were possess'd? Who can imagine that God would make use of such Ministers to declare so plainly his Mysteries to Mankind? And on the other Hand, how could they draw out of the Old Testament such Truths, as are therein very obscurely reveal'd, and which the *Jews* themselves had much ado to understand.

For a farther Proof of the Falsity of the *Sibylline* Oracles which the Fathers made use of, I need only shew, that they differed but very little from those, that go under that Name at present. To demonstrate this, 'tis enough to observe, that except three or four passages, all the rest cited by the Ancients, which are a great many, are to be met with in equivalent Terms in the *Sibylline* Books which are at present extant. Now the strongest Argument to prove that any Work is Ancient, is, that therein are to be met with those very passages, which the Ancients have cited. Do not we prove the Antiquity of a great many Books by this single Argument alone, *viz.* That there is some passage or other related or cited by some Ancient Author, which is likewise to be found in those Books? Why then should not it follow from the same Reason, that the *Sibylline* Books, tho' forg'd, are the same with those which were extant in the times of the Ancients? Nay, this Argument holds still stronger with respect to them



## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 155

them since it is urg'd not of one single Passage, but of a great many, cited by several Authors; and also the *Sibylline* Books are still in the same Language wherein they were cited.

Besides, it ought not to be wonder'd at, if there are some passages which are not therein, and if there are others which are not express'd Word for Word, because there are some parts of these Books which are lost, and the Ancients were not always exact in their Citations, and follow'd rather the Sense than the Letter.

It may likewise be added to this Proof, that whatever the Ancient Fathers have said concerning the Books of the *Sibyls*, is likewise applicable to These. Thus for instance, the Author of the Exhortation to the Gentiles says, that the Books of the *Sibyls* were not very polite, These last are much the same. At that time those Writings were charg'd with *Anachronisms*, and the Defect is still in the present Books. They treated of *Jesus Christ*, the last Judgment, Hell, &c. the same things we meet with in these that we have by us. Lastly, These are very ancient, and of the same standing with the most ancient Fathers; for therein are such Opinions, as were not maintain'd but in the first Ages of the Church, such as the Error of the *Millenarians*; that *Nero* is Antichrist, that the end of the World was at Hand, that it should happen in the time of *Antoninus*; that *Rome* should soon be destroy'd, 948 Years after its Foundation, and several other things which could never have been said by later Christians, who would have been far from approving of those Notions, as being convinc'd of the falsity of these Predictions.

Upon the whole it ought to be look'd upon as a thing certain, that the Writings of the *Sibyls* were forg'd in the second Century. But to determine the precise time, and who is the Author of them, that we cannot with any assurance do. All that can be asserted as most probable, is, that they began to appear in the World about the latter End of the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*.

The Proof of this is taken out of the Books themselves, in which the Impostor plainly discovers the time wherein he liv'd. For tho' in the first Book he would make us believe that he liv'd in the time of *Noah*; and in the Third, that he wrote fifteen hundred years after the Foundation of the *Gracian* Empire, yet he could not forbear declaring in the following Books the Emperors Names under whom he flourish'd. In the fifth Book, he says, that after the Emperor of whom he speaks, meaning *Trajan*, should another Man reign with a Silver Head, who should derive his Name from the Sea, (that is, *Adrian*, who was Grey-headed, and who took his Name from the *Adriatick* Sea;) that after him should succeed a Learned Man who should know all things, (that is, *Antoninus Pius*;) that the whole Empire should be subject to him, and to his Collegues (meaning, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Verus*;) That these three should have the Command over the whole World, and that at last one of 'em should be Sovereign over all. In the eighth Book he makes a clearer discovery of himself, for addressing himself to the City of *Rome*, he thus bespeaks it; That after it had had fifteen puissant Kings, who should subdue the East and West, it should have a King, whose Head should be cover'd with a white Helmet, and who should have the Name of a Neighbouring Sea (the *Adriatick* Ocean); that after him should reign three Kings at Once. This passage expressly denotes *Adrian* and his three Successors, *Antoninus*, *Marcus Aurelius*, and *Lucius Serus*. It is therefore plain from these passages, that this Author liv'd at least in the time of those Princes. He could not have been of a more modern date, because speaking in the Eighth Book of the Duration of the City of *Rome*, he says, that it should not last above 948 Years, and that after that Period it should be utterly destroy'd. Now this *Epocha* was compleated in the Year of Christ 195. from whence it evidently follows, that the Author of these Books did not Write after that time; since he would not have foretold an Event, the falsity of which Experience would have prov'd; and consequently it must be said that these Books were forg'd between the Year of our Lord 138, and the Year 195, about the Year 150. Some

thors, supposing that in the fifth Book he makes mention of the second burning of *Vesta's Temple*, have thought that he wrote after the Year 190, but it is more probable, that he there speaks of the Burning of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, which is call'd the *desirable House*, and the *Temple of God*.

These Proofs which I have alledg'd for the time wherein the Author of the Books attributed to the *Sibyls* did write them, are very exprefs and positive. There are only some Conjectures to make us believe them to be more Ancient: let us now examine whether they are of any weight.

I. 'Tis said in the first place, that the Fathers would have been either very ignorant, or very imprudent in citing the Books of the *Sibyls*, if they had been newly forg'd.

To this we answer, That such sort of Conjectures are of no force, when the Matter of Fact is otherwise Self-Evident. 'Tis certain that the Fathers did cite them; and 'tis as certain that they were then but newly forg'd: These two Matters of Fact are evident and cannot be destroy'd by mere conjecture, nor by such Argumentations as suppose, that those who did cite them, had well examin'd them, or did know of their Falsity. However, neither of these is prov'd. If it were allowable to argue thus, what would not be said to maintain the manifest oversights of the Ancients? Might it not be said for the same reason, that Saint *Justin* was very imprudent, or very ignorant for saying in a publick Apology, that they had erected in *Rome* a Statue in honour of *Simon Magnus*; if this was not true? However, 'tis agreed that this Matter of Fact is false, that Saint *Justin* was egregiously mistaken, in taking a Statue erected in honour of the God *Semon Sancus*, for a Statue erected to *Simon the Samaritan*. The Examination of the Writings of the *Sibyls* did certainly require more time and accuracy, than the Examination of the Inscription of that Statue did: It was easier to discover the Error of that Fact, since it was more evident than the Forgery of the *Sibylline Oracles*; which were publish'd under the name of the *Sibyls*, and contain'd several things that were favourable to the Christians. This was enough to give the first Apologists of the Christian Religion, who were no great Criticks, an occasion of citing them without enquiring into the Truth of them.

II. In the second place 'tis represented that the *Sibylline Oracles* are cited by *Hermas*, who liv'd before the time wherein we suppose that they were forg'd.

To this I answer, that it cannot be prov'd that *Hermas* cited any one of the *Sibylline Books*, or so much as made any mention of them. 'Tis true indeed, that in the beginning of the first Book of his Pastor, he says, that when the Angel ask'd him, who was that Old Woman from whom he had receiv'd a Book? He answer'd: 'Tis perhaps a *Sibyl*; and that the Angel inform'd him that it was the Church of God. But what Inference can be drawn from hence in favour of the *Sibylline Books*? *Hermas* (say they) would never have said that this Woman was perhaps a *Sibyl*, if there had not been at that time some Christians, who were perswaded that *Sibyl* spoke of our Religion. Now this is a very ridiculous Inference; for *Hermas* does not mention any Responses of that pretended *Sibyl*; he only intimates that the Form and Behaviour of that Woman, had made him suppose that it was one of the *Sibyls*. Now in order to this, it was sufficient that the *Sibyls* were represented to him, as Venerable Damsels, which inspir'd into him both Veneration and Respect.

III: The third Objection is taken from the Testimony of the Author of the Questions, which go under the name of Saint *Justin*, who says in Reply to the 74th. Question, that Saint *Clement* has said in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*, that not only in the Writings of the Prophets and Apostles, but also in the Writings

## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 157

tings of the *Sibyls*, mention is made of the end of the World and the last Judgment: from whence he infers, that Saint *Clement* having cited the Writings of the *Sibyls*, they must needs be more ancient than I have assign'd them to be.

To this I answer, that the Author of those Questions, being only one of the fifth Century, is no sufficient Evidence for Matters of Fact that are so ancient as these are. Nothing like it is to be met with in the first Epistle of Saint *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, nor in the second which we have by us almost compleat. 'Tis true, that the end of that is lost, but there is not the least proof that therein he cited the *Sibyls*: on the contrary, it appears from Saint *Clement* of *Alexandria* and Saint *Jerome*, that he therein only treated of Virginity: For the former of these Authors cites a passage which is the Continuation of that Epistle, where he speaks against Lust; and the latter assures us that he employ'd part of that Epistle in Commendation of Virginity. For which reason, since the latter end of the Fragment of the Epistle which is now extant, and the Continuation of it, which is related by Saint *Clement* of *Alexandria*, are the beginning of a Discourse concerning Virginity; it is very probable that this was the subject matter of the remaining part of that Epistle, and that there was not the least mention made of the Conflagration at the last Judgment, upon which account 'tis said that he cited Saint *Clemens Romanus*.

To this 'tis said, that 'tis probable Saint *Clement* did cite the *Sibylline* Books since Saint *Irenaeus* tells us, that he does make mention of Hell-Fire in that Epistle. But it does not at all appear that Saint *Irenaeus* quotes the Epistle of Saint *Clement* for the proving of Hell-fire: He only says in the general, that it establish'd the Doctrine of the Apostles which was receiv'd by Tradition. And besides, Saint *Irenaeus* does not speak of the Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, but of the First, which we have entire, and wherein there is not the least mention made of the *Sibyls*.

IV. The fourth Objection is founded on a passage of Saint *Clement* of *Alexandria*, who seems to say in the sixth Book of his *Stromata*, that the Apostle Saint *Paul* has cited the Works of *Sibyl*.

I shall not stand to enquire, whether Saint *Clement* saith that Saint *Paul* has cited the *Sibyls*, or whether Saint *Clement* himself doth not rather cite their Works upon that Subject, as *Cotelerius* affirms; because 'tis plain that Saint *Paul* never cited the *Sibylline* Books, and therefore if Saint *Clement* asserts any such thing, he is egregiously mistaken.

V. In the fifth place they object against us the Testimony of *Josephus*, who in the fifth Chapter of the first Book of his *Antiquities* says, that *Sibyl* has made mention of the Tower of *Babel*.

In answer to this, it may be suppos'd that this was added to the Text of *Josephus*; but grant that this passage was really His, yet it only proves that in his time several Oracles were publish'd under the name of the *Sibyls*, wherein mention was made of the Deluge, the Tower of *Babel*, and the Confusion of Languages. And it cannot from thence be inferred that they were the same with those that at present go under the name of the *Sibyls*. For if we compare what *Josephus* saith of them, with the Verses related by *Theophilus*, Book 2. ad *Antyloch*, which are likewise in the *Sibylline* Writings, we shall see a great deal of difference between them.

VI. Lastly, 'tis objected that *Celsus* the Philosopher charg'd the Christians with having forg'd and falsify'd the *Sibylline* Books. But this Objection has no manner of force in it, because *Celsus* liv'd in the time of the Emperor *Commodus*, and consequently after the time I have set down of the Forgery of these Writings.



'Tis true indeed *Origen* defends them; but withall owns that there were several among the Christians who did not approve of them, tho' they made use of them. He challenges *Celsus* to produce the Ancient Copies of the Works of the *Sibyls*, wherein that which the Christians cited was not to be found. *Celsus* never took care to produce any, for that was more than he could do: but it would have been an easie matter for him to discover the Novelty of those which went under their Name.

They add, that the Heathens were so far convinc'd that these Oracles belong'd to the *Sibyls*, that they prohibited the Christians from reading them. Now whereas this Assertion is only founded on the Words of the Emperor *Aurelian*, set down by *Popiscus* (who writes, that the Emperor told the Senate, that he wondered they were so backward in consulting the Books of the *Sibyls*; as if (says he) you were in an Assembly of Christians, and not in the principal place of the Roman Religion :) I have elsewhere observ'd that these Words do not signifie, that the Heathens had prohibited the Christians from reading the Writings of the *Sibyls*; but only that the Christians look'd upon them as prophane Records. This is in Truth the first notion which these Words present us with, and the most natural Sense that can be given them. For an Emperor, upbraiding a Senate for having neglected to consult the Writings of the *Sibyls*, which were usually consulted in cases of Necessity, as Books that contain'd the Ceremonies of the Pagan Religion, nothing could be more proper for him to inform the Senators of their Duty, than to tell them that they seem'd to set as slight an Esteem upon those Books, as the Christians did.

*Vossius* in his last Book forms an Hypothesis about the Writings of the *Sibyls*, which differs a little from that which we have been maintaining. He owns that the Ancient *Sibylline Verses*, preserv'd till the Capitol was burnt, were wholly Prophane, and different from those that were cited by the Fathers. But he maintains that among those which were brought from Greece by *Ottacilius Crassus*, several Prophecies were inserted, which some of the Jews had given him, and pretended they were the *Sibyls*, wherein the Coming of the *Messiah* is foretold; and that these are the Books which the Fathers have cited under the name of the *Sibylline Oracles*, which Name did properly belong to them.

Tho' this Hypothesis is very well invented, yet it is lyable to a great many Objections. For first, the Collection of the Verses attributed to the *Sibyls*, made after the burning of the Capitol, hath as many Pagan Superstitions in them, as the Ancient Verses had, which were attributed to the *Sibyl* of *Cume*. Secondly, the Prophecies concerning *Jesus Christ*, which are in the passages of the *Sibylline Oracles* cited by the Fathers, being more clear than those which are in the Jewish Prophets, there is no likelihood that they came from a Jew. Lastly, the Doctrine of the *Sibylline Books* is rather that of a Christian than of a Jew. Therein *Jesus Christ* is clearly foretold, the Resurrection, the last Judgment, and the Fire of Hell are set down in expresse Terms. Therein mention is made of the Kingdom of a Thousand Years, of the coming of *Antichrist*, and a great many other things of the same Nature, which could never have been said by any but a Christian. It is therefore more likely, that the Books attributed to the *Sibyls* were forg'd by a Christian, than by a Jew.

Nor ought any body to think it strange, that we reject as spurious such Books, as were cited by the Ancients as Genuine; nor ought it to be suppos'd that we do thereby in the least depretiate the Authority of the Fathers, or offer any prejudice to the Truth. On the contrary, they offer it an injury, who would support it upon false proofs, especially when they are convinc'd of their Falsity. The Fathers are excusable in having cited the *Sibylline Verses* as Genuine, because they had not examin'd them; and finding them to be publish'd under the name of the *Sibyls*, they believ'd them to be really theirs: but they who are convinc'd of the contrary are inexcusable, if they would still make use of them, and not ingenuously confess what the Truth obliges them to own. And it ought

## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 159

not to be thought strange, that the Fathers did not examine these Books critically: 'tis very well known that they wholly applyed themselves to matters of greater Consequence for that time, and that they often happen'd to be mistaken in Prophane Histories, and to cite spurious Writings, such as the Books of *Hy-staspes*, and *Mercurius Trismegistus*, which for the most part they joyn'd with the *Sibylline Oracles*; as also the Acts of *Pilate*, the Apocryphal Gospels, several Acts of the Apostles, and a great many other Records which were apparently Supposititious.

But tho' most of the Ancients have cited the Oracles of the *Sibyls*, yet there were even then many Christians who rejected them as spurious, and who could never approve of those who made use of them, calling them by way of Derision, *Sibyllists*. Of this *Origen* in his fifth Book against *Celsus* is an Evidence; *Celsus*, says he, objects against us, that there are *Sibyllists* among us, perhaps, because he has heard, that there are some among us who blame those that say that *Sibyl* was a Prophetess, and who call them *Sibyllists*. Saint *Augustine* has likewise own'd the Forgery of these pretended Oracles; and every time he makes mention of them, he declares that he is not satisfied of their Genuineness. See after what manner he speaks of them in *Lib. 18. de Civit. Dei, Cap. 45*. "Were it not (says he) that they assert, that the Prophecies which go under the Name of the *Sibyls* and others, concerning *Jesus Christ*, were forg'd by Christians". And again, *cap. 47*. "It may be suppos'd that all the Prophecies concerning *Jesus Christ*, which are not in the Scriptures, were feign'd by the Christians: Wherefore there is no Argument more solid to refute the Pagans, than to alledge such Prophecies as we take out of the Books of our Enemies.

But the Heathens ('tis said) never question'd the Truth of the *Sibylline Oracles* quoted by the Fathers, they only interpreted them in a different Sense. They likewise have acknowledg'd that the Verses of the *Sibyls* foretold the Birth of a New King, and a considerable Revolution. *Cicero* in several places of his Works speaks of this. When *Pompey* took the City of *Jerusalem*, there was a current Report, that *Sibyl* foretold, that Nature design'd a King for the *Romans*: upon which the Senate was so much concern'd, that they would send neither General nor Army into *Egypt*, and all upon the Account of this Prediction. *Lentulus*, according to the Testimony of *Cicero* and *Salust*, flatter'd himself with the Notion that he was the Man who the *Sibyls* foretold should be King. Others have interpreted that Prophecie of *Julius Cesar*, or *Augustus*; as *Cicero* and *Suetonius* have observ'd. *Virgil* in his fourth Eclogue makes mention of the Verses of the *Cumaan Sibyl*, which promise the Birth of a New King that should descend from Heaven. Lastly, 'tis certain that the Heathens acknowledg'd these Books of the *Sibyls* to be favourable to the Christians, for which Reason they prohibited them from reading them, as appears by the Words of *Aurelian* to the Senate, which are related by *Vopiscus*: "I admire Gentlemen, says he, that you should be so tedious in consulting the *Sibylline Oracles*, as if you were debating the Case in an Assembly of Christians, and not in the principal place of the Roman Religion.

These Arguments at first View appear to be very plausible, but if we go to the bottom of them, we shall find nothing of Solidity in them.

As for the Heathen, they are not always agreed about the Authority of the *Sibylline Books* cited by the Fathers: on the contrary, 'tis plain that *Celsus* believ'd them to be forg'd by the Christians, and Saint *Augustine* says positively that this was the Opinion of all the Heathens.

The *Sibylline Verses* mention'd by *Cicero* were Acrosticks; that is, the first Verse of each Sentence contain'd in Order all the Letters which began the following Verses. Now among the *Sibylline Verses*, there are none but those, cited by *Constantine*, which are written in Acrosticks.

As to that Report which was current in the time of *Pompey*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Augustus*, that the *Sibylline* Verses foretold there should be a New King Born, 'tis easie to reply with *Cicero*, that the Verses attributed by the Heathens to the *Sibyls* were so compos'd, that they might be taken in any Sense whatever; that perhaps they do make mention of a certain future King, as is ordinary in these sorts of Prophecies. Wherefore when the Grandeur of *Pompey* began to be formidable to the Roman Empire, they might make use of this pretence, to hinder his marching into *Egypt* at the Head of an Army. And *Lentulus*, who was intrusted with that Charge, being Governor of *Syria*, flatter'd himself very vainly with this Prediction, which might perhaps be further confirm'd by the Prophecies of the *Jews*, who expected the Coming of the *Messiah*, and believ'd that he was to be their King.

Afterwards, when *Julius Caesar* and *Augustus*, after *Pompey*, came to be Emperors, and made themselves Masters of the Roman State, the Predictions of the *Sibyls* were explain'd in their Favour: nor was it necessary upon that Account, that they should denote the Coming of *Jesus Christ* so clearly, as is set down in the *Sibylline* Books cited by the Fathers, but it was enough that they spake of a Future King, which is usual with all those that have pretended to foretell things to come. This gave *Virgil* an occasion, who was minded in his fourth Eclogue to write in praise of his Patron *Pollio*, and at the same time to extol *Augustus*, and describe the felicity of his Reign; this I say, gave him an occasion, in order to do it with a greater Majesty, of making use of the Name of *Sibyl*, and of singing forth the following Lines:

*Ultima Cumaei venit jam carminis aetas;  
Magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo:  
Jam nova progenies Caelo demittitur alto,  
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna.*

Now by these Verses nothing else is meant but that at the Birth of *Saloninus* the Son of *Pollio*, under the Consulate of his Father, and under the Empire of the Greatest Prince in the World, the Golden Age should return, as it was foretold by *Sibyl*; that Plenty and Peace should flourish throughout the whole World; that the Virgin *Astraea*, the Goddess of Justice, who had forsaken the Earth at the beginning of the Iron Age, should now descend again. What is there in all this that comes near to the Prophecies which relate to *Jesus Christ*? Or rather is not the whole writ in a Prophane Style, and feign'd by a Heathen Poet, who only makes use of the Name *Sibyl*, that he might have wherewithal to flatter *Augustus*, and to add the greater weight to what he said in his Praise?

Lastly, the Words of *Aurelian* (as has been already hinted) do not mean that the Heathens had hindred the Christians from reading the *Sibylline* Books, but only that the Christians look'd upon them as prophane Books, which did not in any manner concern their Religion, and to which they gave no Credit.



S E C T. II.

Of the Books attributed to Hyftafpes and Mercurius Trismegiftus.

THE Books attributed to *Hyftafpes* and *Mercurius Trismegiftus*, cited likewise by the Ancient Fathers, are as spurious as the Verses of the *Sibyls*. We have no Remains of *Hyftafpes*, and that Author was wholly unknown to the Ancient Heathens. But this cannot be said of *Mercurius*, Sirnam'd *Trismegiftus* (a), of whom the most Ancient Heathen Writers have made mention (b), as One that was an incomparable person, and the Inventer of all Arts and Sciences. He was of *Egypt*, and the most ancient of all the Prophane Writers, that we have extant: they did not think him to be less ancient than *Moses*. He wrote, or at least 'tis said that he wrote five and twenty or thirty thousand Volumes. We have at present remaining only two Dialogues under his Name, the One has for its Title *Pimander*, and the Other *Asclepius*, who are the two principal Personages in them. The first treats of the Will, and the second of the Power of God. These are the Treatises which the Ancient Fathers have cited to prove the Truths of our Holy Religion by the Authority of an Author so famous as the Person under whose Name they go. But 'tis certain that they could not be His (c), for the Author of these Tracts is a modern Platonizing Christian, who argues from the Principles of the Platonick Philosophy, and hath taken out of the Scripture, what he has said concerning the Divine *Logos*, or Word of God, and concerning the Creation of the World.

(a.) Sirnam'd *Trismegiftus*.] In Greek *τρισμύστης*, the *Egyptians* call him *Thaauri*. Some say the Greeks styl'd him *Trismegiftus*, because he was a great King, a great Priest, and a great Philosopher. Others, as *Lactantius*, pretend that he was so call'd, because of his extraordinary Learning.

(b.) Of whom the most ancient Heathen Writers have made mention.] *Plato* in his *Phædrus* says, that it was he who found out the Characters of Letters, and the Arts and Sciences. *Cicero*, in his third Book, de *Naturâ Deorum*, says that he govern'd the *Egyptians*, that he gave them Laws, and invented the Characters of their Writing. *Diodorus Siculus* says, that he taught the Greeks the Art of discovering the Secrets of the Spirit. *Jamblicus*, upon the credit of *Manetho* and *Seleucus*, says, that he wrote above thirty five Thousand Volumes. *Saint Clement of Alexandria* in the sixth Book of his *Stromata*, makes mention of forty two Books of that Author, and sets down the Titles of several of them. These Books are cited as favourable to the Christian Religion, by the Author of the Exhortation attributed to *Saint Justin*, by *Lactantius* in the fourth Book of his

Institutions, by *Saint Clement of Alexandria* in the first Book of his *Stromata*, by *Saint Augustine* in his Tract, de 5. *Hæres.* and l. 8. de *Civ. Dei*, c. 23. by *Saint Cyril of Alexandria* in his first Book against *Julian*, and by several others.

(c.) But 'tis certain that they could not be His.] The Eternity and Divinity of the Word is clearly explain'd in *Pimander*. The Author of that piece gives to the Son the Quality of *consubstantial* with the Father. He says that he is the Son of God, nay, our God who proceeds from the Intellect of the Father, and makes use of the very words of the Septuagint in describing the Creation of the World. He likewise speaks of the fall of the first Man. Lastly, he copies out several places out of the Old and New Testament, and follows the Principles of the Modern Platonick Philosophy. The Tract, entituled, *Asclepius*, has not altogether so much of the Christian in it. The Author speaks in favour of Idolatry, explains the Greek word *ἄδης*, copies out several things out of the Scriptures and the Græcian Writers; and foretells the destruction of the Egyptian Religion.

## S E C T. III.

*Of the Letters of Lentulus and Pilate concerning Jesus Christ.*

There is no need of shewing the falsity of a Letter attributed to *Lentulus*, written to the Senate and People of *Rome* concerning the Actions of Jesus Christ; since the Forgery of it is Self-Evident. They make *Lentulus* to write it in the Quality of Governor of *Jerusalem*, tho' he never had that Employ. 'Tis directed to the Senate and People of *Rome*; whereas after the Commonwealth was chang'd into a Monarchy, the Governors usually wrote to the Emperors. That which is contain'd in that Letter is ridiculous: Therein is a mean and contemptible Description of the Person of Jesus Christ; therein it is said that our Saviour had light coloured Hair, long and loose after the Mode of the *Nazarenes*. The style wherein it is written does not suit with the purity and politeness of *Augustus's* time: In a word, not one of the Ancients hath made mention of that Letter.

The Letter of *Pilate* to *Tiberius* upon the subject of the Miracles of Jesus Christ, seems to be more authentick: For *Tertullian* in his Apologetick relates, that *Tiberius* having understood what Miracles Jesus Christ had wrought in *Palestine*, which were as so many Evidences of his Divinity, made the report thereof to the Senate, and propos'd the ranking him among the Gods: but that the Senate rejected this Proposal, and yet *Tiberius* continu'd in the same mind, and prohibited the persecuting of the Christians. A little after the same Author adds, that *Pilate*, a Christian in his Heart, sent *Tiberius* word of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. *Eusebius* in the second Book of his Ecclesiastical History, Chap. 2. cites this passage of *Tertullian*, and explaining more at large how *Tiberius* came to hear of Jesus Christ, says that *Pilate* (according to the Custom of the Governors of Provinces, who were oblig'd to send the Emperors an Account of what happen'd most remarkable in their Province) sent *Tiberius* an Account of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, assuring him that he had heard of a great many Miracles which he had wrought, and that there were a great many People who look'd upon him as a God, since his being rais'd from the Dead.

We have in the *Orthodoxographia* next to the Epistle of *Lentulus*, a Letter attributed to *Pilate* as written to *Tiberius*, which contains the same things: but 'tis difficult to determine whether this Letter was extant in *Eusebius's* time, or whether it was not forg'd since from his Narration. Let this be how it will, there are several Learned Men who question the Genuineness of this History; which has but very little probability at the bottom of it. For how is it likely that *Pilate* should write such things to *Tiberius* of a Man; whom he himself had condemn'd to Death? And tho' he might have done this, yet is it probable that *Tiberius* should have propos'd to the Senate the placing such a Man in the number of the Gods upon the bare relation of a Governor? And if he had propos'd any such thing, who can imagine but that the Senate would have submitted to it? Wherefore, tho' we cannot absolutely charge this Narration with Falshood, yet it may at least pass for a doubtful piece.

## S E C T.

S E C T. IV.

Of the Epistles of Seneca to Saint Paul, and of those of Saint Paul to Seneca.

WE ought to reject the thirteen Epistles of *Seneca* to Saint *Paul*, and of Saint *Paul* to *Seneca*, as being apparently spurious, although Saint *Jerome* and Saint *Augustine* seem to have acknowledg'd them as genuine. For (1.) These Epistles are not written in Saint *Paul*'s or *Seneca*'s style (a). (2.) Therein 'tis said, that in the fire of the City of *Rome* under *Nero*, there was only an hundred thirty two Houses burnt down, which is a manifest mistake, since 'tis certain that a great part of the City was consum'd, according to the Testimony of *Tacitus* (b). 3. The date of these Letters is false (c). 4. They contain nothing in them that is worthy either of *Seneca* or of Saint *Paul* (d). (5.) Lastly, 'tis easie to perceive that they are only the Exercises and Fancies of a sprightly Genius, which was willing to shew its parts in feigning these Letters.

An Author of our times having on one side acknowledg'd the spuriousness of the Letters which we have extant under the Name of *Seneca* to Saint *Paul*, and of Saint *Paul* to *Seneca*; and yet on the other side, not daring to say that Saint *Jerome* and Saint *Augustine*, who thought these Epistles to be genuine, were mistaken; hath suppos'd that the Genuine Letters of Saint *Paul* to *Seneca*, and of that Philosopher to Saint *Paul* have been lost since their Time, and that those which are now extant have been forg'd instead of them. But beside, that the Esteem we have for those two Fathers ought not to hinder us from believing, but that they might be mistaken in a matter of so little Consequence (e), it is to be observ'd that they do not declare positively that these Epistles were Genuine, but only that they were commonly so reputed (f), and that they were read under their Name. Moreover, it is an easie matter to demonstrate that the Letters which are now extant, and those which were in Saint *Jerome*'s time are the same. For that Father says, that *Seneca* wish'd in one of his Letters to be among his followers, what Saint *Paul* was among the Christians; which has a great deal of

(a.) Are not written in Saint *Paul*'s or *Seneca*'s Style.] The style of those which are attributed to *Seneca* is barbarous, and full of Idioms, that do not belong to the Latin Tongue. The Epistles attributed to Saint *Paul*, have not the least tincture of the Gravity of that Apostle, but are rather Compliments than Instructions.

(b.) According to the Testimony of *Tacitus*.] He says that of fourteen parts of the City of *Rome*, there remain'd only four that were not touch'd; that the Houses of three parts in fourteen were entirely consum'd, that in the other seven parts, there was but little remain'd, and that the Houses which were left standing were half burnt down.

(c.) The date of these Letters is false.] The one is dated under the Consulate of *Aprianus* and *Capito*, that is, *Vipsanum* and *Capito*, five Years before the Burning of *Rome*: The other, under the Consulate of *Phrygius* and *Bassus*: that is, *Lecanius Bassus*, and *Licinius Crassus*, under whose Consulate the Fire happen'd: But this Letter is dated in *March*, and the Fire, according to *Tacitus*, did not break out till *May* following.

(d.) They contain nothing that is Worthy either

of *Seneca* or Saint *Paul*.] There is scarce one thought of Morality in the Letters of *Seneca*; nor any thing of Christianity in those of Saint *Paul*.

(e.) Of so little Consequence.] It is certain that the Fathers often cited spurious Books, as we have already prov'd. Father *Alexander* the Author of the Hypothesis which we oppose, owns as much himself, and rejects the Epistle of *Jesus Christ* to *Agbarus*, and that of *Agbarus* to *Jesus Christ*, which are more authoriz'd by the Ancients than the Epistles of *Seneca*.

(f.) But only that they were commonly so reputed.] Saint *Jerome* in Catalog. I reckon *Seneca* among the Ecclesiastical Writers, because of the Letters which several read under the Name of *Seneca* to Saint *Paul*, and of Saint *Paul* to *Seneca*. Saint *Augustine*, Epist. 14. at present the 153d. *Seneca*; whose Letters written to Saint *Paul* are commonly read. But in *Lib. de Civit. Dei*, cap. 11. he says; that *Seneca* has neither prais'd nor disprais'd the Christians, having not so much as spoken of them; and therefore he thinks that these Letters are none of His.



Resemblance with what is to be met with in the Eleventh Letter of *Seneca* to *Saint Paul* (g).

'Tis not known when those Letters were forg'd, nor who it was that did them; and 'tis hard to determine whether 'tis upon the Account of those Letters, that it is said in the spurious Acts of the Passion of *Saint Linus*, that *Seneca* and *Saint Paul* wrote several Letters to one another; or whether the Narrative of that Author has given an occasion of the inventing of these Letters, as Cardinal *Baronius* conjectures.

(g.) Which has a great deal of Resemblance with what is to be met with in the Eleventh Letter of *Seneca* to *Saint Paul*.] In *Saint Jerome* we find these Words: *Optare se dicit servus ejus esse loci apud suos, cujus sit Paulus apud Christianos*: in the Eleventh Letter are the following Words; *Cum sis vertex, & altissimorum montium cacumen*

*haud te indignum in primâ facie Epistolârum nominandum censeas—nam qui meus tuus apud te locus, qui tuus velim ut meus*. Now if the Words, *apud tuos*, were put instead of, *apud te*, they would express *Saint Jerome's* Sense, and it seems as if they could admit of no other. However, 'tis plain that *Saint Jerome* alludes to this very place:

## SECT. V.

Of the Passages of *Josephus* concerning *Jesus Christ*, *Saint John Baptist*, and *Saint James*.

LASTLY, of all the Prophane Records that might be produc'd in favour of *Jesus Christ*, none seems to be more genuine, than the passage of *Josephus*, taken out of the fourth Chapter of his Eighteenth Book of the *Jewish Antiquities*, wherein he says, That at time there was a Wise Man nam'd *Jesus*, (if it be lawful to call him only a Man, for he wrought a great many Miracles, and taught those who receiv'd the Truth with Joy) who had many Disciples, as well Jews as Gentiles; That he was the CHRIST (a), and that being accus'd by the Chief of his own Nation, he was crucified by the Command of *Pilate*. That notwithstanding this, he was not abandon'd by those who lov'd him, because he appear'd to them alive the third day, as the Prophets had foretold; and that he was the Author of the Sect call'd Christians, which remain'd to this day.

This Testimony of *Josephus* is cited by *Eusebius*, *Saint Jerome*, *Isidorus of Damietta*, *Zosomen*, *Cedrenus*, *Nicephorus Calistus*, and *Suidas*, as a Record very favourable to the Christian Religion: But in our times, wherein things have been enquir'd into with more exactness than formerly, there have been, and still are several Learned Men, who maintain that this Passage doth not really belong to *Josephus* (b): And it must be confess'd that their Conjectures are not wholly to be despis'd, for they say:

1. That the style of this Passage is intricate, not fluent, and not like to the style of *Josephus*, who wrote clearly, politely and elegantly.

(a.) That he was the Christ.] 'Tis thus in the Text of *Josephus*, *ὁ Χριστός*, i. e. He was the Christ; and thus this Passage is cited by *Eusebius* in two places, and translated by *Ruffinus*; and by the ancient Translator of *Josephus*, *Saint Jerome* renders it, *Hic credebatur esse Christus*; but this is a Latitude which he has assum'd to himself.

(b.) There have been, and still are several Learned Men, who maintain that this Passage

doth not really belong to *Josephus*.] *Blondel* was the first who deny'd it in his Treatise concerning the *Sibyls*. *Le Fèvre de Saumur* wrote afterwards a Tract on purpose to prove the spuriousness of this Passage. He was refuted by *Francis de Roze*, by *J. Vossius*, and *Dr. Spencer*. *Huetius* has likewise confuted this Opinion in his Treatise, *de Demonstratione Evangelicâ*.

2. That

## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 165

2. That 'tis plain this Passage was afterwards inserted into the Text of *Josephus*, because it breaks the Connection of what went before and follows after: for immediately after this Passage, we read, That *about that time the Jews were again oppress'd with another Calamity*; Words that have no manner of Relation to what was said of *Jesus Christ*; but which plainly refer to the Massacre of the *Jews*, whom *Pilate* had put to Death in *Jerusalem*, which Fact precedes this Passage concerning *Jesus Christ*: and this (say they) is a clear proof that it does not belong to *Josephus*, but was added afterwards.

3. They say, that if this Passage were consider'd apart and by it self, it would be easie to perceive that it was a *Christian*, and not *Josephus*, who spake these Words. Therein *Jesus Christ* is call'd God, therein his Miracles and his Resurrection are acknowledg'd, and therein 'tis said that those things were foretold by the Prophets.

4. What likelihood is there that *Josephus* who so heartily espous'd the Interests of his own Nation, should speak so favourably of *Jesus Christ*? For could any Christian have said more? In this Passage 'tis said, first, that it was not lawful to call him only a Man, because he had wrought many Miracles. Secondly, that he was the CHRIST, that is the MESSIAH. Thirdly, that he rose again the Third Day. Is it possible that a *Jew* so bigotted to the Notions of his Country-men as *Josephus* was, who did not believe (as *Origen* observes) that *Jesus* was the *Christ*, that is the *Messiah*, much less that he was God, and that he was risen from the Dead, should advance such things of *Jesus*, without taking notice that they were false, or that he question'd the truth of them? He is made to confirm the Resurrection of *Jesus Christ* by the Predictions of the Prophets; and to say, that *Jesus* taught the Truth, and wrought a great many Miracles which prov'd his Divinity. Now where was there any *Jew* that ever said or thought thus? Is it not evident that it was a Christian, one who believ'd *Jesus Christ* to be God, who wrote this?

5. *Josephus* in the same Work, *B. 20. Ch. 8.* describing the Martyrdom of Saint *James*, says, that he was the Brother of *Jesus Christ*. Now if he had said any thing before of *Jesus*, he would not have fail'd to have taken notice of it, or at least to have said something in this place to his Advantage.

6. This Testimony (say they) is not only unknown by the Ancients who preceded *Ensebius*, but also *Origen* expressly denies that *Josephus* ever said any thing of *Jesus Christ*. 'Tis very strange (says he, in the second Tome on Saint *Matthew*) that *Josephus*, who never acknowledg'd *Jesus* to be the *Christ*, should give us such an authentick Evidence of the Innocence of Saint *James*. Again, the first Book against *Celsus*: *Josephus* (says he) did not believe in *Jesus Christ*. Would that Father have said thus, if in his time there had been in the Works of *Josephus* such a favourable Testimony concerning *Jesus Christ*, as this which is at present in his Works? He cites the Passage of *Josephus* concerning Saint *John Baptist* and Saint *James*; would he, think ye, have omitted that which relates to *Jesus Christ*? *Theodoret* has likewise observ'd that *Josephus* never knew or acknowledg'd *Jesus Christ*. But nothing is of greater weight in the Case than the silence of *Photius*, who drawing up an Accurate Abridgment of the Books of *Josephus*, in the 238th. Code of his *Bibliotheca*, says nothing of this Passage concerning *Jesus Christ*, which he would never have omitted, had it in his time been in all the Copies of the Works of *Josephus*, and had he thought it to be really His. In a word, that, which deserves a particular Reflection, is, that *Photius* in another place observes that there was in his time a Treatise concerning the *Word* attributed to *Josephus*, which he look'd upon as Spurious, since therein he speak in too favourable Terms of *Jesus Christ*; and he afterwards adds, that he has been inform'd since,

that this Book belong'd to one *Caius* a Priest of *Rome*. 'Tis probable that this passage which is at present in the Book of *Antiquities*, was taken out of the Treatise of *Caius*, who was also call'd *Josephus*, and afterwards inserted into *Josephus's Antiquities*.

To these Testimonies of *Origen*, *Theodoret* and *Photius*, the Bishop of *Orange* replies, that these Authors met with such Manuscripts of *Josephus*, wherein this passage had been struck out by the *Jews*. But this Reply seems still to weaken and enervate the Authority of this Passage. For if there were any ancient Manuscripts wherein it was not, we have still more occasion to call it into Question; and the Arguments already alledg'd, do prove, that it is more probable that it was added to some Manuscripts by Christians, than struck out of others by the *Jews*. However, I shall determine nothing as to this point, but leave the Reader to judge for himself, whether the Authority of *Ensebius*, *Saint Jerome*, and of all the Manuscripts of *Josephus* now extant ought to outweigh the Opinions of the Learned already produc'd, the general Testimonies of *Origen*, *Theodoret* and *Photius*, and perhaps several Ancient Manuscripts of *Josephus* that are at present lost.

There is in the seventh Chapter of the same Book of *Josephus*, another Passage concerning *Saint John the Baptist*, which may likewise be subject to some difficulty. Therein 'tis said, "That the *Jews* imputed the defeat of *Herod Antipas*, by *Aretas* the King of the *Arabians*, to his having put to Death *John* nam'd the *Baptist*, who was a good Man, and who enjoyn'd the *Jews* to practice Vertue, to do Justice to one another, to Worship and Reverence God, to be Baptiz'd, to forsake their Sins, and to preserve themselves pure both in Body and Mind: That this *John* having great multitudes of People which follow'd him, and seem'd most of 'em resolv'd to do whatsoever he enjoyn'd them; *Herod* thought it adviseable to put him to Death, before he rais'd any Insurrection; for fear if any Trouble should afterwards arise, he should repent of having delay'd it so long: That therefore he sent him bound to *Macharus*, where he order'd him to be Beheaded; which made the *Jews* believe that God offended with *Herod* for that cruel Action, had permitted his Army to perish".

Now some have found it difficult to reconcile this passage with the Evangelists or so much as with *Josephus* himself: For that Historian says that the Wife of *Herod*, having discover'd the disloyalty of her Husband, and the Amours he carry'd on with *Herodias*, retir'd to *Macharus*, a place situated upon the Frontiers of the Territories of *Herod* and *Aretas*, and which was at that time subject to *Aretas*, the Father of that Princess, *τοῦ μεγάλου αὐτοῦ βασιλέως*: That there she was receiv'd by the Governor who held that place for *Aretas*, and by the *Arabians* who afterwards conducted her to her Father.

On the contrary, in the forecited passage 'tis suppos'd that *Macharus* was dependent on *Herod*, since 'tis said that he sent thither *John Baptist* bound, and gave Orders that he should there be put to Death. It cannot be asserted that he had taken *Macharus* from *Aretas*, because *Josephus* observes that *Herod* had not the least Advantage over *Aretas* during that War.

Nor is this Narration any more reconcileable with the Account which the Evangelists have given us of this matter: For therein it is suppos'd that *Herod* put *Saint John* to Death, because he was afraid lest he should have rais'd some Sedition, and that he had sent him to *Macharus* there to be executed. Now by the Evangelists it appears, that *Herod* put *John* into Prison without any design at first to kill him: That it was at the Instance of *Herodias* that he order'd him to be Beheaded, and that *Saint John Baptist* was in the very place where *Herod* kept his Court, when he was put to Death.



## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 167

It is farther remarkable that this passage interrupts the Series of *Josephus's* History. For he was relating just before, that *Herod* having made his Complaints to *Tiberius* of the Insults of *Aretas*, the Emperor sent Orders to *Vitellius* to enter into a War against that Prince, and to send him to him alive or dead: And just after this passage, 'tis related after what manner *Vitellius* prepar'd himself to put this Order into Execution: and the passage betwixt has no manner of reference to what went before or follows after; but in order to have it inserted, it was suppos'd that the *Jews* attributed the Overthrow of *Herod's* Army to the Death of *Saint John Baptist*, which is a supposition that has no probability in it.

Lastly, 'tis urg'd against this passage, that it is not likely that *Josephus*, who was a *Jew* of the Sect of the *Pharisees*, a Sect which had always very much oppos'd the Baptism of *Saint John*, should have spoken so favourably of him, as he has done in this place. These Reasons may render that passage somewhat suspicious; However it is cited by *Origen*, in his first Book against *Celsus*, where he says, that *Josephus* in the Eighteenth Book of his Antiquities has made mention of the Baptism of *Saint John*.

Moreover, *Eusebius* was not always exact in his Citations of *Josephus*; of which we shall here present you with two uncontestable Instances.

In his Chronicle he asserts, that *Josephus* says, that in the time of the Passion of *Jesus Christ*, on the day of Pentecost, the Priests of the *Jews* heard] a Noise in the Temple, and after that a Voice, which cry'd out, *Let us depart hence*, and that the same Year *Pilate* in the Night time caus'd the Images of *Cesar* to be hung up in the Temple. *Eusebius* repeats the same thing, *Lib. 8. de Demonstratione Evangelicâ*, and places this Event at the time of our Saviour's Passion, ταῦτα δὲ (says he) ἰσορροῦνται τὸ πᾶσι τῷ Σωτῆρι ἡμῶν γινώσκοντι. Notwithstanding this, it is evident that *Josephus* in the sixth Book of the War of the *Jews*, fixes that occurrence a little before *Jerusalem* was besieg'd, that is, above thirty Years after our Saviour's Passion: And *Eusebius* himself fixes it to the same time in the Eighth Chapter of the third Book of his Ecclesiastical History.

*Saint Jerom.* has committed the same mistake in his Answers to the Queries of *Hebidius*, and in his Commentary on the twenty seventh Chapter of *Saint Matthew*, and so have his Disciples *Paul* and *Eusebius* in their Epistle to *Marcellus*. And yet the same *Saint Jerome* in the Eighteenth Book of his Commentary on *Isaiah*, observes that this Voice was heard when *Jerusalem* was besieg'd.

*Eusebius* is likewise mistaken, when he says, in the ninth Chapter of the first Book of his History, that *Josephus* relates, that *Archelaus* having been declared King by the last Will and Testament of his Father, and by the Approbation of *Augustus Caesar*, and being ten years after turn'd out of his Kingdom, his Brothers *Philip*, *Herod the Younger*, and *Lysanias* were made Tetrarchs in his Room. Here are several Blunders which *Josephus* was not guilty of. 'Tis a mistake to say that the Brothers of *Archelaus* enjoy'd their Tetrarchs till after the Death of that King; and 'tis likewise a mistake to assert that *Lysanias* was the Brother of *Archelaus*. *Josephus* says the quite contrary, and yet *Eusebius* cites *Josephus* as his Evidence, which shews that no credit ought to be given to that Historian in this Case.

We have an Instance, tho' more modern of an Interpolation inserted into the Text of *Josephus* by a Christian: 'Tis an Anonymous Writer cited by *Suidas* on the Word *JESUS*. That Writer relates at first a Story invented by a *Jew*, nam'd *Theodosius*, who maintain'd; that in the Synagogue of *Tiberias* was preserv'd a Book, wherein it was said that *Jesus Christ* had been elected Chief Priest by the *Jews*, and that he offer'd Sacrifice together with the Priests in the Temple: and he further adds, Εὐσεβίου Ἰωάννου δὲ συγγραφέα δ' ἀλάστορα Ἰεροσολύμων φανερώς λέγοντα ἐν τοῖς δὲ αἰχμαλωσίαις αὐτοῦ ἁπομνήμασιν, ὅτι Ἰησοῦς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μὲν δὲ ἱερὸν ἡγάξα. τὸτο ἂν εὖρον δὲ λέγοντα δὲ Ἰωάννου ἀνδρὸς ἀρχαίου ὄντα, καὶ ὃν μετὰ πολλῶν χρίτων δὲ ἀποστόλων γνωρίζον. He who had related the Story of *Theodosius* the *Jew*

was nam'd *Philop*, Contemporary with *Justinian*; the Anonymous Writer cited by *Suidas*, says that he was inform'd of this by those who had heard *Philop* relate it. This Fable is founded on the Authority of *Josephus*: But there is not the least shadow of it in the Works of that Historian: some Body should have inserted some such thing into some of his Copies, or have forg'd a passage of that Author wherein this was related, to have made it seem at least probable.

## S E C T. VI.

*Of several Authors whose Works relate to the Sacred History, such as Philo, T. Flavius Josephus, Justus, Aristæus, Aristobulus, Josephus Bengorion, Berofus, the false Dorotheus, Zoroaster, &c.*

THERE are several Authors, whose Works whether Genuine or Spurious, relate to the sacred History, of whom we could not forbear saying something in this our Dissertation.

*PHILO*, a Jew of *Alexandria*, of the Sacerdotal Race, Brother of *Alexander A-labarcus*, or Prince in *Alexandria*, was born under the Reign of *Tiberius*, and flourish'd chiefly under that of *Caius Caligula*. He was the Head of an Embassy which the Jews of *Alexandria* sent to *Caligula*, in order to defend them against the Greeks, the Inhabitants of that City; who likewise sent on their part three Embassadors to *Rome*, the Chief of which was *Appion*. *Caligula* having admitted *Appion* to Audience, would not hearken to *Philo*, but speak tartly to him, and forc'd him out of his presence. It was at that time that *Philo* address'd himself so handsomely to the Jews that attended him in the following Words; "Now we ought to have more assurance than ever: For since *Caius* the Emperor is incens'd against us, Our God to be sure will defend us against him". Some time after this he compos'd a Treatise against the Emperor which he ironically entitul'd *De Virtutibus*. *Eusebius* tells us that this Work was publicly read in the Senate under the Empire of *Claudius*: But this is scarce probable, no more than what *Saint Jerome* says, that *Philo* being come a second time to *Rome* under the Reign of *Claudius*, had several Conferences with *Peter* the Apostle.

We know nothing more of the Life of *Philo*, but the many and excellent pieces which he has left behind him have render'd his Memory immortal. *Eusebius* has given us an exact Catalogue of them in the second Book of his Ecclesiastical History, Chap. 18. *Saint Jerome* has likewise set down the Heads of his Books in his Treatise *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*. *Photius* speaks in particular of several of them in the 103, 104, and 105 Volumes of his *Bibliotheca*; and *Suidas* hath exhibited the Catalogue of all his Works.

There is extant a great part of *Philo's* Works, printed in Greek and Latin at *Paris* in the Year 1640. The first in that Edition is his Treatise concerning the Creation of the World, of which there is not any particular mention made in *Eusebius*, *Saint Jerome*, nor in *Suidas*. After this come two Allegorical Treatises concerning the Law, or Allegorical Commentaries on the Book of *Genesis*, of which *Eusebius* makes mention: To this we may joyn a third Treatise on the same Subject, which is pag. 1087. The Tract concerning the Cherubims, the Flaming Sword which guarded the Terrestrial Paradise, and concerning *Cain*, is one of those pieces which *Eusebius* says that *Philo* compos'd upon the particular Questions of *Genesis*, as well as the Tract concerning the Sacrifices of *Cain* and *Abel*, and the next which is likewise upon *Cain* and *Abel*, and which has for its Title, *That the Wicked are wont to lay Snares for those who are better than themselves*. *Eusebius* particularly makes mention of two Books of Agriculture, of which the second is Entitul'd, *Concerning the Vine planted by Noah*; of two Treatises upon  
Drun-

## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 169

Drunkenness, the second of which in our Edition has for its Title, *A Treatise on these Words, Noah recovered of his Drunkenness*, and of a Tract concerning the Confusion of Languages.

To these Treatises are joyn'd, One concerning the Giants, another Entitl'd, *that God is immutable*, which *Eusebius* places in another Class. That Author likewise makes mention of a Tract, which has for its Title, *De Rebus a Mente Sagaci desiderandis & detestandis*, of which Saint *Jerome* and *Suidas* also speak, but which is lost to us. He speaks also of a Treatise concerning Fancy and Invention, or according to Saint *Jerome*, concerning Nature and Invention, which is likewise lost. We have two Tracts concerning *Abraham*, the one Entitl'd, *the Life of a Wise Man made perfect by Learning*, or, *concerning the Unwritten Laws*; and the other concerning the Departure of *Abraham* out of his own Country; of which *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* make mention; tho' after the Treatise Entitl'd, *concerning useful Conversation in order to render one's self Learned*, upon the Subject of the Conversation between *Sarah* and *Hagar*, which *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* place before the two former; but they say nothing of the Treatise *de Exulibus*, writ upon the account of *Hagar's* flying from her Mistress. They mention a Tract Entitl'd, *Quis Rerum divinarum Hares est?* or according to *Eusebius*, *De partitione Rerum in partes aequales & inaequales*; and another Tract Entitl'd, *The Civil Life*, or *Joseph*. *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* speak of five Treatises concerning Dreams; but they must needs be mistaken, since there are only three Tracts on that Subject compos'd by *Philo*. The first is lost; the second, where mention is made of the first, is Entitl'd, *That Dreams proceed from God*; and is pag. 565. of the *Paris* Edition; the third at the pag. 108. The three Books concerning the Life of *Moses* are yet very considerable, and yet *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* do not make any express mention of them. The Treatise concerning the three Virtues describ'd by *Moses*, is compris'd in the Tracts concerning Charity, Justice and Fortitude, which in the *Paris* Edition reaches from pag. 697, to pag. 744; between which there is another piece concerning the manner of establishing a Prince, which seems to be an Addition to the second Tract. The Treatise concerning the Reasons of the Alterations of several Hebrew Names in Holy Scripture, of which mention is likewise made in *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome*, ought to be joyn'd to the precedent Books of the *Pentateuch*, tho' in the *Paris* Edition they are not inserted, but in pag. 1044. *Eusebius* says that in this Book he treats concerning the two Covenants, which gave Saint *Jerome* an occasion of composing a particular Treatise concerning the Covenants, divided into two Books. *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome* make mention of five Books of Questions and Answers upon *Exodus*, which are lost to us; tho' We have the Treatise upon the Decalogue, and one of the Books concerning the peculiar Laws, of which likewise they make mention. The Tract concerning Circumcision, the two Books concerning Monarchy, and that concerning the Rewards of the Priests are not in their Catalogues, but they have the Title of the following Treatise, *Concerning the Animals that were proper to be offered up in Sacrifice, and concerning the different sorts of Sacrifices*. The Tracts concerning the Tabernacle, Providence, and the Jews are lost. We have two Fragments of the second in *Eusebius*: The first in his eighth Book *de Evangelicâ Preparatione*, Chap. Ult. and the other B. 7. Chap. 21. And the last is cited as an Apology for the Jews, in B. 8. Ch. 10. of his Evangelical Preparation. The Treatise concerning Rewards and Punishments, and that concerning Imprecations, mention'd by *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome*, are pag. 910, and 930 of the *Paris* Edition. There is likewise a particular Tract concerning the Prohibition of receiving the Oblation of an Harlot, of which neither *Eusebius* nor Saint *Jerome* make mention. The Treatise, *That every Sinner is a Slave*, is lost: but that, *That every Vertuous Man is free*, and the Tract concerning the Contemplative Life, that is, the History of the *Essenes* and the *Therapeutæ*, are in the *Paris* Edition. We have not his *Alexander*, or the Tract concerning the



Reason of Beasts; nor the Exposition of the Law and the Prophets mention'd in *Eusebius*: But there are extant the following pieces, viz. a Treatise against *Flaccus*; a Narration of his Ambassy to the Emperor *Caligula*; A Tract concerning Nobility; and another concerning the Incorruptibility of the World, which are not mention'd by these Authors. The Tracts concerning the World and Feasts are not *Philo's*.

This is all that can be remark'd concerning this Author, who (as *Eusebius* says) is rich in his Thoughts, Eloquent and Copious in his Style, and ingenious in his Allegories. He was a *Platonist*, and imitated the Style of his Master so well, that he was call'd by some the *Jewish Plato*. His Works are full of Moral Thoughts, and continued Allegories upon all the Histories of the Bible; and in his Morality he comes very near the Sentiments of the Christians. It was publish'd in Greek by *Turnebus*, and printed at *Paris* in the Year 1552, and at *Francfort* in the Year 1587. It was translated into Latin by *Gelenius*, and printed at *Basil* in the Years 1554, and 1561, at *Lions* in the Year 1555, in Greek at *Geneva*, in the Year 1603, and in Greek and Latin at *Paris* in the Year 1640.

*JOSEPHUS* was of the Sacerdotal Race of the *Assmonaeans*, as he tells us in his Life which he wrote himself, wherein he exactly describes all his Employments and Actions. He was born *Ann. Christi* 37. and dyed in the Year 93. in the 56th. of his Age. He was surnam'd *Titus Flavius*, upon the Account of *Vespasian*. He compos'd the History of the *Jews*, which he took out of the Books of the Bible, and has continued down to the War of the *Jews*, under the Title of the *Jewish Antiquities*. He also compos'd the History of the War against the *Romans*, and of the taking of the City of *Jerusalem*. He likewise wrote besides his own Life, two excellent Treatises against *Appion*, as A Reply to what that Heathen had advanc'd against the Antiquity of the *Jewish Nation*, against the purity of their Law, and against the Conduct of *Moses*: and a Treatise concerning the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*, which *Erasmus* justly styles a *Master-Piece of Eloquence*.

This Author wrote very politely, and that Turn which he gave to things is very agreeable. His History is enrich'd with admirable Descriptions, most eloquent Speeches, and most sublime Thoughts. His Narration is clear and just, and he not only diverts his Readers, but also inclines them on which side he pleases, raising and laying such Motions in them as he thinks fit. In short, it may be said of him, that he was a finish'd and compleat Historian, and might very well be styl'd the *Titus Livius of the Greeks*. The Treatise of the *Maccabees* shews the fineness of his Genius, and the extent of his Eloquence: and his Books against *Appion*, shew the Depth of his Learning, and the strength of his Judgment. The Works of this Author have been printed several times in *Latin*, as translated partly by *Ruffinus*, partly by *Gelenius*, and partly by *Erasmus*: and at *Geneva* in Greek and Latin, in the Year 1611. It were to be wish'd, that a more correct Edition of it were publish'd in a fairer Character, and upon better Paper.

*JUSTUS* of *Tiberias* made likewise an History of the *Jews*, and some Commentaries on the Bible; but *Josephus* charges him with Untruths. We should not have rank'd him among the Ecclesiastical Writers, had not Saint *Jerome* done it before us.

The Books of *ARISTÆAS* and *ARISTOBULUS* concerning the Version of the *Septuagint* were forg'd by some Hellenistical Jew, as we have shew'd in our former Volume in treating of that Version. We have extant the History of *Aristæas* still entire: but that of *Aristobulus* is lost.

The History of the Wars of the *Jews* under the Name of *JOSEPHUS BEN-GORION*, belongs to an Author who liv'd since Saint *Jerome's* time. He speaks of the *Goths* as being then in *Spain*, and of the *Franks* in *Gaul*. Now these People were not in *Spain* or *France*, till about the fifth Century of the Church; and con-

## Chap. VII. of the Old and New Testament. 171

consequently the Author is an Impostor, who took several things out of the true *Josephus*, which he has mix'd with Falsities and Fables.

The Testament of the twelve Patriarchs which is in the first Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is a Treatise full of Fooleries and Impertinences, which deserves nothing but Contempt. Nor ought we to have any greater Esteem for the Abridgment of the Lives of the Prophets, Apostles, and other Disciples, attributed to *Dorotheus* of Tyre, who suffer'd Martyrdom under *Dioclesian*: 'Tis a Treatise never mention'd by the Ancients, and full of gross mistakes in History, and of Fables feign'd at pleasure.

There are some Tracts under the Name of *Berosus* the Chaldean, *Manetho* the Egyptian, and *Metaethenes*; but they are not worthy of these great Men under whose Names they are inscrib'd, and the Forgery is Self-Evident. All the passages of the Genuine *Berosus*, cited by *Josephus* in his Book against *Appian*, are not to be met with in this piece which is attributed to him, but rather such things as are quite the contrary. In the last, mention is made of the City of *Lions*, which had not that Name till after *Cesar's* time. Lastly, the History of *Berosus* goes no farther than the time of *Nabuchadonosor* and *Nabopolassar*, whereas this reaches much lower.

The Treatise of *ZOROASTER* (a), of the sacred History of the *Persians*, a Fragment of which *Eusebius* cites in the first Book of the Evangelical Preparation, is a spurious piece, as are likewise the other Writings attributed to that fabulous Author.

Lastly, the History of the *Phanicians*, which 'tis suppos'd was written by one nam'd *Sanchoniatbon* (b), and translated into Greek by *Philo Biblius* (c), who liv'd in the time of *Adrian*, is a perfect Romance; wherein are inserted several passages taken out of the History of the Bible, and several Circumstances of the Fables of the Grecians.

(a.) *Zoroaster*.] They talk of several Persons of that Name. They maintain that the first and most famous liv'd in the time of *Nimrod*, that he was the King of *Bactria*, and was defeated by *Ninus*. They tell us strange things of his Prudence, Learning, and the Miracles that he wrought. They make him to be Author of the *Persian* Philosophy, by them call'd *Magick*. *Plato* speaks of *Zoroaster*, as the Author of that Science among the *Persians*, and observes that he was the Son of *Cromages*. *Eubolus* cited by *Porphyry*, attributes to him the Institutions of the Mysterious Rites of the Goddess *Myibra*. *Eudoxus* and *Hiermippus* cited by *Pliny*, say that *Zoroaster* liv'd six thousand Years before *Plato*. But *Celsus*, who had cited the History of *Zoroaster*, testifies that he liv'd in the time of *Cyrus*. This made *Arnobius* think there were two of that Name. *Eusebius* likewise makes *Zoroaster* to be as ancient as *Ninus*, and *Saint Epiphanius* says that he liv'd in the time of *Nimrod*. He was call'd by the *Persians* *Zarades*, and by the Greeks *Zoroaster*. Several Explications are given of that Name, some say that it signifies a living Star; Others, the Son of a Star; and lastly, others say that it signifies the Contemplator of the Stars. All that is said of the Ancient *Zoroaster* is fabulous. *Diogenes Siculus* informs us that the King of *Bactria* who fought against *Ninus*, was call'd *Oxiaries*, and not *Zoroaster*. However there is great probability that there was formerly among the *Persians* a Man of this Name, who taught them *Magick*. *Hiermippus* says, that he com-

pos'd a vast number of Verses. The Fragment cited by *Eusebius* in the 7th. Chapter of the first Book of his Evangelical Preparation, taken out of the History of the *Persians* attributed to *Zoroaster*, is so clear an Exposition of all the Attributes of God, that 'tis plain this Work was compos'd by an Author who had an insight into the Christian Religion. *Synesius* cites the Oracles of *Zoroaster*, upon the Dreams, which are taken out of the Works of the Modern Platonists. These Oracles were publish'd by *Opsopeus*, and printed at *Paris* in the Year 1599. with the Notes of *Pfellus* and *Plerbe*. 'Tis easie to see that these Writings were forg'd by the Platonists, who liv'd since our Saviour's time.

(b.) *Sanchoniatbon*.] This Author was unknown to all the Ancients. *Porphyry* is the first who cited this History, which is full of Fables and trifling Fictions. The Author has taken out of the Book of *Genesis*, what he has said concerning the Origine of the World, and the first Men. 'Tis from thence that he hath taken this Word *Bobu*, and the World *Colpia*, which he fancies to be a Wind. What is said concerning the *Aeons*, and the First-Born has a great Affinity to the Wild Fancies of the *Valentinians*. Lastly, several things are taken out of the Fables of the Greeks, which evidently shews that the Author of this Book could not be one that liv'd in the time of *Semiramis*.

(c.) *Philo Biblius*.] This Man was a Grammarian, of whom mention is made in *Suidas*, who liv'd after *Nero's* Reign: For he observes that he was seventy eight years of Age, under the

Consulate of *Severus* and *Herennius*, which was  
*Anno Dom.* 171. an hundred Years after *Nero's*  
 Death. He wrote according to the Testimony  
 of the same *Suidas*, twelve Books, *ἐν ἑλλογῇ*  
*καὶ ἐν ἀλλογῇ βιβλίων*, and thirty Books, *ἐν*  
*πολλῶν*, *Et de Claris Viris*, and a Treatise

he liv'd. *Suidas* says never a Word of the  
 Translation of this History of *Phanicia*. *Euse-*  
*bius* and *Theodoret* cite it after *Porphyry*. This  
*Philo* is certainly the Person of whom Saint *Cle-*  
*ment* of *Alexandria* speaks in his first Book of  
 his *Stromata*, and whom he calls *Philo* the *Py-*  
*thagorean*.

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FINIS.

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A

# Chronological T A B L E

## O F T H E

# A U T H O R S

## O F T H E

# Old Testament,

## And of their W O R K S.

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*Note, That the Pages referr'd to in this TABLE belong to the First Volume.*

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### M O S E S,

**O**F the Tribe of *Levi*, Governor and Legislator of the Children of *Israel*: Born in *Egypt*, about the Year of the World 2468. *Ante Christ.* 1571. brought the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, in the Year 2508. led them in the Wilderness for 40 Years; dyed in the Year of the World, 2548. being 80 Years of Age. Page 61

His Works still extant.

*Genesis.*

*Exodus.*

*Leviticus.*

*Numbers.*

*Deuteronomy.*

These 5 Books are call'd the *Pentateuch.*  
The Nintieth Psalm.

### J O S H U A or O S H E A,

The Son of *Nun*, of the Tribe of *Ephraim*, the Successor of *Moses*;

Enter'd the Land of *Canaan* about the beginning of the Year of the World, 2549. Conquer'd it in six Years time, and divided it among the Children of *Israel*. He afterwards enjoy'd about twenty years Peace, and dyed. p. 78.

A Work which is probably His:

The Book of *Joshua*, or the History of the Conquest and Division of the Land of *Canaan*.

### J O B,

Of the Country of *Uz* in *Idumaea*, Contemporary with *Moses* or rather more ancient. p. 98

Y y

His

## A Chronological TABLE of the

His Treatise:  
The Book of *Job* which contains his History.

### The Author of the Book of JUDGES,

Who writ under the Reign of *Saul*, or in the beginning of *David's* Reign.  
p. 82

A Genuine Work still extant.  
The Book of *Judges*, which contains the History of the *Israelites*, from the Death of *Joshua* down to *Sampson*.

### The Author of the Book of RUTH.

Wrote under the Reign of *David*.  
p. 84

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The Book of *Ruth*.

### SAMUEL the Prophet.

The last of the Judges of the People of *Israel* after the Death of *Eli*. p. 84

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The History of the Acts of King *David*: which some suppose to be the first twenty four Chapters of the first Book of *Kings*.

### GAD and NATHAN, Two Prophets.

Prophefied under the Reigns of *David* and *Solomon*.  
p. 22, 84, 85.

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The History of the latter Acts of *David*, suppos'd to be the end of the first, and the whole second Book of *Kings*.

### DAVID,

The Son of *Jesse*, of the Tribe of *Judah*, the second King of *Israel*.  
He succeeded *Saul* in the Year of the World, 3045. the 537th. Year after the departure out of *Egypt*, and dy'd after he had reign'd 40 Years.  
p. 102

Genuine Works still extant.  
The *Psalms* that go under his Name, and several others which have no Title.

### ASAPH,

Of the Tribe of *Levi*, flourish'd under the Reign of *David*.  
p. 103

Genuine Works, &c.  
Some *Psalms* inscribed under his Name.

### SOLOMON.

The Son of *David* King of *Israel*: succeeded his Father, and reign'd forty Years. He dyed *An. Mund.* 3125. the 617th. Year after the Departure of the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*.  
p. 108

Genuine Works, &c.  
*The Proverbs.*  
*Ecclesiastes.*  
*The Canticles.*

### JONAH.

The Son of *Amittai* of Tribe of the *Zabulon*, began to prophesie under the Reign of *Joash*, and continued it under the Reign of *Jeroboam*.  
p. 119

Works.  
His Book which is an History.  
His Prophefie is lost.

### HOSEA,

The Son of *Beer*, a Prophet in the Kingdom of *Judah*, began to prophesie under the Reign of *Jeroboam II.* King of *Israel*, and *Uzziah* or *Azariah* King of *Judah*.  
p. 119

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The Prophefie of *Hosea*.

### JOEL,

The Son of *Pethuel*, a Prophet: Contemporary with *Hosea*, according to some; according to others, later than *Amos*: and according to others, he prophesied under the Reign of *Manasses* and *Josiah*, after the Captivity of the Ten Tribes.  
p. 119

## Authors of the Old Testament.

A Genuine Work still extant.  
The Propheſie of *Joel*.

### I S A I A H,

The Son of *Imoz*, of the Blood-Royal:  
He propheſied from the latter end  
of the Reign of *Uzziah* to the Reign  
of *Manaſſeh*, in whoſe time he was  
put to Death. p. 115

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The Propheſie of *Iſaiab*.

### A M O S,

A Shepherd of the Town of *Tekoah*,  
two Leagues from *Bethlehem*, a Pro-  
phet;  
Call'd to propheſie two Years before  
the Earthquake which happen'd in  
the 24th. or 25th. Year of the Reign  
of *Uzziah*. p. 119

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The Propheſie of *Amos*.

### O B A D I A H,

A Prophet:  
Propheſied under the Reign of *Ahab*,  
p. 119.

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The Propheſie of *Obadiab*.

### M I C A H,

The *Moraſhbite* of the Tribe of *Judah*,  
a Prophet; who propheſied under  
the Reigns of *Jotham*, *Ahaz*, and  
*Hezekiah*. p. 119

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*His Propheſie*.

### N A H U M,

The *Elkoſhite*, a Prophet, who pro-  
pheſied after the Captivity of the  
Ten Tribes. p. 119

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*His Propheſie*.

### T O B I T,

Of the Tribe of *Nephthali*, one of thoſe,  
who were carry'd Captive into *Aſſy-*

*ria* by *Shalmanezzer*; he liv'd till he  
was 102 Years old. p. 89

A Genuine Work ſtill extant.  
The Book of *Tobit*, which contains his  
Hiſtory, is attributed to him.

### H A B A K K U K,

A Prophet,  
He propheſied very probably under the  
Reign of *Manaſſeh*. p. 120

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*His Propheſie*.

### Z E P H A N I A H.

A Prophet, who propheſied under the  
Reign of *Joſiah* King of *Judah*. p. 120

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*His Propheſie*.

### J E R E M I A H.

The Son of *Hilkiah* of the Sacerdotal  
Race, of the Town of *Anathoth* in  
the Tribe of *Benjamin*; a Prophet,  
who began to propheſie under the  
Reign of *Joſiah*, and continu'd it for  
forty five Years together. p. 116

Genuine Works, &c.  
*His Propheſie*.  
*His Lamentations*.

### B A R U C H,

The Son of *Neriah*, the Diſciple and  
*Amanuenſis* of *Jeremiah*, a Prophet.  
He wrote his Propheſie at *Babylon*, juſt  
before or after the General Captivi-  
ty. p. 117

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*His Propheſie*.

### D A N I E L,

Of the Race of the Kings of *Judah*,  
a Prophet. He was carry'd Captive  
to *Babylon* in the time of King *Jehoi-*  
*akim*, where he propheſied for above  
Fourſcore Years, to the Reign of  
*Cyrus*. p. 117

A Genuine Work, &c.  
His Propheſie containing ſeveral Hiſto-  
rical Relations and Predictions.



# A Chronological TABLE of the

## E Z E K I E L,

The Son of *Buzi* the Priest, a Prophet: He was carry'd to *Babylon*, under the Reign of *Jechoniah*, at thirty Years of age, where he prophesied during twenty Years. p. 117

A Genuine Work still extant.  
*His Prophecie.*

## The Author of the Book of J U D I T H.

His time uncertain. p. 90

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*The Book of Judith.*

## The Author of the Book of E S T H E R.

His time is uncertain. p. 93

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*The History of Esther.*

## H A G G A I,

A Prophet;  
He prophesied the second Year of the Reign of *Darius* the Son of *Hystaspes*, King of the *Persians*, after the return from the Captivity. p. 120

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*His Prophecie.*

## Z A C H A R I A H,

The Son of *Barachiah*, a Prophet, who prophesied under the Reign of the same *Darius*. p. 120

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*His Prophecie.*

## M A L A C H I.

A Prophet who prophesied after the Rebuilding of the Temple. p. 120

A Genuine Work, &c.  
*His Prophecie.*

## The Author of the Book of K I N G S.

'Tis a Collection of ancient Memoirs, made about the time of the Captivity. p. 84

Genuine Works, &c.

The two first Books of *Kings*, call'd by the *Hebrews*, the *Books of Samuel*.

The two last Books, call'd by the *Hebrews*, the *Book of Kings*.

## The Author of the Books of C H R O N I C L E S.

He Liv'd under the Reign of *Cyrus*, and compil'd them out of ancient Records. p. 86

A Genuine Work, &c.

The two Books of *Chronicles*, which among the Jews make but only one Book, intituled, *Journals* or *Annals*.

## E Z R A H or E S D R A S,

The Son of *Seraiah* the High-priest, a Doctor of Law: the Head of the Jews who return'd from *Babylon*, the seventh Year of the Empire of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*. p. 87

A Genuine Work, &c.

*The First Book of Esdras.*

They ascribe to him the Collection, Revision, and Correction of all the Books that are in the Jewish-Canon.

## N E H E M I A H,

The Son of *Hilkiah* of the Tribe of *Levi*, He came to *Jerusalem* the twentieth Year of the Reign of *Artaxerxes Longimanus*, tarry'd there twelve Years; Return'd to *Persia*, and at last came back to *Judea*, where he ended his days. p. 87

A Genuine Work, &c.

*The second Book of Esdras.*

PHILO

## Authors of the Old Testament.

### PHILO,

An Ancient *Hellenistical Jew*, who liv'd in the time of the *Maccabees*. p. 113

A Genuine Work still extant.  
*The Book of Wisdom.*

### JESUS,

The Son of *Sirach*; flourish'd under the High-Priesthood of *Onias III.* during the Reigns of *Ptolomey Epiphanes*, and *Antiochus*. p. 114

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The Book of *Ecclesiasticus*, translated into Greek by his Grandson, under the Reign of *Ptolomey Physcon*.

### AUTHOR,

Of the first Book of *Maccabees*, who wrote under the High-Priesthood of *John Hircanus*, p. 121

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The first Book of *Maccabees*.

### AUTHOR,

Of the second Book of *Maccabees*, an *Hellenistical Jew*: who flourish'd under the Reign of *Demetrius King of Syria*. p. 121

A Genuine Work, &c.  
The Second Book of *Maccabees*.

### PHILO;

A Jew of *Alexandria*, of the Sacerdotal Race, a *Platonick* Philosopher: Born under the Empire of *Tiberius Caesar*: Flourish'd chiefly under *Caius Caligula*, to whom he was sent Ambassador in behalf of the Jews of *Alexandria*, to plead for them against the Greek Inhabitants of that City.

Genuine Works, &c.  
A Treatise concerning the Creation of the World.  
Three Books of Allegorical Commentaries on *Genesis*.

A Treatise concerning the Reasons of altering the Names of some *Hebrews* in the Scripture.

A Discourse concerning the Cherubims, the Flaming Sword which guarded the Garden of *Eden*, and concerning *Cain*.

A Book of the Sacrifices of *Cain* and *Abel*.

Another Tract upon *Cain* and *Abel*: intitled: *That the Wicked are wont to lay Snares for those who are better than themselves.*

Two Books of Husbandry, the second of which is intitled; *Of the Vine planted by Noah.*

Two Books on Drunkenness, the second of which is intitl'd: *A Treatise on these Words, Noah recover'd from his Drunkenness.*

A Treatise concerning the Confusion of Languages.

A Treatise of the Gyants.

A Treatise intitl'd, *That God is immutable.*

Two Books upon *Abraham*, the one intitl'd, *The Life of a Wise Man perfected by Learning*, or of the unwritten Laws: and the other, of the Departure of *Abraham* out of his own Country.

A Treatise concerning the Usefulness of Conversation, in order to render a Man Learned, compos'd upon the account of the Conversation between *Sarah* and *Hagar*.

A Treatise concerning Exiles, writ upon the occasion of *Hagar's* flight.

A Tract intitl'd: *Who is the Heir of Divine Things*, or of the division of good Things into equal and unequal parts.

The Civil Life, or of *Joseph* the Patriarch.

A second and third Book concerning Dreams: the second intitled, *That Dreams proceed from God.*

Three Books of the Life of *Moses*.

A Book of the three Vertues describ'd by *Moses*, or three Discourses concerning Charity, Justice and Fortitude.

A Treatise of the manner of establishing a Prince.

A Book upon the Decalogue.

One of his Tracts, *de Legibus Specialibus*.

A Treatise concerning Circumcision.

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Two

## A Chronological TABLE &c.

Two Books of Monarchy.

A Treatise concerning the Rewards of the Priests.

A Treatise concerning Animals proper for Sacrifices, and of the several sorts of Victims.

Two Fragments of a Treatise concerning Providence, cited by *Eusebius*.

A Treatise concerning Rewards and Punishments.

A Treatise concerning Imprecations.

A Treatise concerning the prohibition of receiving the Offering of an Harlot.

A Tract intitled: *That every Vertuous Man is Free*.

A Treatise of the Contemplative Life, or the History of the *Essenes* and *Therapente*.

A Tract against *Flaccus*.

The History of his Ambassy to *Caligula*.

A Discourse concerning Nobility.

A Treatise concerning the Incorruptibility of the World.

### Spurious Works.

A Treatise concerning the World.

A Treatise concerning the Feasts.

### Works lost.

Expositions of the Law and the Prophets mention'd by *Eusebius*.

Five Books of Questions and Answers upon *Exodus*, mention'd by *Eusebius* and Saint *Jerome*.

A Treatise concerning the Tabernacle.

A Treatise concerning Providence.

A Treatise concerning the *Jews* mentioned by *Eusebius*.

The first Book of Dreams.

Several Tracts, *de Legibus Specialibus*.

A Treatise intitled, *Of things that ought to be desir'd or detested by a Wise Man*,

mention'd by *Eusebius*, Saint *Jerome* and *Suidas*.

A Discourse concerning *Flight and Invention*; or, of *Nature and Invention*, mention'd by *Eusebius* and S. *Jerome*.

A Treatise intitled, *Every Sinner is a Slave*.

A Treatise intitl'd *Alexander*, or concerning the Reason of Brutes mention'd by *Eusebius*.

## JOSEPHUS, Sirnam'd T. FLAVIUS,

Of the Sacerdotal Race descended from the *Asmonaans*.

He was born *An. Chr.* 37. flourish'd under the Emperors *Vespasian*, *Titus* and *Domitian*, dyed *An. Chr.* 93.

Genuine Works still extant.

The *Jewish Antiquities*, or the History of the *Jews*.

The History of the War against the *Romans* and of the taking of *Jerusalem*.

Two Books against *Appion*.

A Tract concerning the Martyrdom of the *Maccabees*.

His Life writ by his own Hand.

## JUSTUS,

Of *Tiberias*, flourish'd at the same time with *Josephus*.

Works lost.

The History of the *Jews*.

Commentaries on the Bible.



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# Chronological TABLE OF THE AUTHORS OF THE New Testament, And of their WORKS.

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*Note, That the Pages referr'd to in this TABLE belong to the  
Second Volume.*

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## *Saint* MATTHEW or LEVI

An Apostle and Evangelist: He was a Publican, converted by our Saviour, and made an Apostle. He wrote his Gospel in *Hebrew* or *Chaldee*, some Years after the Ascension of our Saviour. p. 26

Genuine Works still extant.  
His Gospel, translated from the *Chaldee* into Greek.

## *Saint* MARK,

The Disciple and Interpreter of Saint *Peter*, an Evangelist: He compos'd his Gospel at *Rome*, A. C. 65. went thence to *Alexandria*, where he dyed, A. C. 68. p. 40

A Genuine Work still extant.  
His Gospel.

## *Saint* LUKE,

A Physician of *Antioch*, a Converted Gentile, the Disciple of Saint *Paul*, and an Evangelist: He wrote his Gospel about the Year of Christ, 50. and the Acts, at *Rome*, after the Year 63. p. 44

Genuine Works, &c.  
His Gospel.  
The Acts of the Apostles.

# A Chronological TABLE of the

## Saint J O H N,

The Son of Zebedee, of the City of *Bethsaida* in *Galilee*, the beloved Disciple of our Lord; an Apostle and Evangelist.

He went into *Asia Minor*, about the Year of Christ, 70. Was brought to *Rome* in the persecution under *Nero*, *An. Chr.* 95. Banish'd to the Isle of *Patmos*, where he wrote his Apocalypse; Returns to *Ephesus*, and there writes his Gospel, *A. C.* 97. and dyed in the Year 101. aged above 90 Years.

p. 48

Genuine Works still extant.

His Gospel.

His three Epistles.

His Apocalypse.

## Saint P A U L, call'd before S A U L,

Of the Tribe of *Benjamin*, an Apostle: He was born at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*; Educated under *Gamaliel*; Converted *A. C.* 35. After he had preach'd the Gospel in *Asia* and *Syria* he was sent to *Rome*, *A. C.* 61. where he tarried two Years; and returning thither again was beheaded, *A. C.* 65. p. 53

Genuine Works, &c.

Fourteen Epistles, viz.

The Epistle to the *Romans*, written in the Year 57 or 58.

The first to the *Corinthians*, written the beginning of the Year 57.

The second to the *Corinthians* written about the latter end of the same Year.

The Epistle to the *Galatians*, written before the former, either at the latter end of the 56th, or the beginning of the 57th. Year of Christ.

The Epistle to the *Ephesians*, written *A. C.* 62.

The Epistle to the *Philippians*, written *A. C.* 61. or 62.

The Epistle to the *Colossians*, written after the former in the Year of *Chr.* 62.

The first and second to the *Thessalonians*, written in the Year 52.

The first to *Timothy*, written *A. C.* 60.

The second to *Timothy*, written *A. C.* 64.

The Epistle to *Titus*, written in the Year 63.

The Epistle to *Philemon*, written *A. C.* 61.

The Epistle to the *Hebrews*, written in *Hebrew*, *A. C.* 63.

## Saint J A M E S the J U S T,

The Brother of our Lord, Bishop of *Jerusalem*; he was made the first Bishop of *Jerusalem* after the death of *Jesus Christ*, and suffer'd Martyrdom *A. C.* 60. p.

A Genuine Work still extant.

An Epistle written a little before his Death.

## SIMON Sirnam'd P E T E R,

The Son of *Jonas*, Brother of *Andrew*, and chief of the Apostles: Converted by *Jesus Christ*, and martyr'd at *Rome* about the Year 65. p.

Genuine Works, &c.

Two Epistles, the former written about the Year of Christ 45, and the latter a little before his Death.

## Saint J U D E, call'd likewise L E B B E U S or T H A D D E U S.

The Brother of *James the Just*, and an Apostle, who liv'd a long time. p.

A Genuine Work, &c.

An Epistle, written after the Death of the other Apostles.

## Saint B A R N A B A S, call'd before J O S E P H.

A Levite of the Isle of *Cyprus*; who was joyn'd to the Apostles after the Death of *Jesus Christ*. p. 130

A Genuine Work, &c.

An Epistle, which is certainly His, tho' it be not Canonical.

A

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A  
T A B L E  
O F T H E  
Canonical and Apocryphal  
B O O K S  
Which belong to the  
Old Testament.

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Note, That the Pages referr'd to in this and the three following Tables  
belong to Vol I.

---

<i>Canonical Books, unanimously receiv'd by Jews and Christians.</i>		<i>Daniel.</i>	p. 117
		<i>The Chronicles.</i>	p. 84
		<i>Esdras divided into two Books.</i>	p. 87
		These Books thus divided make two and twenty in all. See farther the whole third Chapter of the first Volume.	
		<i>Books receiv'd as Canonical by some Jews, and rejected by others.</i>	
The Five Books of <i>Moses.</i>	p. 61	<i>Esther.</i>	p. 93
The Book of <i>Joshua.</i>	p. 78	<i>Ruth.</i>	p. 84
The Book of <i>Judges.</i>	p. 82	<i>Books excluded the Jewish Canon, and reckon'd as Apocryphal by some of the Ancient Christians, but al- low'd as Canonical of late by the Church of Rome.</i>	
The Book of <i>Samuel</i> , that is, the first and second Books of <i>Kings.</i>	p. 84	<i>Baruch.</i>	p. 117
The third and fourth Books of <i>Kings.</i> lb.		<i>Tobit.</i>	
<i>Isaiah.</i>	p. 115	A a a	
<i>Jeremiah.</i>	p. 116		
<i>Ezekiel.</i>	p. 117		
The twelve <i>Minor Prophets.</i>	p. 119		
The Book of <i>Job.</i>	p. 98		
The Hundred and Fifty <i>Psalms.</i>	p. 102		
The <i>Proverbs.</i>	} of Solomon. p. 108		
The <i>Ecclesiastes.</i>			
The <i>Canticles.</i>			



## A Table of the Canonical Books, &c.

<i>Tobit.</i>	p. 89	<i>Books that are excluded the Canon ;</i>
<i>Judith.</i>	p. 90	<i>tho' not apparently bad.</i>
The Book of Wisdom.	p. 113	
<i>Ecclesiasticus.</i>	p. 114	
The two Books of the <i>Maccabees.</i>	p. 121	
The Song of the three Children in the fiery Furnace.	in <i>Daniel.</i> p. 118	The Prayer of <i>Manassah</i> , inserted in the Apocrypha.
The Hist. of <i>Susanna.</i>		The third and fourth Book of <i>Esdras</i> , <i>ibid.</i>
The History of <i>Beland the Dragon.</i>		The third and fourth Book of <i>Maccabees</i> , in the <i>Septuagint</i> Bibles.
See likewise, Chap. 1. Sect. 4. and following, p. 71. &c.		The Genealogy of <i>Job</i> , and his Wife's Speech, at the end of the Greek Text of the Book of <i>Job</i> .
		The 151st <i>Psalms</i> , at the end of the Greek <i>Psalms</i> .
		A Discourse of King <i>Solomon</i> , at the end of the Book of Wisdom.
		A Preface before the Lamentations of <i>Jeremiah</i> , in the Vulgar Latin, and Greek Text.
<i>Books lost, cited in the Old Testament.</i>		
The Book of the Wars of the Lord, Numb. 21. v. 4.		
The Book of the Covenant, cited <i>Exod.</i> 24. v. 7.		Other Apocryphal Books of the same Nature which are lost.
The Book of <i>Jasher</i> , or the Upright, cited <i>Josh.</i> 10. v. 13. 2 <i>Sam.</i> 1. v. 18.		
The Books of <i>Nathan</i> , <i>Gad</i> , <i>Shemaiah</i> , <i>Ido</i> , <i>Abijah</i> and <i>Jehu</i> , cited in the <i>Chronicles</i> .		The Book of <i>Enoch.</i> p. 26
The <i>Chronicles</i> of the Acts of the Kings of <i>Judah</i> and <i>Israel</i> , cited in the Books of <i>Kings</i> .		The Book of the Assumption of <i>Moses</i> .
The History of the Kings of <i>Judah</i> and <i>Israel</i> , cited in the <i>Chronicles</i> .		The Assumption, Apocalypse or Secrets of <i>Elias</i> .
A Book of <i>Samuel</i> , cited, <i>Chron.</i> 29. v. 29.		The Secrets of <i>Jeremiah</i> .
The Acts of <i>Uzziah</i> , mention'd 2 <i>Chron.</i> 26. v. 22.		See farther. p. 27
Three thousand Proverbs of <i>Solomon</i> , mention'd 1 <i>Kings</i> 4. v. 32.		<i>Books forg'd by the Jews or by Hereticks, full of Fables and Errors which are lost.</i>
A thousand and five Songs, mention'd <i>ibid.</i>		The Generations, or the Creation of <i>Adam.</i> p. 27
Several other Volumes of the same Author, mention'd, <i>ibid.</i>		The Revelation of <i>Adam.</i> p. 28
The Prophecie of <i>Jeremiah</i> , torn in pieces by <i>Jehoiakim</i> , <i>Jerem.</i> 36.		Of the Genealogy, or of the Sons and Daughters of <i>Adam.</i> p. 28
Another Prophecie of his upon the City of <i>Babylon</i> , mention'd, <i>Jer.</i> 51.		<i>Cham's</i> Book of Magick. p. 27
Memoirs or Descriptions of the same Author, mention'd, 1 <i>Maccabees</i> , Chap. 2.		A Treatise intituled <i>Serh.</i> p. 28
The Prophecie of <i>Jonah</i> , mention'd in the Book of <i>Jonah</i> .		The Assumption of <i>Abraham.</i> p. 27
The Memoirs of <i>Hircanus</i> , mention'd, 1 <i>Macc.</i> Chap. Ult.		<i>Jetsira</i> , or concerning the Creation, ascrib'd to <i>Abraham.</i> <i>ibid.</i>
The Books of <i>Jason</i> , mention'd, 2 <i>Macc.</i> Ch. 2.		The Books of the twelve Patriarchs. <i>ibid.</i>
See farther, Chap. 1. Sect. VIII. Vol. I. p. 21.		The Discourses of <i>Jacob</i> and <i>Joseph.</i> p. 28
		A Prophecie of <i>Habakkuk.</i> p. 28
		A Collection of the Prophecies of <i>Ezekiel.</i> p. 28
		The Prophecie of <i>Eldad</i> and <i>Madaad.</i> p. 28
		The Treatise of <i>Jannes</i> and <i>Jamhes.</i> p. 28
		The Book of King <i>Og.</i> p. 28
		<i>Jacob's-Ladder</i> , and several other Tracts. p. 28
		A

# A TABLE of the Versions of the Books of the Old Testament.

## Greek Versions.

**A**N ancient Version of the Bible, or part of it, by an unknown Hand.  
 The Version of the Seventy; made under the Reign of *Ptolomey Philadelphus*, p. 169 &c.  
 The Version of *Aquila*, made in the Year of Christ, 128. p. 179.  
 The Version of *Symmachus*, made under the Empire of *Severus*. p. 179  
 The fifth and sixth Versions. *ibid.*  
 The seventh Version of the Psalms and some other Books. *ibid.*  
 Two other Versions of the Prophets. *ibid.*

## Ancient Latin Versions.

The Ancient Vulgar or Italic. p. 192  
 The Versions of Saint *Jerome*. *ibid.*  
 The Vulgar Version us'd by the Romish Church. *ibid.*

## The Samaritan Versions.

The Samaritan Pentateuch. p. 164, &c.  
 The Version of the Pentateuch into Samaritan. p. 168

## The Chaldee Versions.

The Chaldee Paraphrase of the Pentateuch by *Onkelos*, made in our Saviour's time. p. 206  
 The Paraphrase of *Jonathan* on the Prophetical Books, made likewise in our Saviour's time. p. 206  
 The *Targum* on the *Hagiographa*, attributed to *Joseph the Blind*. p. 207  
 The *Targum* of *Jerusalem*. *ibid.*

## Syriac Versions.

A Syriac Version from the Greek Text. p. 208

Another Syriac Version from the *Hexapla*. *ibid.*

## Arabick Versions.

An Arabick Version of *Saadias Gaon*, made about the Year 600, the Pentateuch of which Version is publish'd. p. 209  
 An Arabick Version, publish'd by *Erpenius*. *ibid.*  
 An Arabick Version made by a Christian. *ibid.*  
 Other Arabick Versions, of several Books of the Old Testament, in Print, or Manuscript. *ibid.*

## Other Versions into several Oriental Languages.

A Version of several Books of the Old Testament, into the *Coptic* or *Egyptian* Language, a Manuscript. p. 210  
 A Version of the Psalms and Canticles into *Ethiopick*. p. 212  
 A *Persick* Version. p. 213  
 An *Armenian* Version, done by *Uscanius*. p. 213  
 The Versions of the *Muscovites*, *Iberians*, *Gregorians*, &c. p. 213

## New Latin Versions of the Bible done by Roman Catholics.

The Version of *Sanctes Pagninus*, a Dominican, printed in the Year 1527. p. 205  
 The Version of *Arias Montanus*, or rather the Version of *Pagninus* revis'd by *Arias Montanus*, in the *Polyglottes* of *Philip II.* p. 205  
 The Version of *Tho. Malvenda*, a Dominican. *ibid.*  
 The Version of Cardinal *Cajetan*. *ibid.*  
 The Version of *Isidorus Clarinus*.  
 The Version of the Psalms, by *Simeon de Muis*. *ibid.*  
 A a a 2 Latin

## A Table of the Versions, &c.

### *Latin Versions done by the Protestants.*

The Version of *Sebastian Munster*. p. 205  
The Version of *Leo Juda*. ibid.

The Version of *Sebastian Castellio*. p. 205  
The Version of *Tremellius* and *Junius*. ib.  
The Editions of the Bible by *Andrew*  
and *Luke Osiander*. ibid.

## A TABLE of the Versions of the BIBLE into several of the Vulgar Languages.

### *French Versions.*

A Version of the Psalms, done in the  
Eleventh Century, A Manuscript.

p. 216

Another Version of the Psalms, done  
in the twelfth Century, by *M. Peter*  
of *Paris*, a Manuscript. ibid.

The Version of *Guars des Moulins*, in  
the thirteenth Century. ibid.

The Version of *James le Grand*, Dr. of  
*Paris*, in the fourteenth Century.

p. 217

The Version of the Doctors of *Louvain*,  
printed by *Martin l'Empereur*, in the  
Year 1530, and 1534. p. 218

The Version of *Olivetan* a Calvinist, in  
the Year 1535. ibid.

The Version of *Sebastian Castellio* a Cal-  
vinist, in the Year 1555. ibid.

The Version of *Theodore Beza* a Calvi-  
nist, in the Year 1560. p. 217

The Version of *Reginaldus Benedictus*, in  
the Year 1566. p. 218

The Version of *Louvain*, in the Year  
1578. ibid.

The Version of *Geneva* in the Year  
1588. p. 219

The Version of *Peter Bessé*, in the Year  
1608. p. 218

The Version of *Peter Frison*, in the  
Year 1620. ibid.

The Version of *Corbin*, in the Year  
1641. ibid.

### *Italian Versions.*

The Version of *Nicholas Malhermi*,  
printed in the Year 1641. p. 219

The Version of *Antonio Bruccioli*, in  
the Year 1530. ibid.

The Version of *Joannes Deodatus* a Cal-  
vinist, in the Year 1607. p. 219

### *Spanish Versions.*

A Version into the *Catalonian* or Pro-  
vence Tongue, a Manuscript. p. 219

A Version into the Language of *Valen-  
tia* lost. ibid.

The Version of *Cassidore Reyna*, in the  
Year 1569, Reprinted with several  
Alterations, *Opera & Studio Cypriani*  
*Valerii*, in the Year 1602. ibid.

### *German Versions.*

The Ancient German Versions before  
*Luther*. p. 220

The Version of *Luther*. ibid.

The Version of *Jerome Emser* a Catho-  
lick. ibid.

The Version of *Leo Juda* a Calvinist. ib.

The Version of *Paul Eber* a Calvinist,  
in the Year 1560. ibid.

The Version of *John* of *Dietenberg*, a  
Catholick in the Year 1603. ibid.

The Version of *Joannes Piscator*, a Cal-  
vinist, in the Year 1604. ibid.

The Version of *Jasper Ulemberg* a Ca-  
tholick, in the Years 1626, and  
1630. ibid.

### *Dutch Versions.*

An Ancient Version printed seventy  
Years before the following. p. 220

The Version of *Nicholas Van Winghe* in  
the Year 1548. p. 220

The Version of the Doctors of *Lou-  
vain* at *Antwerp*, in the Year 1599.

ibid.

The



## A Table of the Versions, &c.

The Version of the Calvinists into  
*Dutch*, made by the Order of the  
Synod of *Dort*, in the Year 1637. 220  
The Versions of the Arminians, in the  
Year 1680. ibid

### English Versions.

The Version of *Bede* into Saxon, lost.  
Fragments of other English Versions.  
An ancient Translation of the Psalter  
into English-Saxon, printed in the  
Year 1640. ibid  
*Wickliff's* English Version, in Manu-  
script. ibid  
The Translation of *Tindal* and *Coverdal*,  
in the Years 1526, and 1530. 221  
Another English Version of the Bible,  
printed in *France* in the Year 1538.  
The Version of *Gusbert Tunstall*, in the  
Year 1541. ibid  
The Version of the Calvinists in *Eng-  
land*, done from the *Geneva* Bible, in  
the Year 1560. ibid  
The Episcopal Bible, done by *Par-  
ker* about the latter end of the Fif-  
teenth Century. ibid  
The Bible of King *James I.* in the  
Year 1612. ibid  
The Version of the Bible into English,  
Catholick. ibid  
A Version into *Irish*, printed at *London*  
in the Year, 1685. ibid

### A Swedish Version.

The Version of *Laurentius Petrus*, an *He-  
retick*, at *Stockholm*, in the Year 1646.

### A Danish Version.

Printed in the Years 1524 and 1633. 221

### Iselandish and Finlandish Versions.

Printed in the Year 1648. ibid

### Polish Versions.

A Socinian Version, in the Year 1563.  
The Version of *Simon Budin*, which the  
Socinians caus'd to be printed in  
the Year 1572. 221  
The Version of the Bible by *Vieki* the  
+ Jesuite, printed in the Year 1599. ibid

### A Bohemian Version.

Printed in *Germany* between the Year  
1579, and the Year 1601. ibid

### Hungarian Versions.

A Version printed in the Year 1608.  
The Version of *George Caldi* a Jesuite,  
in the Year 1626. ibid  
See farther, the whole first Section of  
the Ninth Chapter, p. 215, &c.

## A Table of the Books &c.

### A TABLE of Authors whose Works relate to the History of the Old Testament.

Note, That the Pages refer'd to here, belong to the Second Volume.

Genuine Authors.	
<b>P</b> hilos.	p. 168
Josephus.	p. 170
Justus of Tiberias.	p. 170
Spurious or Doubtful Authors.	
Aristeas.	ibid.
Aristobulus.	ibid.
Josephus Benchorion.	ibid.
The false Berofus.	p. 171
Manetho.	p. 171
Metasthenes.	ibid.
The Testament of the twelve Patri- archs.	ibid.
The false Dorotheus.	ibid.
Zoroaster.	ibid.
Sanchoniathon.	ibid.
Philo Biblius.	ibid.

### A TABLE of the BOOKS which belong to the New Testament.

Books own'd as Canonical at all times, and by all Christians.	
<b>T</b> HE four Gospels.	p. 20, &c.
The Acts of the Apostles.	53
Thirteen Epistles of Saint Paul.	53
The First Epistle of Saint Peter.	74
The first of Saint John.	76
See farther,	p. 20 &c.
Books question'd by some, but admit- ted soon after by the whole Church as Canonical.	
The Epistle to the Hebrews.	64
The Epistle of Saint James.	69
The second of Saint Peter.	75
The second and third of Saint John.	76
The Epistle of Saint Jude, receiv'd as Canonical a little later than the rest.	80
The Apocalypse or Revelations of St. John, which was a long time before it was receiv'd by all the Church.	82
The end of the last Chapter of Saint Mark's Gospel.	42
The History of the Angel and the A- gony of our Saviour Related.	Luke 22. 47
The History of the Woman taken in Adultery, related in the Eighth Chapter of Saint John's Gospel.	51
The end of the same Gospel.	52
The passage concerning the Trinity, taken out of the fifth Chapter of the first Epistle of Saint John.	77

## A Table of the Books, &c.

*Apocryphal Writings which are not full of Errors.*

The Letter of Jesus Christ to Agbarus. 121

The Letters of the Blessed Virgin. 123

The Gospel according to the Egyptians. *ibid*

The Gospel according to the Hebrews. *ibid*

Additions to the Gospels of Saint Matthew and Luke, in the Cambridge Manuscript. 105

The Proto-Evangelium of St. James. 124

The Gospel of Nicodemus. *ibid*

The Ancient Acts of Paul and Thecla. 128

The Epistle to the Laodiceans. 61

The Epistles of Saint Paul to Seneca. 163

The Epistle of Saint Barnabas. 130

The Liturgies of { Saint Peter. Saint Mark. Saint James. Saint Matthew } p. 134

The Canons and Constitutions of the Apostles. 144

The Treatise of Prochorus. 149

The Books of Saint Linus. *ibid*

The Treatise of Abdias. *ibid*

The Acts of the Passion of Saint Andrew. *ibid*

*Books full of Errors, and forg'd by Hereticks, almost all of them lost.*

Saint Peter. 125

Saint Thomas. 126

Saint Matthias. *ibid*

Saint Bartholomew. *ibid*

Saint Philip. *ibid*

Judas Iscariot. *ibid*

Thaddaeus. 127

Barnabas. *ibid*

The Gospel of Truth by the Valentians.

The Gospel of perfection by the Gnosticks. 126

The Gosp. of Eve by the Gnosticks. 126

A Book concerning the Infancy of Jesus Christ. 127

A Treatise concerning the Birth of our Saviour, the Virgin-Mary, and her Midwife. *ibid*

A Treatise concerning the Virgin's Lying-in, and the Questions she ask'd. *ibid*

A Treatise of the Nativity of the Virgin-Mary, by the Heretick Seleucus, cited by Saint Jerome. *ibid*

The Apocryphal Treatise of the Life of the Virgin, cited by Saint Gregory Nyssene. 128

Another Apocryphal Book on the Virgin, cited by Faustus. *ibid*

The Writings of Jesus Christ about Miracles. *ibid*

The Acts of { Saint Peter. Saint Paul. Saint Andrew. Saint John. The Apostles. Saint Philip. Saint Thomas. } p. 129

The Doctrine, Preachings, and Itinerary of Saint Peter. 129

The Rapture of Saint Paul. *ibid*

The Memoirs of the Apostles. *ibid*

The Lots of the Apostles. *ibid*

The Itinerary of the Apostles. *ibid*

The Treatise concerning the Priesthood of Jesus Christ. 130

The Apostolical Tract. *ibid*

The Treatise of the Death and Assumption of the Virgin. *ibid*

The Apocalypses or Revelations of { Saint Peter. Saint Paul. Saint Thomas. Saint Stephen. The Great Apostle. Abraham. Seth and Noriah. } p. 130



## A TABLE of the Versions of the New Testament.

### Latin Versions.

Several ancient Latin Versions. 115  
 The ancient Italic or Vulgar. *ibid*  
 This Version reform'd by Saint *Jerome*.  
 The Version of Saint *Paul's* Epistles, by  
*Le Fevre d'Estaples*, in the Year 1531. 116  
 The Version of the whole New Testa-  
 ment done by *Erasmus*, in the Year  
 1516. *ibid*  
 The Version of *Pagninus*, in the Year  
 1528. 117  
 The Version of *Leo Juda*, in the Year  
 1543. *ibid*  
 The Version of *Sebastian Castalio*. *ibid*  
 The Version of *Theodore Beza*. *ibid*

### Oriental Versions.

The Syriac Version. 117  
 The Arabick Versions. 118  
 The Ethiopic Version. *ibid*  
 The Persian Version. *ibid*  
 The Armenian Version. *ibid*  
 The Coptic Version. *ibid*

### Particular Versions of the New Testa- ment into the Vulgar Tongues.

The History of the Gospel in the Ger-

man Language, by *Orfrey* the Disciple  
 of *Rabanus*, printed in the Year 1571.

The ancient English-Saxon Version of  
 the Gospels.

A French Version by Father *Veron*, in  
 the Year 1647.

Another French Version by *M. de Ma-  
rolles*, in the Year 1649.

The Version of *Mons*, in the Year 1667.

The Version of Father *Amelotte*, in the  
 Year 1668.

The Version of *M. de Sacy*.

The Version of the New Testament in-  
 to Italian, by Father *Zachary*, in the  
 Year 1542.

A Spanish Version by *Francis Enzinas*,  
 Dedicated to *Charles V*.

Another Spanish Version of the N. Te-  
 stament, done in the Year 1596.

The Version of *Cassiodorus Reyna*, in the  
 Year 1615.

The Islandish and Finlandish Versions,  
 printed in the Year 1602.

A Muscovite Version printed in the  
 Year 1581.

A Version into the Vulgar Greek at  
*Geneva*.

## Other forg'd Records favourable to the Christian Religion.

THE Letter of *Agbarus* to Jesus  
 Christ. p. 121  
 The Letters of *Lentulus* and *Pilate* con-  
 cerning Jesus Christ. 162  
 The Books of the *Sibyls*. 150  
 The Books of *Mercurius Trismegist*. 161

The Book of *Hystaspes*. 161  
 The Letters of *Seneca* to Saint *Paul*. 163  
 The passage of *Josephus* concerning Jesus  
 Christ, which it is not certain whe-  
 ther it be Spurious or not. 164

# An Alphabetical TABLE

## OF

### The Authors of the OLD and NEW

# TESTAMENT

Mention'd in the two Volumes.

---

Note, That O. T. signifies the Old Testament, and N. T. the New.

---

A.		ARISTOBULUS.	170 O. T.
<b>A</b> BDIAS, a supposititious Author. Page 149 N. T.	Priests of ACHAIA, the Authors of the Acts of the Passion of Saint Andrew.	ASAPH.	103. O. T.
	149 N. T.	BARNABAS.	130 N. T.
	AGBARUS. 121 N. T.	BARUCH.	117 O. T.
	AMOS. 119 O. T.	BEROSUS.	171 N. T.
APOSTLES, false Acts ascrib'd to them.	128 N. T.	C.	
APOSTLES, a Spurious Apocalypse ascrib'd to them.	128 N. T.	CHRONIELES.	86 O. T.
APOSTLES, Canons and Constitutions attributed to them.	144 N. T.	CREEDE, ascrib'd to the Apostles.	135 N. T.
APOSTLES, a Spurious Gospel attributed to them.	125 N. T.	D.	
APOSTLES, Spurious Liturgies foisted upon them.	133 N. T.	DANIEL.	117 O. T.
APOSTLES, their Creed.	135 N. T.	DAVID.	102 O. T.
ARISTEAS.	170 N. T.	DOROTHÆUS.	171 N. T.
		E.	
		ESTHER, the Author of that Book.	93 O. T.
		EZEKIEL.	117 O. T.
		EZRAH.	87 O. T.
		G.	
		GAD.	22, 84, 85. O. T.
		GOSPELS, according to the Hebrews, and according to the Egyptians.	133 N. T.
		H.	
		HABAKKUK.	120 O. T.
		HAGGAI.	120 O. T.
		HYSTASPES.	161 N. T.
		C c c	I.

# An Alphabetical Table, &c.

I.		METASTHENES.	171 N.T.
JAMES.	69. N.T.	MICAH.	119 O.T.
JEREMIAH.	116 O.T.	MOSES.	61 O.T.
JESUS-CHRIST.	121 N.T.	NAHUM.	119 O.T.
JESUS, the Son of Sirach.	114 O.T.	NATHAN.	22, 84, 85. O.T.
JOB.	98 O.T.	NEHEMIAH.	87 O.T.
JOEL.	119. O.T.	NICODEMUS.	124 N.T.
JONAH.	119 O.T.	OBADIAH.	p. 119 O.T.
Saint JOHN.	48 N.T.	OSEAH OF HOSEAH.	119. O.T.
JOSEPHUS.	170 N.T.	P.	
JOSEPHUS BENGORION.	170	Saint PAUL.	53 N.T.
JOSHUA.	80 N.T.	Saint PETER.	74 N.T.
ISAIAH.	78 O.T.	PHILO, the Ancient.	113.
Saint JUDE.	80 N.T.	PHILO of Alexandria.	168
JUDITH, the Author of that Book.	90 O.T.	PHILO of Biblos.	171 N.T.
JUDGES, the Author of that Book.	82 O.T.	PILATE.	162 N.T.
JUSTUS of Tiberias.	170. N.T.	Priests of ACHAZIAH.	149
K.		PROCHORUS.	149 N.T.
KINGS, the Author of that Book.	84. O.T.	R.	
L.		RUTH, the Author of that Book.	84 O.T.
LENTULUS.	162 N.T.	S.	
Saint LINUS.	149 N.T.	SAMUEL.	84 O.T.
Saint LUKE.	44 N.T.	SANCHONIATHON.	171 N.T.
M.		SENECA.	163 N.T.
MACCABEES, the Authors of the two First Books.	121 O.T.	SIBYLS.	150, &c. N.T.
MALACHI.	120 O.T.	SOLOMON.	108 O.T.
MANETHO.	171 N.T.	T.	
Virgin MARY.	123 N.T.	TOBIT.	89 O.T.
Saint MARK.	40 N.T.	Z.	
Saint MATTHEW.	26 N.T.	ZACHARIAH.	120 O.T.
MERCURIUS TRISMEGISTUS.	161 N.T.	ZEPHANIAH.	120 O.T.
		ZOROASTER.	171 N.T.



## A Table of the Principal Matters contain'd in this second Volume.

### A.

**A** *Bdian*, a supposititious Author of the Lives of the Apostles, 149  
*Abraham*, an Apocalypse father'd upon him, 130  
*Acts of the Apostles*. Of the Canonical Books of the Acts of the Apostles, 53. Of the false Acts of the Apostles, 128. Of the false Acts of the Passion of St. *Andrew*, 149  
*Adultery*; The History of the Woman taken in Adultery, related in Saint *John's* Gospel. Of the Antiquity and Genuineness of that History, 51  
*Agbarus* King of *Edeffa*; converted to Christianity, 121. Whether this History be Genuine or not, *ibid.*  
The Letters of *Agbarus* to *Jesus Christ*, and of *Jesus Christ* to *Agbarus*, spurious. *ibid.* The Picture of *Jesus Christ* sent to *Agbarus*, a feign'd story, 122  
*Allegory*, In use among the *Jews* and primitive *Christians*, 132  
*Anelot*, *Dionysius*, a Priest of the *Oratory*: Of the Collection which he made of the various Readings of the New Testament in Greek, conformable to the Vulgar, 103  
Saint *Andrew*, false Acts of his Passion, 149  
*Anglo-Saxon*, A Version of the New Testament into that Language, 118  
*Apocalypse*, Vid. *Revelation*.  
*Apollinaris*, the Spurious History attributed to him, 150  
*Apostles*; Why chosen by *Jesus Christ*. 2. How instructed in the Truths of Religion. 3. After what manner they publish'd them. *ibid.* That no question but that they were acquainted with and declar'd all the Truths which *Jesus Christ* had revealed to them. *ibid.* That they were neither deceiv'd nor Deceivers. 9. That they were divinely inspir'd. 12. Of the Apostle's Creed. 135. Of their

Canons. 144. &c. Of the Constitutions attributed to them. *ibid.* Of the Acts of the Apostles. 53. Of the false Acts of the Apostles. 128. False Liturgies attributed to the Apostles, 133

*Arabick*, Versions of the New Testament into that Language. 118

*Arias Montanus*. Of his Latin Version of the New Testament. 117

*Armenian*, A Version of the New Testament into the *Armenian* Tongue, 118

### B.

**B** *Apriism* of *Jesus Christ*. The Addition to the Account of it made in St. *Matthew's* Gospel, 34, 37  
Saint *Barnabas*, Of the Name of that Apostle, 130. Author of the Epistle which goes under his Name, 131. Whether it be Canonical or not, 133. The subject of that Epistle. *ibid.* The several Editions of that Epistle, *ibid.*  
Saint *Bartholomew*, The Gospel attributed to him, 126

*Berosus*, Of the true and false *Berosus*, 171

*Beza, Theodore*, His Edition of the New Testament with some Alterations. 102. of his Version of the New Testament, 117

*Books of the New Testament*; The Authority of them. 4. Proofs of their Authority. 5. That these Books are theirs under whose names they are inscribed. *ibid.* That they have not been corrupted, 7. That they are not Fictitious or Fabulous. 8. Of the Canon of the Books of the New Testament. 16. Of the Division of those Books into Titles, Chapters, Sections and Verses, 119

# INDEX.

## C.

**C***laus*, to whom the third Epistle of Saint *John* is directed, 77  
**Canon**, Of the Canon of the Books of the New Testament, how drawn up, 16. Of the different Classes or Orders of the Canonical and Apocryphal Books of the New Testament. 17. What Books were compris'd in the Ancient Canons of the Books of the New Testament. *ibid.* How the Church came to admit those Books into the Canon which were doubted of at first. 18. What Qualifications are requisite in order to render a Book Canonical. 131  
**Canons of the Apostles**. The Opinions of Authors about them, 144. That they are not the Apostles, 144 tho' Ancient, 145. Nine other Canons attributed to the Apostles, which are spurious, 148  
**Caryophila, Matthew**, His Collection of the various Lectons of the Greek Text of the New Testament, 102  
**Castilio, Sebastian**: His Version of the New Testament, 117  
**Catholick Epistles**, why so call'd, 69. why likewise styl'd Canonical. *ibid.* The number of them. *ibid.* Of the Preface to these Epistles. *ibid.* Of the Order of these Epistles. *ibid.* The subject matter of them. 70  
**Chapters**, the Division of the New Testament into Chapters, 119  
**Saint Clemens Romanus**; the spurious Author of the History of Saint *Clement*, 150  
**Colossians**; the Epistle of St. *Paul* to the *Colossians* when written, 61. The subject matter of that Epistle. *ibid.*  
**Constitutions of the Apostles**; That they were not compos'd by the Apostles, but are supposititious, 148  
**Coptic**: Versions of the New Testament into that Language, 118  
**Corinthians**, of the two Epistles of St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, 57. The first from whence and when written, 57. The occasion of that Epistle. 58. The subject matter of it. *ibid.* Whether there was any other Epistle written before by Saint *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, *ibid.* Of the second Epistle to the *Corinthians* when written, 58.

The subject matter of that Epistle, *ibid.*

**Creed of the Apostles**. The several Opinions about it. 135. Why so call'd. 136. In what Sense it may be said to be the Apostles Creed, 142. The differences of four Ancient Creeds represented in a Table, 143

## D.

**Dionysius of Alexandria**: His Opinion concerning the *Apocalypse* or *Revelation*, 82  
**Division of the New Testament** into Titles, Chapters and Verses, when and by whom made, 119, &c.  
**Dorotheus**, the false *Dorotheus*, 171

## E.

**E***lecte*. A Christian Lady to whom St. *John* directs his second Epistle, 77  
**Egyptians**, what the Ancients have said concerning the Gospel according to the *Egyptians*, 123  
**Enoch**, the Book of *Enoch* cited in Saint *Jude's* Epistle, 80, 81  
**Ephesians**, St. *Paul's* Epistle to them, when and whence written, and upon what occasion. 59, 60. Intitled by some the Epistle to the *Laodiceans*. 60. The subject matter of that Epistle, *ibid.*  
**Erasmus**, What he did in collating the Greek Manuscripts of the New Testament. 102. His Latin Version of the New Testament, 116  
**Ethiopick**, Versions of the New Testament into that Language, 118  
**Eve**, of the Gospel of *Eve* forg'd by the *Gnosticks*, 126  
**Eusebius**, The first Author of the Sections of the Gospels, 119. Not altogether exact in his Citations of *Josephus*, 167

## F.

**F***euvre de la Boderie*, of his Editions of the Bible in the Oriental Languages, 118  
**Le Fevre d'Estaples, James**, of his Version of the Epistles of St. *Paul*, 116

## G.



# I N D E X.

## G.

**G**alatians, St. Paul's Epistle to them, when and from whence written, and upon what occasion. 59. The subject matter of that Epistle, *ibid.*  
*Genealogy of Jesus Christ*: regulated in the Gospel of St. Luke, according to the Gospel of St. Matthew in the Cambridge Manuscript, 47  
 Gospel. The meaning of it, 21. Why 'tis said the Gospel according to, and not the Gospel of such or such an one, 22. That the Church never admitted above four Canonical Gospels, 24. Who the Persons are that undertook to write it, of whom mention is made by St. Luke. 22, 23. Of the Ancient Gospels, 22. Mysteries and Allegories about the Number of the four Evangelists, 24. That the number of the Evangelists serves to demonstrate the Truth of the Gospel. *ibid.* The Symbols of the four Evangelists. 25. Why of the four Evangelists two of them were Apostles and Eye-Witnesses of the matters of Fact, and two others the Disciples of the Apostles, 25. Of the seeming Contrarieties between the Accounts of the Evangelists. *ibid.* Of the Order of the Gospels. 26. Of St. Matthew's Gospel, 26. And of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, 31, &c. Of St. Mark's Gospel, 40, &c. of Saint Luke's Gospel. 44. &c. Of St. John's Gospel. 48. &c. Of the Gospel according to the Egyptians, of St. James and Nicodemus. 123, 124. Of the false Gospels forg'd by Hereticks, 125, &c.  
 Greek Manuscripts, and Greek Text, see Manuscripts and Text.  
 Vulgar Greek. The Version of the New Testament into Vulgar Greek, 118

## H.

**H**ebrews. The Epistle to the Hebrews; whether it be St. Paul's. 64. Proofs that it is His, 66. Why St. Paul did not set his Name before it. 64. The Opinions of the Ancients concerning this Epistle. 64, &c. To whom directed, 68. From whence

and when written. *ibid.* The Design and subject matter of it. *ibid.* The Excellency of this Epistle, *ibid.*  
 Hellenists, who they are, 114. Of the Hellenistical Language. *ibid.*  
 Hyfaspes. Of the Treatise that goes under his Name, 161

## J.

**J**ames the Brother of our Lord, not the same with St. James the Son of Zebedee. 70. Sirnam'd the Lesser and the Just. *ibid.* Whose Son he was, and whether he be not the same with the Apostle Son of Alphaeus, *ibid.* The Author of the Catholick Epistle, *ibid.* To whom this Epistle was directed, 47. What it contains, *ibid.* Of his Style, *ibid.* By whom of the Ancients 'tis cited, *ibid.* Of the *Proto-Evangelium* of St. James, 126. A spurious Liturgy attributed to him, 134  
 Jesus Christ. Of the Addition to the History of his Baptism in St. Matthew's Gospel. 34, 37. Of the History of our Saviour's Agony and the Angel that appear'd to him in the Garden, related by St. Luke, Chap. 22, 47. Of the supposititious Letter of Jesus Christ to Agbarus King of Edessa. 121. Of the Letters of Lentulus and Pilate concerning Jesus Christ 162. Of the passage of Josephus concerning Jesus Christ. 164. Of the false Histories of the Birth and Infancy of Jesus Christ forg'd by the Marcionians. 127. Of the Spurious Writings of Jesus Christ to Saint Peter concerning Miracles. 128. A Spurious Treatise concerning the High-Priesthood of Jesus Christ, 130  
 Inspiration, of the Inspiration of the Apostles. 12. of the Inspiration of their Writings. *ibid.* How to know this Inspiration, 13  
 Saint John the Evangelist. His Country and Kindred. 48. His Call. *ibid.* His Acts as recorded in the Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles. 48, 49. The Establishment of the Churches of Asia, by St. John. 50. His Martyrdom at Rome and Banishment to the Isle of Patmos. *ibid.* His Death. *ibid.* Some of his Actions related by



# I N D E X.

the Ancients, *ibid.* Upon what occasion and motive, and at what time he wrote his Gospel, 50, 51. Of the Stile of his Gospel, 51. Of the conclusion of his Gospel, 52. Of his three Canonical Epistles, 76. The first to whom directed, *ibid.* Its subject Matter, *ibid.* The two last call'd in Question, *ibid.* By whom found, *ibid.* That they are St. *John's*, *ibid.* The subject Matter of them, 77. By whom of the Ancients they are cited, 18. Of his *Apocalypse*, 82, &c. Of the Acts Father'd upon him,

129

*Josephus*, His Life, 169; his Works, *ib.* His Passage concerning *Jesus Christ*, 164. By whom cited, *ibid.* Arguments of the doubtfulness of that Passage, 164, 165. A Reply to those Arguments, 166. That *Caius* the Priest might have been the Author of it, *ibid.* The Passage of *Josephus* concerning St. *John Baptist*, *ibid.* The Difficulties which arise about that Passage, *ibid.* Cited by the Ancients, 167. An Interpolation made in the Greek Text of *Josephus*, *ibid.*

*Josephus Bengorion*, A spurious Author,

170

*Juda, Leo*; of his Version of the New Testament,

117

*Judas Iscariot*; the Gospel Father'd upon him by the *Gajanites*,

126

St. *Jude*, Sirnam'd *Lebbeus* or *Thaddæus* 80. Whether he were sent to *Edeffa* or not, *ibid.* Of the time of his Death and the manner of his Martyrdom, *ibid.* Of his Canonical Epistle, *ibid.* Who they were that doubted of it, and who own'd it, 81: When written, *ibid.* Its subject Matter,

*ibid.*

*Justus of Tiberias*; the Works of this Author lost.

170.

## L.

**L** *Aodiceans* An Epistle to the *Laodiceans* attributed to St. *Paul*, 61. Whether any mention is made of it in the Epistle to the *Colossians*, *ibid.* Of the Spurious Epistle under that Title, *ibid.* Whether that which we have be the same with that cited by the Fathers,

*ibid.*

*Lenulus*. A Letter concerning *Jesus Christ* attributed to him,

162

St. *Linus*. The Passion of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul* attributed falsely to him, 149

St. *Luke*. His Country and Profession, 44. The Companion of St. *Paul*, *ibid.* Whether it be not of him and his Gospel that St. *Paul* makes mention, when he tells them that he sent to them a Brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the Churches, 45. Of his Preaching and Death, *ibid.* The design of St. *Luke* in the composing of his Gospel, 45. Where and when he compos'd it, 46. Of the Style of St. *Luke*, *ibid.* Of the Substractions and Additions made to his Gospel, 47. The Differences of the Cambridge Manuscript in the Gospel of St. *Luke*, *ibid.* When he compos'd the Acts of the Apostles, 53. Of the History of that Book, *ibid.* and of its Excellency. *ibid.*

## M.

**M** *Anuscripts*, Greek of the new Testament. Of the three most Ancient Manuscripts of the New Testament, 103. The *Vatican MS*, *ibid.* The Manuscript of *Thecla*, *ib.* The Cambridge Manuscript, 104. The several Opinions of Authors about this last, 104, &c. Reflections and the particular Judgment of the Author concerning that Manuscript, 106. Of other Manuscripts of the New Testament, *ibid.* The Origine of the Faults that have crept into the Greek Manuscripts. 107

St. *Mark*: The Disciple and Interpreter of St. *Peter*, 40. Not the same with *Mark* Sirnam'd *John*, the Companion and Kinsman of *Barnabas*, *ibid.* Of what Station he was, *ibid.* Whether he was one of the seventy two Disciples, *ibid.* Of his Life and Actions, 41. When he compos'd his Gospel, *ibid.* In what Language he wrote it, 42. That he abridg'd St. *Matthew's* Gospel, *ibid.* Of the last Verses of his Gospel, 43. An Addition to his Gospel, *ibid.* A Liturgy falsely ascrib'd to him, 134. The Supposititious Author of St. *Mark's* Life,

150

*Virgin Mary*, A Spurious Letter attributed to her, 123. Spurious Authors of the Nativity of the *Virgin Mary*, 127. The Death and Assumption of the

the

# I N D E X.

- the *Virgin Mary*, 130  
**St. Matthew**: His Life, 26. Whose Son he was, 27. Of the Place of his Preaching and Martyrdom, *ibid.* Of his Gospel, 28. when compos'd, *ib.* In what Language, *ibid.* Of the Fate which the *Hebrew* Gospel of *St. Matthew* underwent, 29, &c. Of the *Greek* Version of that Gospel, 30. Additions to the Gospel of *St. Matthew*, 34. of the Copy of *St. Matthew's* Gospel carry'd by *St. Bartholomew* to the *Indians*, 32. Of another Copy that was in the *Casarean* Library, *ibid.* Of the Copy that was found under the Empire of *Zeno*, *ib.* Of the *Hebrew* Versions of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, 36. The mass of the *Ethiopians* fallly attributed to him, 134  
**St. Matthias**. Of the Spurious Gospel of *St. Matthias*, 126. The Spurious Author of his Life, 150  
*Mercurius Trismegistus*: His History, 161. Of the Works which at present go under his Name. *ibid.*  
**N.**  
**Nicodemus**: A Spurious Gospel full of Fables attributed to him, 124  
**Noriah**: Of the Spurious Revelations of *Seth* and *Noriah*, 130  
**O.**  
**Onesimus**, the Slave of *Philemon*, converted by *St. Paul*, 64. Re-admitted into the favour of his Master by the Mediation of *St. Paul*, *ibid.* Not the same with the Bishop of *Ephesus* of that Name, *ibid.*  
**P.**  
**Pagninus, Sanctes**, of his *Latin* Version of the New Testament, 117  
**St. Paul**, Of his Name *Saul*, 53. When and upon what occasion he took upon him the Name of *Paul*, 55. His Country, 53. His Education, 54. His Conversion, *ibid.* His Travels, *ibid.* &c. His Death, 56. Of the time, occasion and subject Matter of his fourteen Epistles, 56, &c. Of the Style of *St. Paul*, 68. A Judgment pass'd on the Treatise intituled the Rapture or Elevation of *St. Paul*, 129. Of the supposititious Revelation attributed to him, *ibid.*  
**Perfection**, Of the Gospel of Perfection forg'd by the *Gnosticks*, 126  
**Persian**, The Versions of the N.T. into the *Persian* Language, 118  
**St. Peter**, Of his Canonical Epistles; 74. That the first was writ from *Babylon* and in what Year, *ibid.* To whom it was directed, *ibid.* The subject Matter of it, 74. Why the second was doubted of 75. That it is *St. Peter's*, *ibid.* To whom Directed, *ibid.* Of his Style, *ibid.* By whom of the Ancients cited, *ibid.* Of the Gospel of *St. Peter*, 125. Of the Preaching, Apocalypse and Judgment of *St. Peter*, *ibid.* Of the Liturgy fallly attributed to him, 134  
**Philemon**, Who he was, 64. Of the Epistle Directed to him by *St. Paul*, *ibid.*  
**St. Philip**: Of the Gospel attributed to him by the *Gnosticks*, 126. Of his Supposititious Acts, 129  
**Philippians**; *St. Paul's* Epistle to them, 60. The subject Matter of that Epistle, *ibid.* When written, *ibid.*  
**Philo the Jew**; His Country, 168. His Embassy to *Rome*, *ibid.* His Works, *ibid.* &c.  
**Philo Biblius**; His Translation of the History of the *Phanicians* attributed to *Sanchoniathon*, 171  
**Pilate**; Of the Letter attributed to him, 162  
**Prochorus**; The Life of *St. John* fallly attributed to *Prochorus*, 149  
**R.**  
**Revelation**; Of the Revelation made by *Jesus Christ*, 1. Of its Excellencies, *ibid.* After what manner it was made, 2. How publish'd by the Apostles, *ibid.* &c.  
**Book of Revelations**, That it is *St. John's* the Apostle, 82. The Opinions of the Ancients concerning the Apocalypse especially of *Caius* and *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, *ibid.* The Arguments of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* to prove that the Apocalypse is not *St. John's* refuted, 83, &c. Whether it was rejected by the *Greek* Churches, 84. When it was written, *ibid.* The subject Matter of the Book, *ibid.* Of the false Apocalypse or Revelations forg'd by Hereticks, 128, &c.  
**Romans**, the Epistle of *St. Paul* to the *Romans*, from whence and when written, 56. The subject Matter of that Epistle, 57  
*Sancho-*



# I N D E X.

- S.
- S** *Anchoniathon*; The History of the *Phanicians* under his Name, 171
- Seneca*, spurious Letters of *Seneca* to *St. Paul*, 163. Whether the Letters cited by the Ancient Fathers be different from those which we have, *ibid*
- Sibyls*. From whence that Name is derived, 150. Several Opinions concerning the Number of the *Sibyls*, 151. The eight Books of Verses attributed to the *Sibyls*, spurious, 152. That however these were the Books which the Fathers cited, 153. When they were forg'd, 155. An Answer to those who maintain the genuineness of them, 156, &c. The Hypothesis of *Vossius* concerning the *Sibyls* refuted, 158. Their Oracles rejected by several of the Ancients, 159. How far they were own'd by the Heathen, *ibid*
- St. Stephen*; Spurious Revelations father'd upon him, 130
- Stephens, Robert*; His Edition of the N. T. with various Readings, 102
- Syriac*, Versions of the N. T. 118
- T.
- Testament*; In what Sence the Word *Testament* agrees in a peculiar manner with the *New Covenant*, 20. The Spurious Testament of the twelve Patriarchs, 171
- Text, Greek of the N. T.* Of the Truth and Sincerity of the Greek Text, 97. The faults which may have crept into it, 107. The Corrections of that Text made by *Origen*, 98. The purity of the Greek Text according to *St. Jerome*, 99. How it has been since preserv'd in its purity, *ibid*. The Ancient Varieties of this Text, *ibid*. The several Collections that have been made of these Varieties Of the Manuscripts of the Gr. Text, 102. The Origine of the Varieties of this Text, 107. The Differences between the Greek Text and the Vulgar Latin, 109. Rules to discern which of the Readings of the Text ought to be followed, 111, &c.
- Thessalonians*, *St. Paul's* Epistles to them, when written, upon what occasion, and the subject matter of them, 62, &c.
- St. Thomas*, Of the Gospel attributed to him by the Gnosticks, 126 Of the spurious Acts father'd upon him, 129. Of the false Revelations attributed to him, 130
- Timothy*. His Country and Kindred, 62 His Life, *ibid*. The Epistles written by *St. Paul* to him, 62, 63
- Titus*; Who he was, and by whom converted, 63. Of *St. Paul's* Epistle to him, *ibid*
- Tradition*, the necessity of Tradition to know the Canonical Books of the N. Testament, 131, &c.
- Trinity*, Of the passage concerning the Trinity in the first Epistle of *St. John* Chap. 5. Vers. 7. 77
- Truth*, Of the Gospel of Truth forg'd by the *Valentinians*, 126
- V.
- Valla, Laurentius*; The first who searched into and collated the Greek Manuscripts of the N. T. 116. The design which he had of making a new Latin Version of the N. T. *ibid*
- Peter Faxar Marquis of Los-Velez*. The Collection which he made of the Various Lectons of several Greek Manuscripts, conformable to the Vulgar Latin, 103
- Versions of the N. T.* The Ancient Latin Versions of the N. T. differing and faulty, 109. The Ancient Vulgar full of Errors, *ibid*. Reform'd by *St. Jerome*, 115. Whether *St. Jerome* reform'd all the places of the Vulgar Version by the Greek Text, *ibid*. The Reformation made by *St. Jerome* disapprov'd of by some, but at last receiv'd, 100. Of the Varieties between the Greek Text and the Vulgar Latin, 110. New Latin Versions of the New Testament, 115. Oriental Versions of the New Testament, 117. Of the Versions into the Vulgar Languages, 118
- X.
- X** *Imenes* Cardinal; The Revisal of the N. T. in Greek from several Manuscripts made by his Orders, 102
- Z.
- Z** *Acariah*, mention'd in the Gospel the Son of *Jehoiada* according to the Gospel of the *Nazarens*, 35
- Zoroaster*, His History, 171. A Spurious Work attributed to him 171
- The End.



